COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV.

FROM JULY TO DECEMBER,

1813.

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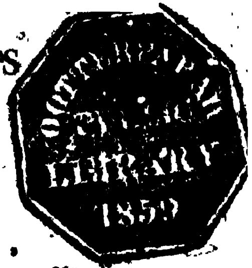
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PRICE OF BULLION per *Ounce*, in the London Market, during the Six Months ending 31st Dec. 1812, being the average price of each *Month*.—N.B. Where there is no price mentioned, there has been none of that sort of Bullion in the Market.

Sorts of Bullion.	July			Aug.			Sept.			Oct.			Nov.			Dec.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Portugal Gold Coin . . .	4	19	6	5	0	0	5	8	0	5	7	6	5	8	0	5	7	0
Standard Gold in Bars . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Doubloons	4	18	6	4	19	6	0	0	0	5	4	0	5	4	0	0	0	0
New Dollars .	0	6	2½	0	6	3	0	6	6¼	0	6	6	0	6	6	0	6	6
Standard. Silver in Bars . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

N. B. The MINT PRICE, per *Ounce*, of the *Standard* Gold and Silver Bullion is as follows: Standard Gold in Bars, £.3 17s. 10½d. Standard Silver in Bars; 5s. 2d. The other sorts of Bullion, except the Portugal Gold Coin, are below Standard Value. The Prices in the above table is the *Market* Price in Bank of England Notes.

Number of **BANKRUPTCIES** as announced in the London Gazette; from 15th May to 15th November, 1812.

To 15 June :	158
—— July	92
—— August	110
—— September . .	78
—— October . . .	86
—— November . .	139
	663

Table of the Prices of **MEAT, SUGAR, SALT**, and **COALS**, in **LONDON**, from July to December, 1812, inclusive.

	July.		Aug.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.		Dec.		
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Beef .	6	0	5	6	6	0	5	6	5	8	5	0	Per Stone of 8 lb., giving the offal into the bargain.
Mutton	6	4	6	0	6	4	6	0	6	4	6	6	
Pork .	6	4	7	0	7	8	6	8	7	0	7	6	
Sugar .	44	2	47	2	46	9	45	5	47	0	51	0	Cwt.
Salt . .	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	Bushel
Coals .	52	3	54	3	51	3	53	0	55	0	55	9	Chald.

Price of the **QUARTERN LOAF**, according to the Assize of Bread in **LONDON**, for the Six Months ending with Dec. 1812, taking the average of the four Assizes in each Month.—N. B. The Weight of the Loaf, according to Law, is 4lb. 5oz. 8dr.

	s.	d.
July	1	8
August	1	8
September	1	8
October	1	7¼
November	1	6½
December	1	6¼
Average Price during the Six Months	1	7¼ ½

Prices of the **ENGLISH FUNDS, or STOCKS**, as shown from the Prices here given of the *Three per Cent.* Consolidated Annuities, for the Six Months, ending with Dec. 1812.—N. B. The Prices here given are the *average* Prices for each Month.

July	56
August	57½
September	59
October	58¼
November	59½
December	58½

Number of **CHRISTENINGS** and **BURIALS** within the Bills of Mortality, from 23d June to 22d Dec. 1812.

Months.	Christenings.		Burials.	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
To July 21 . . .	873	839	639	581
— August 15 .	1012	912	772	729
— Sept. 22 . .	686	660	608	591
— Oct. 7 . . .	950	913	836	755
— Nov. 24 . .	758	729	855	827
— Dec. 22 . .	750	748	957	986
	5,029	4,801	4,667	4,469

Total Christenings 9,830. | 9,136
Children under two years of age . 3,030
Total Burials 12,166

Average Prices of **CORN**, through all England and Wales, and of **HAY, STRAW**, and best **FARNHAM HOPS**, in London, from July to December, 1812, both Months inclusive.

Corn per Quarter of 8 Winchester Bushels.					Hay per Load.	Straw per Load.	Hops per Cwt.
Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.			
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
131 . 9	83 2	69 7	47 6	83 10	4 13 6	2 17 6	19 12 0

LIST OF

HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS,

1812.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Lord Harrowby - - - - - - - -	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon - - - - - - - - -	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Westmoreland - - - - - - -	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Bathurst - - - - - - - - -	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Liverpool - - - - - - - - -	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)
Right Hon. N. Vansittart - - - - -	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst - - -	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Viscount Melville - - - - -	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave - - - - - - - -	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Sidmouth - - - - - - - -	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Castlereagh - - - - - - - -	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Bathurst - - - - - - - - -	Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Lord Buckinghamshire - - - - - -	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose - - - - -	Vice President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston - - - - - - - -	Secretary at War.
Lord C. Somerset - - - - - - - - Right Hon. C. Long - - - - - - -	Joint Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Earl of Chichester - - - - - - - - Earl of Sandwich - - - - - - - -	Joint Postmaster-General.
Richard Wharton - - - - - - - Robert Peel - - - - - - - - - - -	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant - - - - - - -	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Thomas Plomer - - - - - - -	Attorney-General.
Sir W. Garrow - - - - - - - -	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS OF THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond - - - - - - -	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners - - - - - - - - -	Lord High Chancellor.
Charles Arbuthnot, esq. - - - - - -	Chief Secretary, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXII. No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1812. [Price 1s.

"That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be free."——BILL OF RIGHTS.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF BRISTOL.

LETTER I.

Gentlemen,

Your City, the third in England in point of population, and, for the bravery and public-spirit of its inhabitants the first in the world, is now become, with all those who take an interest in the public welfare an object of anxious attention. You, as the Electors of Westminster were, have long been the sport of the two artful factions, who have divided between them the profits arising from the obtaining of your votes. One of each faction has always been elected: and, as one of them always belonged to the faction *out of place*, you whose intentions and views were honest, consoled yourselves with the reflection, that, if one of your members was in place, or belonged to the IN party, your other member, who belonged to the OUT party, was always in the House to watch him. But, now, I think, experience must have convinced you, that the OUT as well as the IN member was always seeking his own gain at your expense and that of the nation; and that the two factions, though openly hostile to each other, have always been perfectly well agreed as to the main point; namely, the perpetuating of those sinecure places and all those other means by which the public money is put into the pockets of individuals.

With this conviction in your minds, it is not to be wondered at that you are now beginning to make a stand for the remnant of your liberties; and, as I am firmly persuaded, that your success would be of infinite benefit to the cause of freedom in general, and, of course, to our country, now groaning under a compilation of calamities, I cannot longer withhold a public expression of the sentiments which I entertain respecting the struggle in which you are engaged; and especially respecting the *election now going on*, the proceedings of *a recent meeting in London*, and the *pretensions of Mr. Hunt* compared with those of Sir Samuel Romilly.

As to the first, you will bear in mind, Gentlemen, how often we, who wish for a reform of the parliament, have contended, that no member of the House of Commons ought to be a placeman or a pensioner. We have said, and we have shown, that in that Act of Parliament by virtue of which the present family was exalted to the throne of this kingdom; we have shown, that, by that Act, it was provided that *no man having a pension or place of emolument under the Crown should be capable of being a member of the House of Commons*. It is, indeed, true, that this provision has since been *repealed;* but, it having been enacted, and that, too, on so important an occasion, shows clearly how jealous our ancestors were upon the subject. ——When we ask for a revival of this law, we are told that it cannot be wanted; because, if a man be a placeman or a pensioner *before* he be chosen at all, those who choose him know it, and if they like a placeman or a pensioner, who else has any thing to do with the matter? And, if a man be made a placeman or pensioner *after* he be chosen, he must *vacate his seat*, and return to his constituents to be re-elected before he can sit again; if they reject him he cannot sit, and, if they re-choose him, who else has any thing to do with the matter?

To be sure it is pretty impudent for these people to talk to us about *choice* and about *re-choosing* and about *rejecting* and the like, when they know that we are well informed of the nature of choosings and re-choosings at Old Sarum, at Gatton, at Queenborough, at Bodmin, at Penryn, at Honiton, at Oakhampton, and at more than a hundred other places; it is pretty impudent to talk to us about members *going back to their constituents* at such places as those here mentioned; but, what will even the impudence of these people find to say in the case of those members, who, upon having grasped places or pensions, do go back to their constituents, and upon being rejected by them, go to some bo-

rough where the people have no voice; or who, not relishing the prospect, do not go to face their former constituents, but go, at once, to some borough, and there take a seat, which, by cogent arguments, no doubt, some one has been prevailed on to go out of to make way for them? What will even the impudence of the most prostituted knaves of hired writers find to say in cases like these?

Of the former MR. GEORGE TIERNEY presents memorable instance. He was formerly a member for Southwark, chosen on account of his professions in favour of freedom, by a numerous body of independent electors. But, having taken a fancy to a place which put some thousands a year of the public money into his own individual pocket, having had the assurance to go back to his constituents, and having been by them *rejected* with scorn, he was immediately *chosen* by some borough where a seat had been emptied in order to receive him, and now he is a representative of the people of a place called *Bandon Bridge in Ireland*, a place which, in all probability, he never saw, and the inhabitants of which are, I dare say, wholly unconscious of having the honour to be represented by so famous a person. Your late representative, Mr. BRAGGE BATHURST, has acted a more modest, or, at least, a more prudent part. He has got a fat place, a place the profits of which would find some hundreds of Englishmen's families in provisions all the year round; he has been made what is called *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*, which will give him immense patronage, and, of course, afford him ample means of enriching his family, friends, and dependents, besides his having held places of great salary for many years before. Thus loaded with riches [illegible]ng from the public means, he does not, I perceive, intend to *face you;* he cannot, it seems, screw himself up to that pitch. We shall, in all likelihood, see, in a few days, what borough opens its chaste arms to receive him; but, as a matter of much greater consequence, I now beg to offer you some remarks upon the measures that have been taken to supply his place.

It was announced to his supporters at Bristol, about three months ago, that he did not mean to offer himself for that city again, and MR. RICHARD HART DAVIS, of whom you will hear enough, came forward as his successor openly avowing all his principles, and expressly saying, that he would tread in his steps. What those steps are, you have seen; and what those principles are the miserable people of England feel in the effects of war and taxation. But, I beg your attention to some circumstances connected with the election, which ought to be known and long borne in mind. The WRIT for electing a member for Bristol in the room of Bragge Bathurst was moved for, in the House of Commons, on Tuesday evening, the 23d of June, and, at the same moment, a writ for electing a member for Colchester, in the room of Richard Hart Davis, was moved for. So, you see, they both vacate at the same instant; your man not liking to go down to Bristol, the other vacates a seat for another place, in order to go down to face you in his stead. Observe, too, with what *quickness* the thing is managed. Nobody knows, or, at least, none of you know, that Bragge is going to vacate his seat. Davis apparently knew it, because we see him *vacating at the same moment.* The WRIT is sent off the same night; it gets to Bristol on Wednesday morning the 24th; the law requires *four days notice* on the part of the Sheriffs; they give it, and the election comes on the next Monday. So, you see, if MR. HUNT had been living in Ireland or Scotland, or even in the Northern counties of England, or in some parts of Cornwall; the election might have been over, before there would have been a POSSIBILITY of his getting to Bristol. And though his place of residence was within thirty miles of London, he who was at home on his farm, had but just time to reach you soon enough to give you an opportunity of exercising your rights upon this occasion. Mr. Hunt *could* not know that the writ was moved for till Wednesday evening, living, as he does, at a distance from a post town; and, as it happened, he did not know of it, I believe, till Thursday night; so that, it was next to impossible for him to come to London (which, I suppose, was necessary) and to reach Bristol before Saturday. While, on the other hand, Mr. Davis had chosen his time, and, of course, had made all his preparations.

Such, Gentlemen, have been the means used preparatory to the election. Let us now see what a scene your city exhibits at this moment; first, however, taking a look at the *under-plot going on in London* in favour of Sir Samuel Romilly.

It is stated in the London news-papers, and particularly in the *Times* of Saturday last, that there was a meeting, on Friday, at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand,

the object of which meeting was, "to *raise* "*money*" by subscription for "*supporting* "*the election of Sir Samuel Romilly at* "*Bristol;*" and it is added, that a large sum was accordingly raised. This appears to me to have for its object the deceiving of the electors of Bristol; an object, however, which I am satisfied will not be accomplished to any great extent. I do not mean to say, that Sir Samuel Romilly would use deceit; but, I am quite sure, that there are those who would use it upon this occasion. The truth is, that the raising of these large sums of money (amounting already, they say, to £8,000) proves that Sir Samuel Romilly does not put his trust in the FREE VOICE of the people of Bristol. At this meeting MR. BARING, one of the persons *who makes the loans to the government*, was in the chair. This alone is a circumstance sufficient to enable you to judge not only of the *character* of the meeting, but also of what sort of conduct is *expected* from Sir Samuel Romilly if he were placed in parliament by the means of this subscription. MR. WHITBREAD was also at the meeting, and spoke in favour of the subscription. But, we must not be carried away by *names* Mr. Whitbread does many good things; but Mr. Whitbread is not always right. Mr. Whitbread *subscribed to bring Mr. Sheridan in for Westminster*, and was, indeed, the man who caused him to obtain the appearance of a majority: Mr. Whitbread supported that same Sheridan afterwards against Lord Cochrane; and though Mr. Whitbread is so ready to subscribe now, *he refused to subscribe to the election of Sir Francis Burdett*, notwithstanding the election was in a city of which he was an inhabitant and an Elector. These, Gentlemen, are facts, of which you should be apprized; otherwise *names* might deceive you.

I beg to observe also, that, at this meeting, there was nothing said about a *parliamentary reform*, without which you must be satisfied no good of any consequence can be done. There was, indeed, a MR. MILLS, who said he came from Bristol, who observed that "the great majority of the inhabitants of Bristol *felt* perfectly convinced of the necessity of SOMETHING LIKE Reform." And is this all? Does your conviction go no farther than this? I remember, that, when a little boy, I was crying to my mother for a bit of bread and cheese, and that a journeyman carpenter, who was at work hard by, compassionately offered *to chalk me out a big piece upon a board*. I forget the way in which I vented my rage against him; but, the offer has quitted my memory. Yet, really, this seems to come up to the notion of Mr. Mills: the carpenter offered me SOMETHING LIKE a big piece of bread and cheese. Oh! no, Gentlemen, it is not this *something like* that you want: you want *the thing itself*; and, if Sir Samuel Romilly meant that you should have it, do you believe, that neither he, nor any one for him, would have made any specific promise upon the subject? Even after Mr. Mills had said that you wanted *something like* Reform, there was nobody who ventured to say, that Sir Samuel Romilly would endeavour to procure even that for you. His friends were told, that, if he would distinctly pledge himself to reform, whether *in place* or *out of place*, Mr. Hunt, who only wished to see that measure accomplished, would himself assist in his election; but, this Sir Samuel Romilly has not done, and, therefore, he is not the man whom you ought to choose, though he is beyond all comparison better than hundreds of other public men, and though he is, in many respects, a most excellent member of parliament. Gentlemen, these friends of Sir Samuel Romilly call upon you to choose him, because he is, they tell you, a decided enemy of the measures of the present ministers. Now, they must very well know, that *all those measures have had the decided support of the parliament*. Well, then, do these his friends allow, that the parliament are the real representatives of the people, and that they speak the people's voice? If Sir Samuel's friends do allow this, then they do, in fact, say, that he is an enemy to all those measures which the people's voice approves of; and, if they do not allow this, if they say that the parliament do *not* speak the people's voice and are *not* their real representatives, how can they hope that any man will do you any good who is not decidedly for *a reform of that parliament?* Let the meeting at the Crown and Anchor answer these questions, or, in the name of decency, I conjure them to hold their tongues, and to put their subscriptions back again into their pockets.

To say the truth (and this is not a time to disguise it from you) this subscription is a subscription *against*, and not *for*, the freedom of election. If Sir Samuel Romilly's friends were willing to put their trust in the free good will of the people of Bristol; why raise money in such large

quantities, and especially why resort to *party men* and to *loan makers* for this purpose? They will say, perhaps, that the money is intended for the purpose of carrying down the *London voters* and for that of fetching voters from elsewhere; but why are they afraid to put their trust in the *resident* voters of Bristol? The object of this subscription is very far indeed from resembling the object of that which was set on foot in Westminster, which was not to gain votes by dint of money, but merely to pay the expenses of printing, of clerks, and other little matters inseparable from an election at Westminster, and the whole of which did not amount to more than about *eight hundred pounds;* whereas as many thousands are stated to be already subscribed for procuring the election of Sir Samuel Romilly. In short, this attempt of the friends of Sir Samuel Romilly is like many others that have been made before. It is *purse against purse.* Mr. PROTHERO has shaken his purse at Sir Samuel; and, as the latter does not choose to engage with his own purse, his friends, with *a loan maker at their head*, came forward to make up a purse for him; and the free and unbought voice of the electors of Bristol is evidently intended by neither party to have any weight at all in the decision.

Let us now return and take a view of the political picture which Bristol at this moment presents. And, here, the first observation that strikes one, is, that neither the friends of Sir Samuel Romilly nor the friends of Mr. Prothero say one word in opposition to Mr. HART DAVIS, though he avowedly stands upon the principles of Mr. Bragge and the present ministers; though he quitted his canvass about ten weeks ago, to come express to London to vote in favour of the Orders in Council; and though he now says, that he will tread in the steps of Mr. Bragge. Though they have all this before their eyes, not one single syllable does any one of them utter against the pretensions or the movements of Mr. Davis; and, though the meeting at the Crown and Anchor took place several days after the Bristol and Colchester writs were moved for, and though the parties at the meeting must necessarily have been well acquainted with all that I have above stated to you upon the subject of those writs, not one word did they utter against the pretensions of Mr. Davis, nor did they (according to the printed report of their proceedings) even mention his name, or take the smallest notice of the circumstance, that an election, a little, snug, rotten-borough-like election, was, at that moment, getting up in that very city, for the *interest* and *honour* of which they were affecting so much concern! And, can you, then, believe them sincere? Can you believe, that they have any other view than merely that of securing *a seat for the party* in Bristol? Can you doubt, that the contest, on their part, is not for the *principle* but for the *seat*?

Having pointed out this circumstance to your attention, it is hardly necessary for me to advert to the conduct of Mr. Hunt, which, in this case in particular, forms a contrast with that of the other parties too striking not to have produced a lasting impression upon your minds. He does not content himself [illegible] *talking* about defending your liberties. He *acts* as well as *talks.* He hears that the enemy is in your camp, and he flies to rescue you from his grasp. He does not waste his time in a tavern in London, drawing up flourishing resolutions about "*public spirit.*" He hastens amongst you; he *looks your and his adversary in the face;* he shows you that you may *depend upon him in the hour of trial.* These, Gentlemen, are marks of such a character in a representative as the times demand. Sir Samuel Romilly is a very worthy gentleman; an honest man; a humane man; a man that could not, in my opinion, be, by any means, tempted to do a cruel or dishonest act; and he is, too, a man of great talents. But, I have no scruple to say, that I should prefer, and greatly prefer, Mr. Hunt to Sir Samuel Romilly, as a member of parliament: for, while I do not know, and do not believe, that the latter excels the former in honesty or humanity, I am convinced that his talents, though superior, perhaps, *in their kind*, are not equal. *in value to the public*, to the talents possessed by Mr. Hunt, who is, at this moment, giving you a specimen of the effect of those talents.

Gentlemen, the predominance of *Lawyers*, in this country, has produced amongst us a very erroneous way of thinking with respect to the talents of public men; and, contrary to the notions of the world in general, we are apt to think a man great in mind in proportion to the glibness of his tongue. With us, to be a *great talker* is to be a *great man;* but, perhaps, a falser rule of judging never was adopted. It is so far from being true as a general maxim, that it is generally the contrary of the truth; and, if you look back through the list of our own public men, you will find,

that, in general, they have been shallow and mischievous in proportion to their gift of talking. We have been brought to our present miserable state by a lawyer-like policy, defended in lawyer-like debates. Plain good sense has been brow-beaten out of countenance; has been talked down, by the politicians from the bar; haranguing and special pleading and quibbling have usurped the place of frank and explicit statement and unsophistical reasoning. In Mr. Hunt you have no lawyer, but you have a man who is not to be brow-beaten into silence. You have a man not to be intimidated by the frowns or the threats of wealth or of rank; a man not to be induced to abandon his duty towards you from any considerations of danger to himself; and, I venture to foretel (begging that my words may be remembered) that, if you elect him, the whole country will soon acknowledge the benefit conferred on it by the city of Bristol.

Gentlemen, this letter will, in all likelihood, find you engaged in the bustle of an election. With all the advantages on the side of your adversary, you may not, perhaps, upon the *present* occasion, be able to defeat him. But, you will have a chance; you will have an opportunity of trying; you will have *an election;* and this you would not have had if it had not been for Mr. Hunt, for the whole affair would have been over before you had scarcely *heard* of it. At the very least you will have *some days of liberty to speak your minds;* to tell Mr. Davis what you think of him and of his predecessor; to declare aloud your grievances and your indignation; and even for *this* liberty you will be indebted to Mr. Hunt, and *solely* to Mr. Hunt. You are told of the *zeal* of Mr. Prothero and Sir Samuel Romilly in your service; you are told of their desire to promote your *interest* and your *honour;* but, where are they *now?* Where are they when the enemy is in your city, when you were to have been handed over from Bragge Bathurst to Hart Davis as quietly as if you had been a cargo of tallow or of corn? It is now, it is in this moment of real need, that Mr. Hunt comes to your aid; and, if he fail in defeating, he will, at the least, harass your enemy, make his victory over you cost him dear, and by exposing the sources and means of his success, lay the foundation of his future defeat and disgrace.

I am, your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Monday, 29th June, 1812.

THE LUDDITES.
No. I.

Message of the Prince Regent to the two Houses of Parliament.—Sealed Papers and Secret Committee.—Nature of the Ballot for a Committee.—Publications in the TIMES *and* COURIER *news-papers for the purpose of feeling the public pulse.*

"Englishmen, now is your time to watch "the WHIGS!"

This is the title which I intend to give to the several articles, which I shall necessarily have to write upon the subject of the measures now about to be adopted by the government, with regard to the counties of England, which have, for some time past, been in a state of disturbance.—It is well known, that the frame-breakers in Nottingham took the name of *Luddites;* that this name has since spread into the neighbouring counties; and that several counties have, for many months, been in a state of great trouble.——On Saturday, the 27th of June, the following Message was delivered to the two Houses of Parliament, to the Lords by VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH and to the Commons by LORD CASTLEREAGH.— "GEORGE P. R.—His *Royal Highness* "the Prince Regent, in the name and on "behalf of his Majesty, has given orders "that there be laid before the House of "Commons, Copies of Information re-"ceived by his Majesty's Government, re-"lative to certain violent and dangerous "proceedings, in defiance of the laws, "which have taken place, and which con-"tinue to take place, in certain counties of "the kingdom.—His Royal Highness con-"fidently relies on the wisdom of the "House of Commons that they will adopt "such measures as are necessary to secure "the lives and property of the peaceable "and loyal inhabitants of the disturbed "districts, and to restore order and tran-"quillity."——The first remark that presents itself here is, that, so long as three weeks ago, Lord Castlereagh assured the House of Commons, that the accounts which were received by government from the disturbed counties were very satisfactory, more and more so every day.——Either, therefore, he was misinformed, or the people have relapsed. ——On Monday the 29th of June, both Houses voted, without a division, an Address to the Regent, promising to take the subject into their consideration, and to adopt such measures as might be necessary to ensure the end pointed out in the latter part of the Message.

——Upon this VITAL subject we must be very particular as to the *names* of all the actors.——Lord Liverpool supported the motion in the Lords, which was made by Lord Sidmouth; and Lord Stanhope moved an amendment, the object of which was to shut out any project for *suspending the Habeas Corpus Act.* Lord Holland went with Lord Stanhope; but the motion was adopted.——N. B. Not a word against the motion by Lord Grenville or Lord Grey.——In the Commons the motion was made by LORD CASTLEREAGH. Mr. Whitbread and Sir Francis Burdett expressed their hope that nothing was about to be attempted against the great constitutional laws of England.——The next thing that was done was the making of a motion in both Houses for the appointment of a SECRET Committee to examine and report upon certain papers that were laid upon the table, SEALED UP! The motion was, in the House of Commons (to which we will now confine ourselves), that the Committee should be appointed by *ballot*: that is to say, in fact, *appointed by the ministry.* —— What passed upon this subject was very interesting indeed. I will, therefore, insert it, and I beg the reader, especially if he be a young man, to make a point of bearing it in mind.——"LORD CASTLEREAGH then "moved, that the Papers he had this day "presented, should be referred to a Com- "mittee, that it be a Committee of Se- "crecy, and that the number of Members "be 21, which were severally ordered. "His Lordship likewise moved, that the "members be chosen by *ballot*.—MR. "WHITBREAD protested against this mode "of proceeding, since, *it would give the "Noble Lord the appointment of every "Member of the Committee.* He wished "that the Members of it should be public- "ly named and chosen, that the House, "and not the Noble Lord, might have the "formation of the Committee. *(Hear!)* "—LORD CASTLEREAGH *persisted in his "motion*, since he was certain that on no "side of the House on such a question "would party feelings be exercised; he "was convinced that it would be treated "by Parliament in a manner, which while "it did it honour, would give satisfaction "to the people.—SIR F. BURDETT, looking "at the precedents to which Mr. Whit- "bread had referred, could not help feel- "ing great jealousy as to the conduct of "Government; he hoped that the bounds "of the Constitution would not a-new be "transgressed by them. The mode in "which the Committee was formed, if the "satisfaction of the people were looked to, "was of the utmost importance. *(Hear, "hear!)*—It ought to be of such a de- "scription, that the country would place "reliance upon its wisdom and impartiali- "ty, and not to be merely composed of "the creatures of ministerial nomination. "—The question, that the Committee be "chosen by ballot was then put and car- "ried, though there were a long number "of dissentient voices.—On the question "that Members prepare lists, and appear "to-morrow to put them into the classes "appointed for their reception, MR. WHIT- "BREAD declared that he should not attend "for that purpose, as experience had shewn "that it would be useless, since any list he "might prepare would be smothered in "the vast heap of names supplied by the "Noble Lord and his political friends.— "It was ordered that the Papers commu- "nicated by the Prince Regent should re- "main sealed until the appointment of the "Committee"—— From this the reader will form his opinion of the nature of a ballot. But, indeed, a *ballot* is no more than this. Every member present at a given time, puts a ballot into a box, or something, with a list of any 21 members' names that he may choose to write on a ballot. When the Speaker takes out the ballots, he counts the number of times that he finds the several names written. These 21 members whose names are written the greatest number of times are the Committee. From this it follows, of course, that the *majority* of the House select the Committee. The name of ballot does, doubtless, lead some persons to suppose, that the names of all the members are put into a box, and that, as in the case of a *common jury*, the first twenty-one names drawn out are the names of the Committee; but, after what has been said above, no one will be deceived upon this subject again. ——The ministry did not, during the debate, develope their intended schemes. But, on the contrary, appeared extremely anxious to avoid making any explicit statement upon the subject. Mr. Whitbread, however, took occasion to anticipate any attempt upon the constitutional laws, as did also Sir Francis Burdett, and the former warned the ministers (by bidding them look at the example of other countries) of the consequences of resorting to measures unwarranted by the usual laws of the country. Mr *Wilberforce* said something, and, as it was curious, we will have it upon record.

"He entirely participated in the hope, that "nothing would be found in the documents "laid upon the table to call for any extra- "ordinary measures. He would not allow "himself even to express an opinion, lest "it might give rise to feelings that ought "to be banished from all minds, that might "produce dissent instead of union, for the "accomplishment of an object of the great- "est magnitude, *not being at all acquainted "with the nature of the papers supplied*, "and not having been present on Saturday "when the Message was brought down, he "was, perhaps, of all men, the least com- "petent to offer any thing to the House, "but he could not avoid rising to express "a wish, that *the utmost calmness and "moderation might be observed in the deli- "beration*. Nearly connected as he was "*with a district of the country most dis- "turbed*, he felt it necessary to conjure the "House, that the case of these unfortunate "and misguided people might be fully and "candidly weighed, that the result might "be the restoration of order, unanimity, "prosperity, and happiness."——This is a very curious speech. To *speak*, and *say less* than is here said, I should think extremely difficult. We will, reader, if you please, shew our respect towards this honourable member by keeping a steady eye upon him all through this affair. I remember his conduct at the times when former measures of the kind now in contemplation were proposed. I remember him at the time of *the Bank stoppage*, and upon various other trying occasions.——While these things were going on in parliament, the venal press was not idle; especially the news-papers called the *Times* and the *Courier*. These prints began, at once, to pave the way for what was intended to follow: they began to feel the pulse of the people. The Message was carried down, as we have seen, on Saturday, and, on Monday morning the former of these prints began to announce, that it wished to see the rioters "*put out of the protection of the law*;" alleging, as a reason, that they were become *assassins* and *incendiaries*. But, even assassins and incendiaries have hitherto had the *law* applied to their case. I do not know why the word *assassin* is now so much in use. It seems that there are people who think it more horrible in its sound than the word *murderer*. Be this as it may, however, we have *laws* for the punishment of persons guilty of *murder* and *arson*. If this is all, we want no new laws. "When," says the vile *Times*, "they became *assassins* and *incendiaries*, "they put themselves *out of the protection* "*of the* LAW, and JUSTICE must be "done upon them." This is an excellent phrase? The *law* is to be laid aside, and *justice* is to be done! Very good, indeed! But, this is the sort of trash that delight the readers of this corrupt vehicle. In his paper of the 30th of June, this writer calls the people in the disturbed counties "aban- "doned *revolutionary miscreants*." In short, he says every thing which malice and cruelty can suggest to him in order to prepare beforehand for a justification of *any* measures of severity that may be adopted. The *Courier*, the faithful fellow-labourer of the former print, sets about its work in a more elaborate manner. It begins, on Monday, the 29th of June, with accounts of acts of violence committed in Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Nottinghamshire. And, having inserted those accounts, the hireling next sets about his work, the recommending of *a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act*, and the putting the country *under martial law*. These things he talks of as coolly as Lord Liverpool, some years back, talked of *a march to Paris*.——Reader, does not this last sentence bring you back to the outset of the French Revolution, when this nation went to war to keep down republicans and levellers? Really the contest has brought us to something at last! How far farther it will take us I do not know.——To return now to the accounts from the troubled counties, I think it necessary to insert them here; because, it will, hereafter, be very useful to be able to recur to these *dawnings* of a state of things, the like of which this country has not seen for a great while, and which will, if I mistake not, make a very considerable figure in history.——The Courier begins with Nottingham, a place at the very name of which every hireling's knees knock together. To be sure, he has nothing here to speak of but a squabble at the play-house; but, of that he makes the most. I beg the reader to pay attention to the Story. *Nottingham, 26 June.*—"The "Theatre at this place has been abruptly "closed by command of the Town Magis- "trates in consequence of the tumultuous "proceedings that have taken place on "several successive evenings, occasioned "by a request made to the Orchestra to "play the NATIONAL air of *God save* "*the King*. On the tune being called for "it has generally been accompanied with "a cry of "*hats off*," which has produced

"the most violent opposition on the part "of those who are *any thing but loyal*." "Instead of *complying with the request*, "the Oppositionists answer it with a cry of "*Millions be free!*" and rising with "their hats on, place themselves in the "most menacing attitude of defiance. This "act of INDECENCY has frequently led "to blows, and individuals in the boxes "have been obliged to seek their personal "safety by leaping into the pit, while "those in the pit have placed themselves "in array against the boxes, and a general "contest or tumult has been the result. "In several instances *tickets have been distributed, gratis, to the amount of several pounds, with a view to beat down the loyal party by main force*, in consequence "of which several OFFICERS have been insulted, and mal-treated, particularly "on Wednesday last, when a number of those desperadoes surrounded "Brigade-Major HUMPHRYS, on coming "out of the Theatre, hooted him along "the streets to his quarters, and threw a "bottle in his face which cut him severely. "Brigade-Major HUMPHRYS is *a most gentlemanly character*, who had never taken "any part whatever in the disturbances, "but *that he was a military officer was quite sufficient*. On another occasion, a "party way-laid an officer of the 2d Somerset Militia who had been *forward in displaying his zeal and loyalty to his King at the Theatre*, in the Park, late "in the evening, and beat him in a most "inhuman manner. Several have been "compelled to enter into recognizances for "their good behaviour, and two or three "are bound over to appear at the Quarter "Sessions, for the assault committed on "the officer in the Park. This evening "was fixed for the benefit of Mr. Robertson, one of our highly respected Managers, who calculated upon a net receipt of at least £100.; but by the abrupt closing of the Theatre, his benefit "is necessarily postponed until after the "races, which it is supposed will be a "great loss to him."——Now, reader, if you examine this matter, you will find, that, even upon their own showing, the God-save-the-King party have been the aggressors.——What right, I should like to know, has one part of an audience at a public theatre to compel the other part, however small that other part may be, to *stand up*, or to *pull off their hats*, upon the playing of a tune or the singing of a song, called for by the former? And, if this right exists in no case, it surely cannot exist when, as appears to have been the case here, the party, taking upon them to give the command is the least numerous. Well might the theatre be shut up, if the manager would suffer the *few* amongst his audience to hector over the *many*.——This writer calls the tune of *God save the King* "the NATIONAL air." But, he has not cited to us any law by which we are compelled to rise and pull off our hats at the playing of it. *He* may like it, and so may the Officers at Nottingham, though the language is a rare specimen of stupid verbosity and tautology; though some of the sentiments, as far as they can be called sentiments, are at once malignant, abject, and impious; and though the whole, when considered with reference to the unfortunate personage whose name is the chief burden of the song, amounts to a species of burlesque the most disgusting that can be conceived, still it may accord with the taste of the military officers quartered at Nottingham, and they may, if they choose, consider the air as *national* and have it played accordingly at their mess-rooms. But, if we leave them to their taste, we shall not agree to subject the people of Nottingham thereto; we shall not agree that they have a right to cram their sentiments down the throats of the people of that town, or any other town or county.——Observe, reader, that it is not the people who *begin* the quarrel. The others call for the tune; it *is played*; no interruption is given by the people. But, this is not enough. The people must not only sit and hear that which they disapprove of; but, they must, at the *word of command*, pull off their hats, as a mark of *approbation* of that which they are known to disapprove of, and that, too, at the order of a comparatively small part of the audience. Can subservience; can slavery, go lower than this? And, if the people of Nottingham were compelled to submit to this, what impudence would it be in them to affect to revile any other people as slaves!——To this last stage of servility the people of Nottingham were not, it seems, disposed to submit; but, in answer to *the word of command*, they rose and exclaimed, "MILLIONS BE FREE; "placing themselves, at the same time, "in a most *menacing* attitude of DEFIANCE." Of *defiance*, mind. Not of *aggression*. And, what could be more proper? Yet this hireling calls it an "act of *indecency*!" Slave, dost thou, then,

think an act of indecency in Englishmen to answer an arbitrary and insolent command by an exclamation expressive of their love of freedom? Dost thou, then, slave as thou art, think this an act of *indecency;* and hast thou the impudence to give utterance and publicity to thy thought?——If the people of Nottingham were to submit to this command to pull their hats off in the play-house, why not in the street? And, if to pull off their hats, why not to go down upon their knees, or to *turn out their pockets?* Loss of property and loss of liberty are never far asunder.——As to the assaults, committed on the bodies of the two military officers, if they were *unprovoked,* the parties ought to be punished; but, it will be observed, that we here have but *one side of the story,* and that every story has two sides. The story comes, too, from a man (if one ought to call him such), who looks upon it as an act of *indecency* for Englishmen, when arbitrarily and insolently commanded to pull off their hats, refuse to comply, and exclaim that they are free. This being the sort of persons from whom the story comes, we ought to distrust, and, indeed, to disbelieve every word of it that makes against the people of Nottingham.——One of these officers had, we are told, "been forward in displaying his *zeal* and "*loyalty* to his King at the theatre." That is to say, he had been (according to this writer's previous account) *forward in commanding the men of Nottingham to pull off their hats.* The gentleman, whoever he is (and he is *not named*), might have found a better way than this of displaying his zeal and loyalty. There is very little loyalty in the bawling out of a stupid song; but, that would have been a good in endeavouring to conciliate the people, amongst whom he was quartered.——In short, it is clear, that these rows at the theatre at Nottingham have been provoked by the unbearable insolence of a few of those persons, who assume to themselves the exclusive merit of *loyalty.* Nothing can be clearer than this, even from the statement of this hireling himself; and, therefore, it appears to me, that the conduct of the *manager* of the theatre has been unjustifiable. It was for *him* to express his disapprobation of the conduct of those, who were taking upon them to give commands to the audience, and turn a place of recreation, where every man had equal rights, into a scene of political triumph of the few over the thoughts and wishes of the many; and, in not having expressed this disapprobation, he appears to me to have tacitly taken part with insolent commanders. I am not, therefore, at all sorry for his loss; and, I hope, that, unless he makes atonement by restoring *freedom* to his theatre, he will be left to exhibit his scenes to his exclusively "loyal" customers and to them only.——So much for the accounts from Nottingham. Let us now hear those from other places. I shall insert them one after another without any interruption.

"HUDDERSFIELD (Yorkshire), *June* 25. "—Last Monday, about midnight, a great "number of armed men, with their faces "disfigured by broad black marks down "each cheek and over the forehead, assembled near the dwelling-house of Mr. "Fisher, a shopkeeper of Briestwistle, in "this neighbourhood, and after firing two "guns or pistols, demanded admittance "into Mr. Fisher's house, which he refused. They then broke open the door, "and two of them rushing into the house, "seized Mr. Fisher, who had just got out "of bed; they each presented a pistol to "his breast, and threatened him with instant death if he stirred a foot. Not intimidated by this threat, Mr. Fisher rushed from them towards the door, when he "was seized by other six men, who placing "a sheet over his head, face, and arms, "kept him in that situation while their "comrades ransacked the house, and took "from his pocket-book bills to the amount "of 116*l.* besides 20*l.* in notes and some "cash; they also took a quantity of notes "and cash out of a drawer, but to what "amount Mr. Fisher does not exactly "know. When the depredation was completed, the leader cried out to the guard "placed over Mr. Fisher, 'Let him go; "don't hurt him; we have got what we "wanted, and we will bring it back in "three months,' and immediately made "off."

"SHEFFIELD (Yorkshire), *June* 27.— "We are sorry to learn, from the resolutions of the meeting of Lieutenancy and "Magistrates, that the nightly depredations, and other most violent breaches of "the peace, in a great part of the manufacturing districts of this Riding, still "continue. The most effective measures "are immediately to be taken to stop the "career of the lawless offenders."

"STAFFORD (Staffordshire), *June* 27.— "In the beginning of the last week, a "strong body of those deluded men, calling themselves *Luddites,* surrounded the "house of a lady, the widow of an of-

"ficer, residing in Edgeley, near Stockport, and, with horrid threats, demanded entrance, to search for arms. The inhabitants, under an impression of dreadful consequences resulting from a refusal, opened the door, when a number of armed men rushed into the house, and after minutely searching all parts, took away with them eight swords, leaving the affrighted inmates in a state of extreme consternation. The party consisted of from eighty to one hundred, variously armed, and they paid the strictest obedience to the commands of one who acted as the leader, and who was of a respectable appearance. We wish we could, with that degree of justice we owe to the public's information, here close this article; but we are sorry to say, the lapse of each day discloses some new object of alarm—some new act calculated to impress upon us the most alarming sensations and apprehensions for the general peace and safety of the country. It has been told us, that assemblies nightly take place in secluded places, to the number of some hundreds, that the oath continues to be administered, and that the names of those who are parties to the abominable and seditious compact, are called over at the several places of rendezvous with all the regularity and appearance of system and discipline."

The acts here spoken of, if really committed, are such as call for the exertion of the lawful authorities to put a stop to them. They are *unlawful*, and that is enough; but, then, have we not *laws?* Have we not Justices and other magistrates; have we not Constables and other peace officers; have we not Sheriffs, who have power to call out *all the people* in their several counties to their assistance?——To lament the existence of such disturbances is unavoidable; but, I cannot help thinking, that, if I were a Lord Lieutenant, or even a Sheriff, I would render, as far as my county went, an application for military force unnecessary.—— I cannot help observing here, that a great deal of mischief has, in all probability, been done by those who have the impudence to assume to themselves, exclusively the appellation of "*loyal* men." These men, who, for the most part, live, in one way or another, upon the taxes, have, in the indulgence of their senseless rage against the Emperor Napoleon, been, in fact, openly inculcating the *right*, and even the *duty*, of a people *to rise in arms against their government.* I have in my eye two remarkable instances of this: one in the COURIER, who applauded the conduct (or reported conduct) of the people in Holland in flying to arms, and even in pulling the Dutch Judges from the Bench and dragging them along the streets. The other instance was in the TIMES newspaper, which said, not long ago, that *it hoped to have to record accounts of insurrections in France.* I, as the public will do me the justice to remember, remonstrated with these good hirelings at the time. I told that there was danger in the promulgating of sentiments of this sort; because, though they themselves were, doubtless, able to discriminate between an insurrection in England and an insurrection in France, some of their readers might not. I, therefore, advised them *to let France alone in this respect*, stating my opinion, that they would have to repent having meddled with her.—— As to the *remedy* for the disturbances, the way to ascertain that, is, first to ascertain the *cause;* but, of that I must speak in my remarks upon the article of the COURIER of the 29th instant, which, as I above observed, was published for the purpose of *feeling the public pulse*, and which, before I proceed to my remarks, I shall, agreeably to my usual practice, insert. I shall insert the whole of it, because it will hereafter be to be referred to. We are now, I am convinced, at the *dawn* of a set of memorable measures and events. It is, therefore, of great consequence to note down, and to fix clearly in our minds, all the preliminary steps. History often becomes wholly useless for want of a knowledge of the little springs which first set the machine in motion.——With this preface I hope the reader will enter upon the article, which is not long, with a disposition to attend to its contents.—— "The Message of the Prince Regent to both Houses on Saturday related to the violent proceedings which have taken place in several counties of England. Copies of the information which has been received by Government, relative to them will be laid before Parliament to-day. The intention of Government is to move an address this afternoon to the Regent, thanking him for his communication, and to refer the information to a Secret Committee of Inquiry. Of course we do not presume to state what their report will be; but *it is rumoured that a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act will be proposed.* We have, from the country papers received this

"morning, extracted accounts of the situation of several districts, where, we regret to state, the practice of stealing arms, administering treasonable oaths, and assembling in large numbers nightly, is carried on with increasing violence. *More vigorous measures have therefore become necessary.* That the Government have hitherto endeavoured to put down these outrages without demanding more extensive powers; that they hoped the laws as they stood would be sufficient; that they trusted the trials and punishment of some *prominent offenders* would operate as a salutary example and warning, is now adduced against them as a crime; and falsely imputing these outrages to the *Orders in Council*, the Opposition ask whether 'it is not alarming that measures of such extent should be brought into discussion at this season of the year;' when it is added, 'almost all the independent Representatives of the people are on their return to the country?' What! are measures necessary to the public peace and safety not to be discussed because independent Representatives do not choose to attend their duty in Parliament? If they prefer their own business or pleasure to the public business, are Ministers to blame? *The evil which it is wished to remedy has grown to an alarming height only within a short time*, how then was it possible to bring it into discussion earlier? And with respect to the Orders in Council, is there *the least shadow of proof that the outrages were occasioned by them?*—Nay, is there not abundant evidence to shew that they had nothing to do with them? Did the Orders in Council produce the destruction of the stocking frames in Nottinghamshire? Did they lead to the burning of the mills in Yorkshire? Did they cause the horrible assassinations in Lancashire? Have they produced the Luddite Associations and the oaths of treason which have been the consequence of them? Are arms seized, and large numbers of persons drilled and disciplined nightly because of the Orders in Council? It is absurd, if not worse, *to endeavour so to mislead the public mind.* But the Orders in Council *have been repealed!* It is known in every part of the disturbed counties that they have been repealed, and yet these outrages, so far from having abated in violence, *are on the increase.* TREASON *is the object of these associations*, and their weapons have hitherto been burnings and assassination. Are these crimes to be palliated or excused, and are we to characterize the perpetrators of them merely as poor deluded mistaken men? They are *neither deluded nor mistaken; their hatred is against the whole form of our Government, and their object is to destroy it.* The SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS, and the PROCLAMATION OF MARTIAL LAW may be and are measures to be deplored, but the question is, whether *a lesser evil* shall be incurred to avoid *a greater;* whether *disaffection* shall be put down and punished, or suffered to *pursue its march with impunity.*"——The object of this article clearly is to prepare a justification of a *suspension* of the *Habeas Corpus*, or PERSONAL LIBERTY ACT, and also of the subjecting of the people of England to MARTIAL LAW.—Reader, English reader! Reader, of whatever country you may be, do think a little of the nature of the measures here unequivocally pointed out for adoption. As to the first, it would expose us, it would expose any of us, it would expose every man in England, TO BE PUT IN PRISON, INTO ANY PRISON, AND KEPT THERE, DURING THE PLEASURE OF THE MINISTRY, WITHOUT ANY SPECIFIC CHARGE AGAINST US, AND WITHOUT EVER BEING BROUGHT TO TRIAL. This would be the effect of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which, by all our great lawyers, is described as the safeguard of our liberties and our lives.——The other measure, the proclaiming of martial law, would SUBJECT US ALL TO BE TRIED BY COURTS-MARTIAL, AND TO BE IMPRISONED, FLOGGED, HANGED, OR SHOT, AS SUCH COURTS-MARTIAL MIGHT ADJUDGE.——I do not say, mind, that Lord Castlereagh has these measures in his budget for us. No, no: I do not say that; but, it is very clear, that the vile Editor of the COURIER news-paper is prepared to justify the proposing and the adopting of these measures, which he calls "*a lesser evil*" than that of suffering "*disaffection* to go unpunished;" and this he says, too, while he is calling upon us to fight for our *liberties.*——However, having seen his measures, let us now see what are the grounds upon which he would justify them. He says, that "*treason* is the object of the rioters; that they are neither deluded nor mistaken; *but that*

"*hatred is against the whole form of our* "*government, and that their object is to* "*destroy it.*"—This must be news indeed to the Emperor of France, who will, doubtless, be anxious to hear to how many counties of England this hatred extends itself. He will, I dare say, be amused with the reflection that a twenty years' war to keep down republicans and levellers has brought us to this; and, really, we cannot be much offended even if he should laugh at us, when he recollects that our news-papers have been expressing so anxious a desire to have to record the events of disturbances and insurrections in France.—But, where is the *proof* of the truth of this assertion of the Courier? Upon the strength of what evidence is it, that he sends forth these tidings so pleasing to the Emperor of France and to all the enemies of England? Where are his *proofs* of that treason and of that hatred of the whole form of the government, of which he talks? If he has the proofs, why does he not give them? And, if he has them not, how dares he make such an assertion? How dares he thus blacken the character of the people of the most populous and most valuable part of the kingdom?—He denies, that the Orders in Council have had any thing to do in the producing of the disturbances, though the evidence of a crowd of most respectable witnesses, given before both Houses of Parliament, *prove* that the Orders in Council have been *one cause*, at least, of the distresses which exist in the troubled counties; and also prove, that the *distresses have been, or, at least, originally were, the cause of the disturbances*. Yet does this unfeeling man endeavour to make the world believe, that distress has had nothing at all to do with the matter.—It has been proved, in the clearest possible manner, that, in the troubled counties, the people have suffered and are suffering, in a most cruel manner; that the food of many of them is of the worst sort and not half sufficient in quantity; that hundreds and thousands of poor mothers and their children are wholly destitute of *bread*, and that even *potatoes are too dear for them to get at*; that the food of these unfortunate creatures is *oatmeal and water*, and that they have not a sufficiency of that. It has been proved, that many have *died*, actually expired for want of food. And, it has been proved, that this want has, in part, at least, arisen from the existence of the Orders in Council.—Yet, with this proof all before him, does this unfeeling writer, this inexorable man, deny that any part of the disturbances has arisen from distress, and that a *treasonable* intention, "a hatred to the whole form of the government and a desire to destroy it," are the sole causes.——This pampered hireling does not know what *hunger* is. It is charity to suppose that he is incapable of forming an idea of the sufferings of a human being under the craving of an appetite which there are not the means to satisfy. Let him read a passage in the history of Trenck, who, having travelled for two or three days without eating, and being in a house where he saw some victuals without having money to purchase any, says, *he rushed out of the door lest he should commit murder in order to obtain the food, which he felt himself violently tempted to do.* Let the hard-hearted hireling read this passage; let him put himself, for a moment, in the place of a father who sees a starving family around him; and, then, I should hope, that he, even *he*, will feel and express some compassion for the suffering manufacturers.—Far be it from me to attempt to justify people in the commission of unlawful acts. I do not wish to justify the woman who, according to the newspapers, committed *highway robbery* in taking *some potatoes out of a cart at Manchester*, and who, according to the news-papers, was HANGED FOR IT. I do not pretend to justify her conduct. But, there is, I hope, no harm in my expressing my *compassion* for her; and, I further hope, that my readers would think me a most inhuman brute, if I were to endeavour to deprive her and her unhappy fellow-sufferers of the compassion of the public: by asserting that she was actuated by a *treasonable* motive, and that she hated the whole form of our government and wished to destroy it. No, reader, I will not lend my aid to this. I allow her to have been guilty of *highway robbery* in forcibly *taking some potatoes out of a cart at Manchester*; I allow this; and I allow that the law has made *highway robbery* a crime punishable with *death*, if the judges think proper; but, I cannot and I will not allow, that her forcibly taking of some potatoes out of a cart at Manchester, was any proof of a *treasonable* design and of hatred against the whole form of our government.—Upon some future occasion I will give a picture of the mode of living of a poor man and his family in England, and will shew how far his wages will go with the quartern loaf at 20 pence. At present I shall add only one remark to what has been said above, and that is, that though this hired writer could see nothing but *treason* to arm the government against,

Lord Sidmouth could. He could see, not only an insurrection of the head to provide against, but also an insurrection of the *belly*; for, in the speech by which he introduced his motion for thanks to the Regent for his Message, he is reported to have said;—" They (the government) ought to " be *prepared for the worst*. If their " hopes should prove to be unfounded; if it " should please Providence to afflict the " country with another BAD HARVEST; " how heavy would be the *responsibility of* " *the Government*; how heavy that of their " Lordships, if they neglected to take such " *precautionary measures as the occasion* " *required?*"—Very true, my lord! Really, very true! And, doubtless, as you are so sensible of the heavy responsibility that will fall upon you both as a minister and a lord, if *precautionary measures* are not taken to meet the affliction of another *bad harvest*; this being the case you, doubtless, have in view some means either of *augmenting the wages or income of the poor*, or, of *lowering the price of their food*. There appear to me to be only these two sets of means; and, as your lordship seems to be so fully sensible of the responsibility, there can be no doubt that one or the other will be employed. The former object might be accomplished, to a great extent, at least, by certain *savings* which I will hereafter take the liberty to point out to your lordship; and the latter, by adding to the quantity of corn by importation. But, I have not now room to do any thing more than merely open this most interesting of all subjects.——We must now, before we take our leave of this subject for the present, return to the House of Commons, where, on Tuesday, the 30th of June, we find the ballot producing the following members for the Secret Committee:

G. Canning	Lord G. L. Gower
W. Wilberforce	Lord Milton
Lord Castlereagh	C. Long
H. Lascelles	H. Goulbourn
W. Lambe	J. S. Wortley
Samuel Whitbread	Lord Newark
The M. of the Rolls	Paget
D. Davenport	G. Tierney
J. Blackburne	H. Leicester
W. W. Bootle	T. Babbington.
C. Yorke	

Upon the names being read over Mr. Whitbread said " this List contained *the* " *identical names that he had seen handed* " *about this morning*. The present was " therefore neither more nor less than *the* " *Treasury List*, as all Committees balloted for in this manner were uniformly " found to be."——The reader will ask, perhaps, how it comes, then, that *Mr. Whitbread's* own name was put on it: but, reader, of what use is his name, if there be a majority on the side of the minister? ——Such, then, is this SECRET Committee. And, what is this Committee to do? Why, it is to examine the SEALED UP papers; and, then it is to *make a report to the House* of the result of its inquiries, and of the measures which it thinks proper to recommend in consequence. And then the House is to decide without seeing the papers! Or, I suppose, at least, that this is the course, it having been so in other cases of Secret Committees.——Having now given this subject an opening, and having brought the history of the Luddite measures down to the appointment of the Committee of Secrecy; I shall, for the present, take my leave of it, with once more requesting my readers to WATCH THE WHIGS, and mark what their conduct will be through the whole of this transaction.——In neither House have they yet opened their lips upon the subject.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Libel Case.—*Messrs. Hunt*.——These Gentlemen, proprietors of the Examiner, were, in the term before the last, prosecuted by Ex-Officio Information by the then Attorney General (*Gibbs*), who is now become a *Puisne Judge*, for the publishing of a passage, in which the writer gives his opinion of the qualities and character of the Prince Regent.——The trial, by SPECIAL Jury, as usual, was to come before the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster Hall, on Friday, the 26th of June. But, the Special Gentlemen being called over, and only *six* answering to their names, the trial was *put off*, and, of course, it cannot come on till after the next term.——It is curious enough, that the last time that these gentlemen were before the same court, only *six* of the Special Gentlemen appeared, and, of course, *six* others were called up promiscuously out of the *common pannel*. Messrs. Hunt were acquitted upon that occasion. ——Various conjectures have been hazarded as to the *cause* of this putting off; but, while I pretend to know nothing of that cause, I do know this, that the parties prosecuted have been put to *a certain expense*, and that not a light one; that

they are now to remain, *marked out as criminals*, for another four or five months: and that, if acquitted or unprosecuted at last, there is no means of their obtaining compensation for their anxiety and loss. ——They have behaved, however, most manfully upon the occasion: they will receive for that conduct, as they merit, the thanks of all the real friends of public liberty; and they will, I trust, live to see the day, when they will receive a more solid reward in beholding the triumph of that cause in which they are labouring with so much diligence, spirit, talent, and effect.

Bristol Election.——From the Letter, at the head of this sheet, the reader will find a pretty good preface to the history of this *Election*, which is quite another sort of thing than what the friends of Sir Samuel Romilly appear to have taken an election at Bristol to be.——The intelligence which I have from that City comes down to Wednesday last, the 1st instant. I may, and, I dare say, I shall, have it to a later date before this Number goes to the Press; but, I shall now give the history down to that day.——Sir Samuel Romilly's friends, at their meeting at the Crown and Anchor, talked of Mr. *Prothero* as an opponent: but, not a word did they say of Mr. Hunt. A *farmer* was, I suppose, thought beneath their notice. We shall, however, see that farmer doing more at Bristol, I imagine, than they and their subscription will ever be able to do.——In the Letter, before inserted, I have shown how Mr. Hunt, whose residence is in Sussex, was taken by surprise. He was wholly ignorant of the vacancy, 'till *Thursday evening*, the 25th of June, when his news-paper of Wednesday informed him that the writ, in the room of Mr. Bragge, had been moved for on Tuesday.——He came to London on Friday, set off that night for Bath, and got into Bristol on *Saturday evening*, where he was received by the people with a pleasure proportioned to their surprise at seeing him come.——Hart Davis had made his entry in an earlier part of the day, preceded by the carriages of bankers, excise and custom-house people, and, in short, all that description of persons who are every where found in opposition to the liberties of Englishmen.——As it was settled amongst the parties, that Davis was to meet with no opposition from either Mr. Prothero or Sir Samuel Romilly, he expected a *chairing* on the Monday, amidst the shouts of some score or two of hired voices. How great was his surprise, then, and how great the consternation of his party, when they saw it announced that Mr. Hunt was about to make his appearance!——*Sunday* (the 28th of June) passed, of course, without any *business* being done, but not without "*dreadful note of preparation*."——On Monday morning, the day appointed by the Sheriffs for holding the election, the Guildhall, the place for holding the election, became a scene of great interest: an injured and insulted people resolved to assert their rights against the intrigues and the violences of a set of men who were attempting to rob them of those rights.——After the *nominations* had taken place, the sheriffs adjourned their court till the next day.——In the evening great strife and fighting and violences took place; the *White Lion Inn*, whence the *Club* who put in Mr. Bragge, and who are now at work for Davis, takes its name; this Inn was assailed by the *people's party*, and, it is said, pretty nearly demolished. Mr. Davis's house at Clifton is said to have shared the same fate; and, this and similar work, with terrible battles in the streets having continued till Tuesday night (the 30th of June), the SOLDIERS WERE CALLED IN, AND, IT IS SAID, ACTUALLY MARCHED, INTO THE GUILDHALL!——Pause, here, reader. Look at this spectacle.——But, how came this to be *necessary*? It is said, that it was *necessary*, in order to *preserve property*. But, *how came it to be so?* Who *began* the violences? That is the question.——And I have no hesitation in stating my firm belief, that they were begun, not by the PEOPLE, but by their enemies.——I state, upon the authority of Mr. JOHN ALLEN of Bath, whom I know to be a man of honour, of strict veracity, and (if that be any additional praise) of great property; upon the authority of this gentleman, who requests me to use his name, and who was an eye-witness of what he relates, I state, that, there were about 400 men, who had been *made special constables for the purpose*, who were planted near the place of election: that these men, who ought to have been for one side as much as for the other, were armed with *staves* or *clubs* painted BLUE, which, the reader will observe, is the colour of the White Lion, or Bragge and Davis, party, and, of course, the PEOPLE, who were for Mr. Hunt, looked upon these 400 men as brought for the purpose of overawing

them and preventing them by force from exercising their rights. These men committed, during the 29th, many acts of violence against the people. But, at last, the people, *after great numbers of them had been wounded*, armed themselves *with Clubs too;* attacked the Blues, and drove them into the White Lion.—— Here the mischief would have ended; but the Blues, ascending to the *upper rooms* and *the roof*, had the baseness to throw down *stones, brick-bats, tiles, glass bottles*, and other things, upon the heads of the people. This produced an attack upon the house, which was soon broken in, and, I believe, gutted.——These facts I state upon the authority of Mr. Allen; and I state them with a perfect conviction of their truth.—— The reader will observe, that the great point, is, WHO BEGAN THE FIGHT? We have heard Mr. Allen; now let us hear what the other parties say. In the TIMES news paper of the 2d July, it is said by a writer of a letter from Bristol, who abuses Mr. Hunt, that when the nomination was about to take place, "Mr. "Davis and his party made their appear- "ance. The friends of Mr. Davis *wore* "*blue cockades*, and they were accompa- "nied by *some hundreds of persons bearing* "*short* BLUE STAVES, who had been "sworn in as *special constables.*"—— This is enough. Here is a full acknowledgment of the main circumstance stated by Mr. Allen: namely, that hundreds of men, sworn in as Constables, were armed with *staves* of the colour of one of the candidates, and that they *accompanied that candidate* to the Hustings.—In the COURIER of the 1st July, the same fact, in other words comes out. The writer (of another letter from Bristol), in speaking of the precautions intended to be taken, says: "Our Chief Magistrate has summoned "his brother officers together, and *as* the "constables *assembled by Mr. Davis's* "*friends* are to be all dismissed at the "close of the poll, and *their colours taken* "*out of their hats*, there will be *no pro-* "*vocation on his part* to Mr. HUNT'S "party."—This, coming from the enemy, clearly shews *on which side the aggression had commenced.*—Therefore, for all that followed, the party of Davis are responsible. —We shall know, by-and-by, perhaps, who it was that *permitted* these hundreds of Constables to hoist the colours of one of the candidates, which was, in fact, "a *declar-* "*ation of war* against the people," and as such the Letter in the TIMES says it was regarded.—Well, but the SOLDIERS ARE CALLED IN; and, as I am informed, the Soldiers were, on Wednesday morning between *five* and *six* o'clock, addressed by Mr. Hunt in nearly the following words. "Gentlemen; Soldiers; fellow "citizens and countrymen; I have to ask "a favour of you, and that is, that you "will discover *no hostility to each other* "on account of your being dressed in dif- "ferent coloured coats. You are all equal- "ly interested in this election. You are "all Englishmen; you must all love free- "dom; and, therefore, act towards each "other as brother towards brother." It is added by my informant, that Mr. Hunt was greatly applauded by the *whole* of his audience.—He expressed his conviction, that the soldiers would not voluntarily shoot at their countrymen;—"but," added he, "if military force is to carry the election, "the sooner the shooting begins the better; "and here am I," said he, laying bare his breast, "ready to receive the first ball."— Let us now see how the *factious* view this matter.—The COURIER abuses Mr. Hunt in the style to be expected. The Times speaks of him in this way: "The poll commenced "at ten o'clock. In this *farce* Mr. Hunt "plays many parts: he unites in himself "the various characters of *Candidate, Coun-* "*sel*, and *Committee*, as he has *not one* "*human being to assist him* in either of "those capacities."——Well, and what then? What does he want more than a good cause and the support of the people? These are all that ought to be necessary to any candidate. What business have *lawyers* with elections? And, ought the people to want any committee to tell them their duty? The *Morning Chronicle* takes a more sanctimonious tone. It says on the 2d of July, (in the form of a letter from Bristol) "It is much to be regretted, that "the *regularity* and *peaceable demeanour* "with which our Elections were *formerly* "*conducted*, are now totally disregarded. "Notwithstanding *the exertions of Mr. Da-* "*vis's, Mr. Protheroe's, and Sir S. Ro-* "*milly's friends*, to prevent a recurrence "of the outrages which endangered Mr. "Bathurst's life at a late Election, the "procession on Saturday *was assailed by* "*vollies of mud, stones, dead cats, &c.* "*Mr. Davis fortunately escaped unhurt,* "*except from one stone which struck his* "*arm.*" Here are two things to be observed: first, that *Davis, Prothero*, and *Sir Samuel Romilly's* friends, the friends of all of them are here spoken of as *co-ope-*

rating. Aye, to be sure! League with the devil against the rights of the people This is a true *Whig trait.* But, the *mud, stones, and dead cats!* Who in all the world could have thrown them at "the "amiable Mr. Davis?" It must have been some *Bristol people* certainly; and that of their own accord too, *for Mr. Hunt was not there at the time.*—Mark how these prints discover each other's falsehoods. The Courier of the 1st July gave us an account of Mr. Davis's gracious reception. It told us that "RICHARD HART DAVIS, Esq. the "late Member for Colchester, and the pro- "fessed candidate of the *White Lion party* "in this city, was met at Clifton on Satur- "day by *an immense body of freeholders* "*and freemen*, consisting of the most re- "spectable and opulent inhabitants of the "city, and was preceded to the Exchange "by a cavalcade of upwards of one hun- "dred carriages, and a numerous body of "his friends on horseback and on foot."—But, not a word about the *mud, stones,* and *dead cats*, with which he was saluted. Yet these were flung at him; and flung at him, too, by the people of Bristol; by hands unbought; for Mr. Hunt spends not a farthing. They were a *voluntary offering* on the part of those men of Bristol who were not to be corrupted.——The COURIER of Thursday 2d July, states, that both *horse and foot soldiers* had been marched into Bristol.——SIR FRANCIS BURDETT mentioned this circumstance in the House of Commons on Thursday evening. The Secretary at War said he did not know of the troops being brought *into* the city. But this will be found to have been the case.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Friday, 3rd July, 1812.

MINISTERIAL NEGOCIATIONS.

DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED, RELATING TO THE LATE NEGOCIATIONS FOR MAKING A NEW MINISTRY.

(Continued from page 832.)

May, 1812, were intended by His Royal Highness to constitute the foundation of his Administration.—That His Royal Highness had signified his pleasure, that Lord Wellesley should conduct the formation of the Administration in all its branches, and should be First Commissioner of the Treasury; and that Lord Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning, should be Members of the Cabinet.—That it was probable, that a Cabinet, formed on an enlarged basis, must be extended to the number of twelve or thirteen Members: that the Prince Regent wished Lords Grey and Grenville, on the part of their friends, to recommend for His Royal Highness's approbation the names of four persons, (if the Cabinet should consist of twelve) and of five Persons, (if the Cabinet should consist of thirteen) to be appointed by His Royal Highness to fill such stations in His Councils as might hereafter be arranged.—That His Royal Highness left the selection of the names to Lords Grey and Grenville, without any exception or personal exclusion.—That in completing the new arrangement, the Prince Regent has granted to Lord Wellesley, entire liberty to propose for His Royal Highness's approbation, the names of any persons now occupying stations in His Royal Highness's Councils, or of any other persons.—That if the proposition made to Lords Grey and Grenville, should be accepted as the outline of an arrangement, all other matters would be discussed with the most anxious solicitude to promote harmony and general accommodation.

WELLESLEY.

No. 18.—*Lord Grey to Lord Wellesley, dated 2d June, on the Subject of No. 17.*

My Lord,—I lost no time in sending for Lord Grenville, and have communicated to him, since his arrival, the proposal made to me yesterday by your Lordship.—We have felt the necessity of a further communication with our friends, and this, I fear, will make it impossible for us to send our final answer to the minute which I had the honour of receiving from your Lordship yesterday evening, till a late hour to-night, or early to-morrow morning.—To obviate, however, as far as I can, any inconvenience which might arise from this delay, I think it right to state to your Lordship, that the feeling which I yester-

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LINCOLN JAIL.—On Thursday, the 25th of June, a discussion took place, in the House of Commons, upon the subject of the treatment of the prisoners confined in the Castle, which is the county jail, of Lincoln, to which, as the public will recollect, Mr. FINNERTY and Mr. DRAKARD were, sometime ago, committed by the Judges of the Court of King's Bench (Lord *Ellenborough*, Judges *Grose*, *Le Blanc*, and *Bailey*), for the term of eighteen months, in consequence of trials for LIBEL.——The discussion here alluded to, arose out of a motion made by Sir Samuel Romilly, grounded upon a Petition of THOMAS HOULDEN, lately a prisoner for debt in the jail at Lincoln. The object of the motion was to obtain the appointment of a committee to inquire into the grounds of the complaint of the petitioner, who complained of ill treatment on the part of MERRYWEATHER, the jailer, and also on the part of some of the magistrates, especially one DOCTOR CALEY ILLINGWORTH, who, as is now become the fashion in almost every part of the kingdom, is at once a Clergyman and a Justice of the Peace.——The public will remember, that Mr. Finnerty presented a petition to parliament against the conduct of this jailer and the magistrates. He was shut up in a place the stench of which alone was enough to kill any man. He was committed to this distant jail by Lord Ellenborough, and Judges Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey, on the 7th of February, 1811, for 18 months, for a *libel* upon CASTLEREAGH. He was shut up in a place destined for felons; and the stench of the place was such as to be alone sufficient to deprive a man of life in the course of a few months." By his courage and perseverance he has not only bettered his own condition, but that of others also, and is now, I hope, in a fair way of doing the public a still greater service.——The conduct of the *magistrates*, as they are called, but of the *Justices of the Peace*, as they ought to be called, stands in need of investigation more than that of almost any other description of men in authority. The powers they now possess are, when one reflects on them, really terrific; and, if their conduct is not to be investigated, either through the means of the press, or through any other means, what responsibility is there? What check is there? And in what a state are the people who are so much within their power?——With this preface the reader will, with the greater advantage, enter with me upon view of the debate upon Sir Samuel Romilly's motion. ——I shall here insert the part of his speech which was most material. It is but a very faint sketch of what he said; but, it will enable the reader to form a pretty good estimate of the conduct of the parties implicated.——"It appeared," he said, "that the Petitioner, Thomas Houlden, was brought before a Magistrate, Doctor Caley Illingworth, who on a complaint preferred by the gaoler, ordered the petitioner to be removed from the apartment in the prison which he had hitherto occupied, and to be confined, though but a prisoner for debt, *in one of the cells appropriated to common felons*; *(Hear, hear!)*—and it further appeared, that the petitioner was left to remain closely confined in this cell for *eleven days and nights successively*; *(hear, hear, hear!)*;—and it also appeared, that during that period he was *denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, and that no friend whatever was permitted to have access to him. (Hear, hear!)*—What the mighty offence was that had called down upon him the indignant severity of this Doctor Caley Illingworth should hereafter be explained, and it should be also satisfactorily proved, that this confinement in a cell for eleven days and nights, would not have even then been put a stop to, had it not been for the unexpected intervention of a certain circumstance, which could also be very intelligibly explained. But he could not help asking what was *the authority* under which the Magistrate meant to shelter such an act of oppression? *(Hear, hear!)*—He knew of none—*(hear, hear!)*—the common law, he was confident, gave none; but it had been contended for, he understood, that all this authority was derivable to the

"Magistrate under the operation of the "31st of the King; he had read the Act "attentively, and had found in it *no such* "*authority*. *(Hear!)*.—It did give certain powers in the control of Houses of "Correction to the Magistracy, but such "prisons as the castle of Lincoln, county "gaols were, he contended, *the prisons of* "*the Sheriffs*, and not of the Magistracy. "*(Hear, hear!)*.—If this power had been "given by that Act, it would have been "given in plain and direct words; and if "the power be not given, it was in vain "to talk to that House of what this or that "lawyer thought of the construction that "might be put on the Act, when it was "evident to any man who read it, that no "such construction was within the meaning of the Legislature, at the time it was "enacted. *(Hear, hear!)*.- But as to the "offence of the petitioner, it was simply "this:—He had *refused to be supplied* "*with a bed by the gaoler*, and wished one "of his own to be brought into the prison; "this was no indulgence. He had a right "to this accommodation by virtue of the "32d of George II. chapter 28, section 1, "a provision obviously made with the view "of protecting the prisoner from the rapacity and extortion of the gaoler, who "might otherwise insist upon his own price "for an accommodation so indispensable. "The petitioner, however, was threatened "with being turned over into the pauper's "ward, in case he brought in his own bed. "He was then thrown into a room containing seven beds and thirteen prisoners. "It was in summer—the weather uncommonly hot, and the room very close. "To this room were two doors—an inner "and an outer grated door. One night, "after the Petitioner had been sent to this "room, the inner door was closed as well "as the outer, and thus the usual opening "between the room and the outer door was "closed. It is not improbable that the "Petitioner (though it is not so stated) "might have expressed, in strong language, "his indignant sense of such an act of oppression directed against himself, because "he did not succumb to the extortion of "the Gaoler. *(Hear, hear!)* Be that as "it might, he and the remaining thirteen "were, innocent as well as guilty, shut up "in this room; the usual circulation of air "denied them, all on account of the supposed contumely of one *(hear!)*, and in "consequence of what then passed between "the Petitioner and the Gaoler, the former "was brought before Dr. Caley Illingworth, who could not find sufficient in "the statement of the Gaoler to justify the "exercise of power he wished to resort to, "and expressed his concern to the Prisoner "that he could not punish him. *(Hear!)* "This regret, however, could not have "been of long duration, for he was again "brought before this Dr. Caley Illingworth, "and was sentenced, in two days after, to "close confinement in a felon's cell. Here "he remained eleven days and nights, and "might have remained indefinitely long, "had it not been for the arrival of the intelligence of a conversation which had "taken place in that House on the subject "of *Mr. Finnerty's Petition*, complaining "of abuses in that prison, on the part of "the same Gaoler. On the arrival of this "news, the Petitioner was *immediately* "*discharged from his cell*. And here he "could not help *congratulating the House* "upon this instance, among numberless "others, of the great benefits resulting from "public discussion. *(Hear!)* He had "often voted in minorities of even six and "sixteen, where the discussion upon the "question on which they were out-voted "had, by becoming public, led to a correction of the abuses to which it related. "*(Hear!)* He thought that these circumstances did lay grounds for suspecting "*both extremely corrupt motives in the* "*Gaoler, and most criminal connivance in* "*the Magistrate*. *(Hear!)* The Honourable Gentleman who cheered him would "have every opportunity, and no doubt "come prepared to vindicate both Gaoler "and Magistrate; but he could not forget "what had been stated in Mr. Finnerty's petition, and *never contradicted*, that *one* "*of the Magistrates*, in the presence, too, "of another Magistrate, told Mr. Finnerty "that he had heard that *in other prisons*, "*prisoners, by paying for them, could get* "*better apartments than others; and that* "*if he gave three guineas a week, he might* "*get better; and that on Mr. Finnerty remonstrating that he had not the means to* "*pay so high a rent, the other Magistrate* "*observed, that he understood a subscription was going forward which might* "*enable him to do so*. *(Hear, hear!)* He "could not forget that the Member for "Lincolnshire, who came down prepared "to answer every other allegation was "obliged *to suffer that to remain wholly* "*uncontradicted*. *(Hear, hear, hear!)*— "He had heard of a meeting of the Magistrates on the first of May, who portioned "out the nine sleeping rooms for debtors in

"the following manner: seven to those "who could pay for their beds, and the "remaining two to all the rest that could "not pay. *(Hear!)* By an order of those "Magistrates, places and cells had been "appropriated for refractory and disorder- "ly debtors. *He knew not the authority "under which they made such an order, "and he spoke as a lawyer. (Hear, hear!)* "He stated also, that the Gaoler of Lincoln "Castle had a fixed salary of 300*l.* a year, "independent of all other emoluments. "He stated also a case of a debtor in the "agonies of death, who died in the night "time before any one dared to disturb the "repose of the Gaoler. He did not say "that the debtor might not have died, "whether a medical man had been timely "called in or not. It had been lately said, "that the gaol was in an insurrection; if "so, it was an insurrection of complaint. "But the prisoners had addressed their "complaints in the humblest and the most "respectful language. Such gaols and "prisoners were, he contended, the She- "riff's, whose duty it was, not to ride on a "caparisoned horse into the assize town be- "fore the Judge, with white staffs and "trumpets sounding, but to consult the "ease and comforts of his prisoners (for his "they were) as far as that comfort was con- "sistent with their confinement. For- "tunately those *new lights* had not broken "out when the great Howard undertook "the duty of Sheriff. He then concluded "with moving for the Select Committee." ——Here is a scene developed! Here are facts to be proclaimed to the world!——After expressing my sincere thanks to Sir Samuel Romilly for his conduct upon this occasion, in which I shall, I am sure, be joined by every man in England, who is not a tyrant in his nature, or who does not thrive or hope to thrive, under tyrants; and, after having begged the reader to reflect on what a character these facts are calculated to give this nation in the world; after this I proceed to offer a remark or two upon Sir Samuel's speech before I go on to the rest of the debate. He here says, (and he speaks as a lawyer) that the *magistrates have no right to meddle with the management of prisoners in county jails.* This I lately said upon the reason of the thing; and I am exceedingly glad to see it confirmed by such authority. There are many reasons why magistrates should have nothing to do with the treatment of prisoners. In the first place, they are, in many cases, *judges;* they pass sentence as well as commit; and, if their authority were to extend to the interior of the jails, they would become the finishers as well as the beginners of the law.——The Justices of the Peace are numerous; they, in all cases of prisons, will necessarily be *many;* they are, too, a fluctuating body; some are dropping off and others coming on continually. In such a body there can be no responsibility; or, at least, it is so difficult to fix it, that the object must generally be defeated. This is not the case with the Sheriff, who is *one;* who is *known;* and who cannot shelter himself under the vote of a majority of colleagues.——Then, again, what are, or, at least, what may be, these magistrates? Why, any man who has a hundred pounds a year (less than the wages of a butler in some families) arising out of *lands, tithes,* or certain *offices:* Any such man *may* be a Justice of the Peace; and, as to who *are* the Justices of the Peace, all I shall say is this: that they are appointed by the Lord Chancellor upon the recommendation of the Lords Lieutenant, and that the Lord Chancellor and the Lords Lieutenant are appointed by *the Minister.* ——The Sheriff, too, is, indeed, now-a-days, appointed by the Minister. Formerly he was not. He was, in former times, *elected by the people.* However, he is generally, as yet, a man of considerable fortune in the county; he is *known;* he is conspicuous; and, at any rate, he is *one* and has a *name,* and, therefore, in some way or other he can be made *responsible,* which alone is a reason quite sufficient for preferring his superintendence and authority, in this case, to those of Justices of the Peace.——Sir Samuel Romilly *congratulated* the House on the effect which its conversations had produced upon a former occasion; and observed, that, frequently, after having been left in a minority of six or sixteen, in the House, he had seen the object of the discussion obtained in the silent correction of the abuse complained of. ——I do not think this a subject of *congratulation.* I think it, on the contrary, a thing of which, if true, that House ought to ashamed. What, shall a body of legislators and representatives of the people reject, at the nod of the minister, an application to redress a grievance; shall they vote almost unanimously against the request of the applicant; and shall they, when they afterwards see the minister or some of his understrappers, redress the grievance themselves; shall they look upon this as matter of congratulation? The *people,* indeed,

the sufferers in the case, and those who have voted in such minorities as Sir Samuel mentioned, might be congratulated on this score; but, according to my notions, the circumstance was not at all calculated to do honour to *the House*. —— The only persons who attempted to speak in justification of the conduct of Merryweather and Doctor Galey Illingworth the other Justices, were, as appears by the report, MR. CHAPLIN and MR. ELLISON, the former of whom was, as the reader will bear in mind, the person who brought in the famous *Spilsby Poor-House Bill*, which was demolished by the opposition made to it by Sir Samuel Romilly and others; but principally by Sir Samuel Romilly. By that Bill, certain persons to be called *Directors* were empowered to cause the *poor* to be *flogged* in certain cases at their discretion. But, to return to the subject before us, Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Ellison, both Justices of the Peace in the county of Lincoln, opposed Sir Samuel's motion for a Committee; and, as I am very anxious that the public should have all the means of being correctly informed upon every part of this subject, I will insert the *whole* of what these gentlemen said, as I find it stated in the report of the Morning Chronicle of the 26th of June. ——" Mr. CHAPLIN said, that he was confident that when an inquiry was gone into, *the result would be favourable to the Gaoler and the Magistracy*.—[We endeavoured to follow the Honourable Member, but he was quite inaudible in the gallery.]—He believed this petition would never have come into the hands of the Honourable Member by whom it wa presented, unless for the solicitation of a person *whom he would not name*. (Alluding, we presume, to Finnerty)."—— But, pray, Mr. Chaplin, of what importance was this circumstance? What signified it to the merits of the case? The questio was not, how the petition came into Sir Samuel Romilly's hands; but whether the allegations in it were true. This was the question. But, one may notice here, that, if it be true, that it required the intervention of a gentleman like Mr. Finnerty to get the petition forward, there is the greater necessity for attending to it, seeing that the poor oppressed creatures are supposed to be wholly unable to get a petition forward themselves. Mr. Chaplin ought, in justice, to have *named* the person who was the cause of getting the petition forward; for, I am persuaded, the public will look upon it as a very meritorious act; and, if Mr. Finnerty was the mover, upon this occasion, as he appears to have been, he has thereby acquired a new claim to the thanks of the country, however impatient Mr. Charles Adams may be to hear his name pronounced accompanied with any thing in the way of commendation. —Lord Castlereagh spoke after Mr. Chaplin; but, I shall notice his speech hereafter. We will now hear Mr. Ellison, who, it appears, is also a *Colonel*, and who "*warmly disapproved of the motion*. He was perfectly *willing to agree* that Magistrates ought not to abuse the powers and authorities with which they were vested; but he would say, that he had been twenty-five years an acting Magistrate of the county, and he had served the office of Sheriff, during all which period *he had never known of any such abuse*. He had not been an inattentive inquirer into this subject; nay, he would even say, that he had been since last year *a most diligent inquirer*. He was convinced the interference of the House would be productive of *no good*, but, on the contrary, of *infinite mischief*. The speeches which went out of the House on the subject *inflamed and unsettled the minds of people throughout the country*, and produced nothing but a spirit of discontent. He would refer it to the mind of every *wise man* who heard him, if this motion would have any tendency to allay that *wild spirit which was now walking about*. *(Laugh)*.—With respect to the case mentioned by an Honourable and Learned Gentleman (Mr Brougham), what were the real facts of the case? It appeared from the evidence given by Mr. Evans, the surgeon who attended on the unfortunate man, that he had been a hard liver, and laboured under the disease of erisypelas. The surgeon said he left him on the night on which he died, satisfied that from the state of mortification he was in, he would not live till morning; and when he called in the morning, he very naturally asked if the poor man was not yet dead. Mr. Evans complained of the *conduct of Mr. Finnerty, and another Gentleman, who, he said, went so far as even to threaten to strike him*, when giving his evidence before the Coroner. He was sure the Honourable and Learned Gentleman had stated nothing which he did not believe;

" but *there was not one thing which he had* " *said which was not disproved by the fact.* " The Honourable Member then went into " the case of the Petitioner, who, he said, " had been confined, because he had dis- " turbed the rest of other persons in the " gaol; and he was set at liberty on his " promising to abstain from such conduct " in future. *He regretted that a Committee* " *was to be appointed.* He would lay " claim to as much humanity and philan- " thropy as the Honourable and Learned " Gentleman could possibly possess; and " it was rather unfair in that Honourable " Gentleman to suppose, that nobody was " possessed of humanity but himself. *He* " *wished to vindicate the conduct of the* " *Magistrates of Lincoln* from the imputa- " tions which had been thrown out against " them in that House."——Now, as he wished to *vindicate* the conduct of the Justices of the Peace of Lincoln, why did he express his sorrow at the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the grounds of the petition preferred against those Justices? How is it *possible* to vindicate their conduct *without inquiry?* If, indeed, the motion had been to *censure* their conduct at once, a simple negation might have been enough, as a prelude to a vote against the motion; but, the motion was for *inquiry*, and, that being the case, to vote against the motion was, surely, not the way to accomplish the Colonel's wish of *vindicating* the accused parties. If it was true, that all that had been advanced would be disproved by the fact; why did Mr. Ellison wish to keep those facts from being inquired into? He says, that he has been a Justice himself in the county for many years; that he has made diligent inquiry into the treatment of prisoners in the jail; and that he has known, and does know, of no abuse. Why, then, did he so "*warmly* oppose inquiry?" It is not usual for the friends of the innocent to oppose their being put upon their trial.——But, he says, that the interference of the House will do great mischief; that the speeches made there *inflame and unsettle the minds of the people;* and that he leaves it for wise men to say, whether this motion will have a tendency *to allay that wild spirit that is now walking about.*

Really, Mr. Ellison, are you so afraid of the effects of a motion relative to the treatment of prisoners in the jail of Lincoln! And especially when you are so very sure, that all the alleged facts will be *disproved.* It appears to me, who, to be sure, am not a Lincoln Justice; but, to me it appears reasonable to suppose, that an inquiry which should shew that the allegations against the Jailer and Justice Doctor Caley Illingworth and compeers were false; to me it appears, that such an inquiry, so far from tending to do mischief, by inflaming the minds of the people, must of necessity tend to a precisely opposite effect.——I must, however, here be understood as having in my eye a *real* inquiry; an inquiry where all the evidences shall be called and examined; not a *sham* inquiry; not a *smothering* inquiry: not a *base cheat* under the name of an inquiry. I must be understood as meaning an inquiry of the former kind, and such as will, I trust, now take place; for, otherwise, I must confess, that the inquiry would tend to inflame the people, and to do great mischief instead of good.—What Mr. Ellison may mean by " the WILD SPIRIT which is now walk- " ing about," I do not know. But, if there be any wild spirit at work, is it, I would ask, likely that it should be allayed by a refusal, on the part of the House of Commons, to inquire into the grounds of so serious a complaint as that made by the petitioners in this case? Would such refusal tend to allay a wild spirit? The spirit of which the Colonel speaks is, I suppose, a spirit in opposition to the present system of public measures; but, does the Colonel suppose, that this spirit would be rendered stronger by the parliament's listening to a petition complaining of most enormous abuses? If this be Colonel Ellison's notion, I must say that I wholly dissent from it.——Mr. BROUGHAM followed Col. Ellison, and what he said was of great importance. The subject was an unfortunate debtor who was said to have died in Lincoln jail for want of medical assistance, owing to the door of his prison not being suffered to be unlocked. This is the case alluded to in the speech of Mr. Ellison, who, it will be perceived, contradicted what Mr. Brougham had said upon the subject on a former occasion. In answer, therefore, to Mr. Ellison, Mr. Brougham said, that " what he had said was, that " an improper delay occurred in the pro- " curing medical assistance, and that the " presumption was, had no such delay " taken place, that the result might have " been more favourable, and that the proof " of the contrary was thrown on the other " party. When Mr. Evans was before " the Coroner, he stated, that his being " called an hour sooner or later would have " made no difference;—but, before Mr.

"Evans gave this evidence, how stood the "fact? He now held in his hands a do-"cument signed by twelve respectable per-"sons, prisoners for debt in the Gaol of "Lincoln, of whom no doubt Mr. Finnerty "was one. And there he would observe, "that all that Mr. Finnerty had stated "respecting a nuisance in the Gaol was "proved in the event to be completely ac-"curate, notwithstanding all the assertions "to the contrary, made with so much so-"lemnity by the Honourable Members for "Lincoln. It happened, that when "they examined the sewer a great part of "it was found not to be in a perpendicular "direction, as had been stated, but to run "in a shelving manner under that part of "the prison where Mr. Finnerty was con-fined. Now, though he found Mr. Fin-nerty's name among this number he "was inclined to attach some credit to the "document. There were among them "several other very respectable persons, "and he would particularly mention Mr. "Drakard, of whom all that he knew re-"flected the greatest honour on his cha-"racter. He would say of him, that he "was not a seditious author, but an ho-"nest and respectable tradesman, who "was punished for an article which he "did not write. Another gentleman, of "whom he had heard very favourably, "was a Mr. Marris. It appeared from "this document, that in a previous con-"versation with Mr. Evans he gave a per-"fectly different account from that which "he afterwards gave before the Coroner. "It appeared, also, that the Coroner be-"haved throughout in a manner which "was completely reprehensible, and treat-"ed the evidence in particular in a very "unbecoming way. The sort of persons "whom he insisted on putting on the In-"quest were *the workmen whom he em-"ployed about the prison*. [*Hear!*] When "one reflected on his conduct throughout "this business it was impossible not to be "struck with the propriety of the observ-"ations made by Judge Blackstone on the "great powers vested by the Constitution "in this officer, and the very low hands "into which the office generally came. In "directing the Jurors to bring in their "verdicts, the Coroner stated that they "must either find the prisoner died by the "visitation of God, or find a verdict of "wilful murder by the gaoler. He would "admit of no verdict which should state "the case as it really took place. This "statement he was now making was con-"firmed by three of the Jurors themselves, "who, in a certificate signed by them, "which he held in his hands, expressly "state, they wished to bring in a verdict "of "*died by negligence of the gaoler;* "but on its being put to them by the Co-"roner that they must either bring in a "verdict of wilful murder, or by the vi-"sitation of God, they were obliged to "relinquish their wish. He had several "other documents, but it was unnecessary "at present to enter upon them."——After this, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, in a speech of some length, expressed his hope, that the inquiry would be a *real* inquiry, and not such an one as he had witnessed upon a former occasion. There are two points belonging to this subject, which are particularly worthy of attention. Lord Castlereagh observed, that the practice of receiving such petitions ought not to be indulged, because complainants ought to resort first to all other modes of *legal* redress. Sir Samuel Romilly answered to this, that the Justices of the Peace, whom the petitioner would naturally apply to for protection, were charged with being accomplices with his oppressor. But, further, does Lord Castlereagh mean to say, that no one shall apply to parliament while the law offers him any mode of proceeding against his oppressor? If so, the *poor* man can have little chance of redress. How, for instance, was a pennyless debtor to *go to law* with Merryweather and Doctor Caley Illingworth? How was he to bring his action of trespass, which would, perhaps, have cost him a hundred pounds, and might not have been brought to trial for a year? In cases *between man and man*, to be sure, the party injured must have recourse to the law; but, this is no such case; here is an individual on one side, and, on the other, Justices of the Peace and a Jailer; that is to say, *a portion of the judiciary and executive branches of the government*, against which it is not to be supposed that the purse of any individual is sufficient to contend, and to protect the people against any abuse of authority in which branches is one of the first, and, indeed, the very first duty of the parliament, and especially of the Commons' House of Parliament.——Lord Castlereagh is reported to have said, that "parliament would place themselves in a "DEGRADED situation," if they were to encourage the making of the complaints of individuals to them to the neglect of seeking legal redress.——Ah! my Lord Cas-

tlereagh! I wish the parliament may never do *any thing more degrading than this!* The time will come when this expression will admit of a more extended commentary. At present, I shall leave it for the reader to make himself such observations as it so loudly calls for.——The other point alluded to above was stated by the SOLICITOR GENERAL, who is reported to have strongly protested against the censure which Sir Samuel Romilly had passed upon the magistrates.——I will take the very words as reported: "The Solicitor "General strongly deprecated the censure "which the Honourable and Learned Gen-"tleman had cast upon the Magistrates; a "proceeding which he thought peculiarly "calculated to *excite suspicion and distrust* "in the minds of those who were to *be* "*judged by them.* The opinion of the "Honourable and Learned Gentleman was "of great weight in the country; and there-"fore it was the more incumbent upon "him to be guarded in his expressions. "*The tribunals of the country he thought* "*ought to be upheld.* He should not op-"pose the Committee being appointed, at "the same time he thought it would have "been a more advisable course, to have "had any necessary examinations and in-"quiries made upon the spot."——Sir Samuel Romilly denied having cast a censure upon the magistrates *in general*, and insisted, with perfect correctness, that his words would bear no such construction. ——Now, as to what the Solicitor General said, about *exciting suspicion and distrust in the minds of the people against the Justices*, if that were allowed to be a good objection to the speaking freely of their conduct, and even to the passing of censure on them, there must, at once, be an end of all censure and of all complaint, and of all detection of abuses; for, it is in the very nature of these, and, indeed, it is their *end* and *use*, to excite public suspicion and distrust of the parties censured. It is true, as he says, that "the *tribunals* "*of the country* ought to be *upheld*;" but, to be "upheld in *righteousness*," I suppose he means? He hardly means, that they ought to be *upheld* in such things as Sir Samuel Romilly complained of? To uphold them in wrong, or to talk of *the necessity of upholding them, without reference to right or wrong*, is not; I am certain, the way to ensure them respect and confidence. The conduct of tribunals has in it nothing to exempt it from investigation, any more than has the conduct of any other branch of the government. Judges and Juries are men and no more than men; and they are liable to mistake and passion as well as other men. It is pretty talk, indeed, that we sometimes hear, from the hired writers and from crawling barristers, about the *sacredness* of courts of Justice! There have sitten in the tribunals in England some of the most corrupt, most base, and most bloody villains that ever disgraced the shape of man. Their deeds and their names have been handed down to the execration of posterity. Their judgments have been reversed; and, in some cases, they themselves have been punished as malefactors. I am sure that the Solicitor General will not say that the acts of such men ought to have been *upheld*. I am sure that he will not say, that the Judge who presided and the Jury who were empannelled at the trial of Sydney ought to be upheld. I am sure he will not say, that that corrupt and cruel ruffian and his twelve packed scoundrels of coadjutors ought to have been *upheld*.——No; the truth is, that, in *all* branches of authority, bad conduct ought to be exposed and censured. Courts of Law and Justice and Justices of the Peace have quite power enough to protect themselves against unlawful attacks. Their powers are, if looked into, fearfully great; and, though, perhaps, not too great, there is certainly a necessity of yielding protection to those who may have just cause to complain of the abuse of those powers. Who, then, but the parliament, is to yield that protection? It was by virtue of a resolution of a House of Commons, that Prynn, and Bastwick, and Burton, who, for what was called *libelling*, had been first pilloried and then sent to distant jails and solitary rooms, where they were denied the comfort of their friends and the use of pen, ink, and paper; it was by virtue of a resolution of an honest House of Commons, that these martyrs in the cause of liberty were released, and that their judges were called to account and punished. And, indeed, if the oppressed man is not to look to the House of Commons, to whom is he to look for redress? ——Here I should dismiss this article, but I find, in the Courier of the 26th of June, a remark upon this subject, which must not be permitted to pass unnoticed. The writer, after pointing out the *extreme danger* of Sir Samuel Romilly's speech, talks of the *respect* and *gratitude* which are due to the Justices of the Peace on account of their taking upon themselves the labour of

Justices GRATUITOUSLY; and says, that this circumstance ought to excite towards them *esteem* and *affection*. Upon this I shall observe, first, that the same is said of the *commissioners of property tax;* and, second, that the same may be said of the *members of parliament;* yea, even of the *representatives of the people* of Old Sarum, St. Maws, Appleby, Queenborough, St. Germains, and other the like places. These worthy gentlemen, it is very well known, take upon themselves the labour of legislators GRATUITOUSLY; nay, it is said, that, in some cases, so eager are they to serve the public, that they even give money out of their pockets rather than be deprived of the occasion of so doing. Yet, I have never heard, and I do not believe, that they have, on this particular account, been looked upon as entitled to a greater portion of public respect and affection than other men. This being notoriously the case, I cannot, for my part, see why the conduct of Justices of the peace is to be a forbidden subject merely because they do not openly receive *pay* for what they do in that capacity; which, if admitted, would, besides, convey an ugly distinction between them and the *Judges*, who, it is well known, *do receive pay;* unless, indeed, the Courier is prepared to show, that the receiving of pay in the latter case ought to have the same claim on our respect and affection as the not receiving of pay in the former case.——I shall now quit this subject for the present, begging my readers to watch the *progress of the inquiry;* and, I promise them, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to do justice to all the parties concerned. We have seen the two Members for the county of Lincoln, Messrs. Chaplin and Ellison, stand forward in defence of Mercyweather the Jailer and the Rev. Doctor Caley Illingworth the Justice. We have seen these two persons attacked by Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Brougham. The result of the inquiry will prove to us who is right and who wrong.

Bristol Election.——What was stated in my last, respecting the proceedings in this election, incredible as it seemed, was literally true. Soldiers, horse as well as foot, have been marched into the city of Bristol, and have remained there; the volunteers have been called out, and kept under arms; and, in short, the election has been carried on under the awe of the bayonet.——This, however, ought not to surprise us so very much, after what we have seen within the last three months. It has been stated in all the news-papers, and stated in the way of *bravado*, too, that there is an army of upwards of 20,000 regulars sent against the people who have shewn discontent in the northern counties; that there are soldiers to guard mills, and factories, and country-houses; that soldiers perform the police of the towns, day and night; that, upon any little assemblage of the people, be the occasion what it may, soldiers are called out and marched against them: that, even when the people of Nottingham met to express their joy at the death of Perceval, soldiers were marched against them to compel them to disperse; that soldiers are employed in scouring the country, in questioning travellers, and in *taking people's arms out of their houses;* that guards and picquets are regularly mounted; and, that, in the towns, the military officers question people as to *who* and *what* they are, and *what is their business*.——All this, and a great deal more, has been stated in the news-papers, and that, too, as I observed before, in the way of *bravado*, as matter to *boast* of; it has been put forth in the way of shewing what a *strong* and *vigorous* system of government we have got in England.——But, besides these occasions of employing the soldiers, it has been stated in the news-papers, and is, I believe, perfectly true, that soldiers were marched, in order to convey Mr. Bellingham from the House of Commons to Newgate; that soldiers were called out, and remained ready to act, at a moment's warning, while his trial was going on; that large bodies of soldiers were marched to the metropolis, and some of them brought very near the spot, at the time of his execution; that, at Chester, improving upon the London measures, soldiers, regular soldiers, were stationed on the outside of the Court House while the trials of the rioters were going on; and that the soldiers were actually marched to the place of execution; so that here, the whole affair, from beginning to end, was, as the news-papers tell us, done under the protection of a military, a regular military force.——After all this, after having seen this in England, the people of Bristol ought not to have been very much surprised at seeing the soldiers marched into their city, and *even into their Guildhall*, to superintend an election; after having seen the soldiers do all that we have recapitulated above, the people of Bristol ought, perhaps, to be surprised that they have merely made

their appearance in Bristol in their military capacity.——It is right, however, that the people of all England, and that those of other countries too (especially those of *America*) should know what is going on at Bristol, which City is now witnessing the reality of what men were, only about 17 years ago, punished for foretelling; they were punished for saying, that, if the people did not resist in time, this very thing would take place! Well, it is come, and let those who inflicted that punishment enjoy the thing!——Let us stop here, and before we say any more about Bristol, take a look back over the last twenty years. It is now just twenty since the first Proclamation was issued in England against the principles of the French revolutionists; soon after began the prosecutions of Mr. Paine and those who sold his writings, the burning of him in effigy, and, by Church and King mobs, the attacking and destroying of the property of those who were opposed to entering into a war against the French.——Well, there is, now before you, the effect of that war *thus far*. What may be the *final* effect I shall not even *guess* at. I dare not say what I *think* will happen. But, I may *think*, as yet. That is a sort of liberty which we Englishmen may boast of at any rate. Nor is it, I believe, forbidden for us to feel satisfaction in our thoughts and expectations.——In the mean while Corruption is uneasy; she is beset on every side; her lies, her calumnies, her shams, her tricks of all sorts now begin to fail her. She may cry out as long as she pleases; her crocodile voice will *alarm* no one; she has no longer the means of *inveigling* victims into her murderous jaws. Whatever she does now she must do openly and barefacedly, and the effect will be just what it ought; that is to say, a daily increasing disposition in the people to do all that in them lies to secure the independence of their country and their own liberties.——When, in the year 1792, CITIZEN CHAUVELIN warned Pitt, and Jenkinson, and their colleagues, against the consequences of the war; when they were more solemnly warned of those consequences by LE BRUN, then minister for foreign affairs; when thus warned, they laughed at the contemptible republicans; and, as they drew nearer to the moment for beginning the war, they were more and more contemptuous in their language. They used, indeed, to speak of the assemblies and generals of France as of a set of scavengers. Alas! how dearly has this nation paid for their conduct! And, who will venture to say, what it has yet to suffer from that all fruitful source of evil? And what a figure do the borough-monger crew now make, compared with those whom they formerly treated with contempt?——The war, the twenty years' war that we have carried on, and that we are yet engaged in, was begun for the avowed purpose of *preserving England from the contagion of French principles*. But, the principles of France have changed, and yet we continue the war! What is it, however, that agitates the nation now? It cannot be the *principles* or the *example* of the French. Nay, we have heard great boasting, incessant boasting, that Napoleon had put *an end* to all the *wild notions* about liberty, by shewing to the world what they all tend to. We have heard him *thanked* for this by those wretches who felt a fiend-like joy at the destruction of a free form of government in France. Well, then, if all has ended so much to their satisfaction in France, what makes them now uneasy? What can the people of England be hankering after? Here we are, at the end of twenty years' war, with a mass of papers, seized upon persons said to be disaffected, and laid *before* the House of Commons IN A SEALED BAG! In a sealed bag! In a sealed bag! How Citizen Chauvelin must laugh when he reads of this. And how Le Brun must laugh. I dare say they will recollect the warning which they gave to Pitt and his colleagues. How Paine would laugh if he were alive, and how Barlow and the American Democrats, not forgetting the exiles from Ireland and England, must laugh, at hearing of the SEALED BAG! The sealed bag at the end of twenty years of a war which was begun to preserve England from the effects of "wild "notions" of the "rights of man!" What a thing for Napoleon and the world to know!——A sealed bag! But, let us return to the Bristol Election, where we find the soldiers employed, though there is a special act of parliament forbidding it, and though that act only declares the ancient common-law. The soldiers have been employed, notwithstanding there were hundreds of men, armed with bludgeons, painted *blue*, that is to say, the colours of Davis, and though these men were, it seems, sworn in as special Constables.——This brings the matter to a point. Troops have been marched into a city *while an election was going on*. This the usage immemorial, and also the positive law, says

shall not be. Now, then, we shall see, whether these are to be openly violated with impunity; we shall now see, whether soldiers are, at last, to be marched into a place where an election is actually going on, without rendering that election void. All the excuses about *rioting* and about *danger to property* I shall hereafter shew not to be worth a straw. The troops were marched in, and marched in, too, after the people had beaten the bludgeon-men of the man who professed himself to be in favour of the government.——There is no such thing as doing away these facts; and the question must now be settled.—For having brought this important matter to issue we have to thank Mr. Hunt. If he had not appeared in Bristol, there would have been NO ELECTION at all upon this occasion. The people would not have known, that Bragge Bathurst had vacated. The affair would have been as snug as an election at Old Sarum. Mr. PROTHERO has published a declaration, in which he states, that it was not his *intention* to oppose *the Candidate of the White Lion Club;* and, we know, that Sir Samuel Romilly's friends *do not oppose him;* but, I see, that those Editors of news-papers at Bristol, who are *for Sir Samuel Romilly*, do publish most abusive, most outrageously abusive, things against Mr. Hunt. Amongst other things that they charge him with, is, "his *father*'s having sold wheat in Marlborough "market at *a guinea a bushel.*"——Mr. Hunt is no *Lambkin*, to be sure, but this is very much like the reasoning of the wolf; and, really, his opponents appear to be very much of the wolf cast.——This charge I give as *a specimen;* the others will have no more weight with any man of sense and candour than this will have; and, whatever the friends of Sir Samuel Romilly may hope; whatever reliance they may place upon the power of the cant which they are making use of, they will not succeed in their views.——The *Morning Chronicle*, under the form of a letter from Bristol, has this day opened a direct battery upon Mr. Hunt. Will not this open the eyes of all those who are deceived by the friends of Sir Samuel Romilly? I again state, that Mr. Hunt has offered to withdraw his pretensions, if Sir Samuel Romilly will distinctly pledge himself to support *Parliamentary Reform:* and, if the latter will not do this, upon what ground is it that any reformer can support him: Let Sir Samuel Romilly have all the praise that is due to him; and that is a great deal, for his exertions in the cause of humanity; but, let him not be praised and elected as *a parliamentary reformer*, when he does not even profess that he is one. Those, indeed, who are not for a *real* reform of the parliament; and, by the word reform, only mean to express such a change as would afford them a chance of getting at a share of the public money; those persons act very consistently in preferring a member who is not for parliamentary reform; but, they will have a great deal more cunning than they have (and that is not a little), before they will persuade me, that they are reformers.——The main thing, however, for the people to keep in view, as to the Bristol Election, is, that the *two factions* have clearly agreed not to *cross* one another. *The White Lion Club's member is* not to be opposed by either Mr. Prothero or by Sir Samuel Romilly. So, here is the *compromise* clearly settled!——I shall resume the subject in my next.

MR. EATON.—*Paine's Age of Reason.*—I perfectly agree with L. L. respecting the use of the *Pillory*, and especially in the case of MR. EATON for publishing *arguments* and *opinions*, relative to matters of general public concern: but his *Letter* it is not necessary to insert, seeing that the *public* have pretty clearly expressed that their view of the matter accords with that of L. L.——I have received nothing from the Rector of Botley, in answer to my last notification. I hope he does not mean to *back out* in the way there mentioned. I beg leave to remind him, that MR. EATON has been sentenced to 22 months imprisonment and to stand once in the pillory for publishing the book in question; that the Attorney General (Gibbs), in calling for punishment upon the head of this old man, asserted, that the principles contained in the book, if suffered to take root in the minds of those who read it, must produce "consequences DREADFUL in the EXTREME." That many hundreds of the book have been published is certain; that these copies of the book have been read is also certain; how, then, are these extremely dreadful consequences to be prevented, except by *an answer to the book?* And, have we twenty thousand Clergymen, and will no one of them attempt to give us this answer? Do they not think it worth while to answer a work, the consequences of which, if suffered to go unanswered, must be dreadful in the extreme? Many of them are pretty constantly engaged in writing re-

views and political pamphlets. This may be very proper. It may also be proper for them to be the foremost in all court-addresses; but, surely, they ought, then, to look to this "*dreadful*" work of Paine. ——They have been loud enough in their alarms about "*popery*." They have cried out that the "*Church is in danger*" from that. But, what do they mean by the *Church?* Do they mean the tithes, the corn-rents, the life-holds, the glebes, the mansions, the woods, the manors, the cloisters, and the palaces? Do they call these "*the Church?*" If they mean the congregations; if they mean their morals and souls, we have the assertion of the Attorney General, the charge of the Judge, the verdict of the Special Jury, and the punishment of Mr. Eaton, to produce in proof of the Church being in real danger from the suffering of Mr. Paine's book to go unanswered. Is it, therefore, to be believed, that twenty thousand Clergymen will leave it unanswered?——Since writing the above, I have received a letter from the Rector of Botley, in which he tells me that I gave, last week, wrong information to my readers, respecting his intention. I there said, that he had "informed me, that he would not "write an answer, lest, by its being pub-"lished at Mr. Eaton's shop (as I had pro-"posed), he, the Rector, should contribute "to the MERCENARY views of the "CONVICTED vender thereof."—— Whereupon, as the reader will recollect, I offered to have the answer published at my own expense, at any shop that the Rector might choose; to sustain the *loss*, if any, and, if any *gain*, to let the Rector himself choose a man amongst his poor parishioners on whom to bestow it. Even this, however, does not, it seems, meet the approbation of the Rector; who now tells me, that he, in his former note, did not say, that he would *write no answer*, but that, for the reason stated, "he refused accepting *such a me-*"*dium*, and *resolved* to adopt that sort of "publication, which he might deem most "likely to answer his views: viz. the exposure of falsehood and refutation of "blasphemy."——It is very true, that, at the time of writing his former note, the Rector might have formed this *resolution;* but, it is equally true, that he *did not let drop a word to me about it.* He merely told me, that he would *not publish* through the medium that I had mentioned.—— Let us, however, understand one another now, if we can. He says, he *resolved* to publish, though not from Mr. Eaton's shop; but, he does not now say, that he *will*; or that he *will not*, accept of my last offer, to publish from any shop that he may choose, and to apply the gain, if any, to the purpose of making a poor family happy. ——To be sure I have no right to call upon him to put his work into my hands, or to apply the profits of it in any particular way; but, *he accepted of my offer*, and authorized me to promise, in his name, an answer to Paine's work. However, a little matter shall not turn me from my point. He *resolved*, it seems, to publish an answer in some way or other. Very well, then, here we have his resolution, *when* or *how* he means to act upon it he does not say; but, that he shall not want *reminding* of this resolution the public may rest assured.——What I have further to say upon this subject will astonish the reader.——The truth is, that the Rector of Botley, whom, one would have thought, would have received with eagerness and delight an invitation to shew his zeal in defence of that religion, to be a supporter of which he had, at his ordination, declared that he *felt himself called by the Holy Ghost;* one would have thought, that he would have hastened to express his gratitude to me for having given him such an occasion to prove himself worthy of his calling, to show that he was sincere in his solemn declaration, and to prevent those "extremely dreadful consequences" for having attempted to produce which, Mr. Eaton was sentenced to a long imprisonment and to standing in the pillory: but, instead of expressions of kindness and of gratitude, I did, in fact, receive from my pastor expressions of *anger* and *resentment.* He has written me two letters since, still rising, I think, in acrimoniousness of style. In every letter, he calls upon me, in a most *menacing tone*, to publish, not only these letters, but *others*, which have passed between us a long while before a word was said about Mr. EATON or Paine's Age of Reason.——I hereby inform him, that, at present, I do not see sufficient cause for *my* doing this; but, that, if he does see sufficient cause for *his* doing it, *he has my full liberty to make the publication in any manner that he may think proper*, provided he publish my letter as well as his own letters, and also the parts of the Register, to which the correspondence refers.——If he does this, *I will never even publish a single word in the way of answer to his publication*, but will leave the world to form its judgment

even upon his own statement.——After this I shall, I hope, receive no more menacing calls for publication.——The Rector manifestly has kept copies of his letters. If, however, it should happen to be otherwise, I shall readily furnish him with copies.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, July 8, 1812, where I have just paid a thousand pounds fine TO THE KING: and much good may it do his Majesty!

THE LUDDITES,
OR
HISTORY OF THE SEALED BAG,
No. II.

In my last, under this head, I inserted and commented on, an article, published by the hireling press, about a row at the *Theatre at Nottingham.* The following letter, published in the Nottingham Review of the 3d of July, will shew how false and how base were the charges contained in that article.

Libels against the People of Nottingham.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

Sir,—It seems that a dark scheme has been laid by several character-assassins, for the purpose of exciting the particular resentment of Government against the inhabitants of this town, as several of the London papers of this week have teemed with abuse against them, equally false and malignant. We are told that a man has been shot at, who had been active in bringing the "evil-disposed people to justice;" that "parties of these deluded people are in the habit of assembling in different parts of the town, to carry their revengeful designs into execution; that it is dangerous for the military to walk the streets in the evening; that on the 24th ult. Brigade-Major Humphries, who is on the Staff here, was laid wait for on his return from the Theatre (which seems to be a favourite resort of these lawless ruffians) by a large party, and without the slightest provocation on his part, was knocked down by a shower of stones, two of which took effect, and one, which struck him on the forehead, nearly terminated his existence; and that an Officer of the Somerset Militia, who was quietly walking along the streets, was assaulted by a considerable party of these desperadoes, and narrowly escaped with his life," &c. Now, Sir, the truth or falsehood of these grave charges will shew what credit is due to the testimony of these calumniators, who seem to ape the conduct of those *worthy* gentry, that some time ago corresponded with the *celebrated* and *honest* John Bowles.—It is true that a man was shot at eight miles hence on the 20th ultimo; but the writers in question might with as much propriety have charged the Lord Chancellor of England with having been accessary to the assassination of Mr. Perceval, as to implicate the people of Nottingham with an attempt on the life of a man eight miles hence, for his Lordship was very likely much nearer the House of Commons when Bellingham drew the fatal trigger.—As to the other charges, brought by these scribbling *gentlemen*, they are still of a more infamous complexion; but a short statement of facts will set the business to rights.—The Theatre is described as having been the rallying point for a set of ruffians; and, perhaps, this may prove correct; for it can be proved by many respectable witnesses, that few evenings passed over during the late season of performance at that should-be place of social amusement, without a *row* being kicked up by certain military characters, and a few stripling ruffians who had *honourably* inlisted under their *warlike* banners.—The practice generally was for these *worthies* to make their *sober* appearance at *half price*, and as soon as the curtain fell, to vociferate "God "save the King;" and those who did not immediately obey their second imperious mandate, which was "hats off," were instantly assailed with oaths, sticks, swords, &c. *Party* in politics made no distinction here; for many persons of great respectability, who are known to be staunch friends to what is called "the high party," met with much abuse, because they chose to act as men; nay, many of the fair sex felt the effects of the *gentlemanly* conduct of some of these *defenders of our country*, and their worthy coadjutors. One of them, a conspicuous officer of the 45th, for abusing a man in the pit, was brought before the Magistrates; and had not the prosecutor have taken the *hush money*, he would have appeared in his true colours in a court of justice; a gentleman of high character both for property and personal respectability, was a volunteer evidence on the occasion, but who has had the tables turned upon him for his services; for this same *gallant* Officer has since caused him to be bound over to the Sessions, on a charge of having *excited* an

assault upon the latter, though I do not understand that he exhibited any *honourable* wounds obtained in either his *offensive* or *defensive* operations. A jury will, however, set this business to rights.—As to the charge about the Somerset Officer, I will beg leave to inform you, that his *valour* had often been displayed against the *hats* of the audience in the Theatre, and that he one evening received a severe chastisement by the aid, as I understand, of a *horse-whip*, for which he has caused a man to be bound over to the Sessions.—As to the wound received by Brigade-Major Humphries, I have no doubt, but every person in the town laments the unfortunate circumstance; because, since his residence here, he has invariably conducted himself as a gentleman. The truth is, however, that as he was departing from the Theatre, in company with some other officers, he was struck on the forehead by a stone, or some other hard substance; but, happy I am to say, so far from his life being endangered by the blow, that a gentleman of my acquaintance met him the next morning going about his business.—The principal sufferer in consequence of these outrages, is Mr. Robertson, one of the Managers of the Theatre; who, as a good husband, a good father, and in other respects, a good member of society, it grieves me to say, was deprived of his benefit, the Mayor ordering the Theatre to be shut; but who, I hope, will be remunerated when he makes his appearance here at the Races.—The writer of the inflammatory article in one of the London papers, whose character and station in life, I believe, I am acquainted with, concludes by saying, "It is a lamentable circumstance, that with the powers granted by the Watch and Ward Bill, such acts of atrocity should not be prevented." To this I will reply, that, with the exception of the disturbances occasioned as above described, so peaceable is the state of the town, that the Magistrates have not seen it necessary to saddle the inhabitants with the expense and trouble of Watching and Warding since the 5th of June. So much for the veracity of these correspondents to the London papers!

A FRIEND TO TRUTH.

MINISTERIAL NEGOCIATIONS.

DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED, RELATING TO THE LATE NEGOCIATIONS FOR MAKING A NEW MINISTRY.

(Continued from page 32.)

day expressed to you, as to the nature of the proposal which you were authorized by the Prince Regent to make to Lord Grenville and me, has been confirmed by subsequent reflection, as well as by the opinion of Lord Grenville, and, indeed, of every person with whom I have hitherto had an opportunity of consulting.—I have the honour to be, with the highest regard, my Lord, your Lordship's very faithful, humble servant, GREY.

No. 19.—*Lord Grey's and Lord Grenville's Reply, (June 3d) to Lord Wellesley's Minute of the 1st of June.*

My Lord, We have considered, with the most serious attention, the minute which we have had the honour to receive from your Lordship; and we have communicated it to such of our friends as we have had the opportunity of consulting.—On the occasion of a proposal made to us under the authority of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, we wish to renew, in the most solemn manner, the declaration of our unfeigned desire to have facilitated, as far as was in our power, the means of giving effect to the late vote of the House of Commons, and of averting the imminent and unparalleled dangers of the country.—No sense of the public distress and difficulty, no personal feelings of whatever description, would have prevented us, under such circumstances, from accepting, with dutiful submission, any situations in which we could have hoped to serve His Royal Highness usefully and honourably.—But it appears to us, on the most dispassionate reflection, that the proposal stated to us by your Lordship cannot justify any such expectation.—We are invited not to discuss with your Lordship, or with any other public men, according to the usual practice in such cases, the various and important considerations, both of measures and of arrangements, which belong to the formation of a new government in all its branches; but to recommend to His Royal Highness a number, limited by previous stipulation, of persons willing to be included in a Cabinet, of which the outlines are already definitely arranged.—To this proposal we could not accede without the sacrifice of the very object which the House of Commons has recommended, the formation of a strong and efficient Administration. We enter not into the examination of the relative proportions, or of the particular arrangements which it has been judged necessary thus previously to establish. It is to the principle of disunion and jealousy that we object. To the supposed balance of contending interests in a

cabinet, so measured out by preliminary stipulations. The times imperiously require an Administration united in principle, and strong in mutual reliance, possessing also the confidence of the crown, and assured of its support in those healing measures, which the public safety requires and which are necessary to secure to the government the opinion and affections of the people.—No such hope is presented to us by this project, which appears to us equally new in practice, and objectionable in principle. It tends, as we think, to establish within the Cabinet itself a system of counteraction, inconsistent with the prosecution of any uniform and beneficial course of policy.—We must therefore request permission to decline all participation in a government constituted upon such principles. Satisfied, as we are, that the certain loss of character, which must arise from it to ourselves, could be productive only of disunion, and weakness in the Administration of the public interests.—We have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful, and most obedient humble servants, GREY.

GRENVILLE.

No. 20.—*Explanatory Letter from Lord Moira to Lord Grey, June 3d, on the subject of Lord Wellesley's Minute, No. 17.*

My dear Lord,—The answer which you and Lord Grenville have returned to the proposal made by Lord Wellesley, seems to throw an oblique imputation upon me: therefore I intreat your re-consideration of your statement, as far as it may convey that impeachment of a procedure in which I was involved. You represent the proposition for an arrangement submitted to you as one calculated to found a Cabinet upon a principle of counteraction. When the most material of the public objects, which were to be the immediate ground of that Cabinet's exertion, had been previously understood between the parties, I own it is difficult for me to comprehend what principle of counteraction could be introduced. If there be any ambiguity which does not strike me, in Lord Wellesley's last paper, surely the construction ought to be sought in the antecedent communication; and I think the basis on which that communication had announced the intended Cabinet to stand, was perfectly clear.—With regard to the indication of certain individuals, I can assert that it was a measure adopted through the highest spirit of fairness to you and your friends. Mr. Canning's name was mentioned, because Lord Wellesley would have declined office without him; and it was a frankness to apprize you of it: and Lord Erskine's and mine were stated with a view of showing, that Lord Wellesley, so far from having any jealousy to maintain a preponderance in the Cabinet, actually left a majority to those who had been accustomed to concur upon most public questions; and he specified Lord Erskine and myself, that you might see the number submitted for your exclusive nomination was not narrowed by the necessity of advertence to us. The choice of an additional member of the Cabinet left to you, must prove how undistinguishable we considered our interests and your's, when this was referred to your consideration as a mere matter of convenience, the embarrassment of a numerous Cabinet being well known. The reference to members of the late Cabinet, or other persons, was always to be coupled with the established point, that they were such as could concur in the principles laid down as the foundation for the projected ministry. And the statement was principally dictated by the wish to shew, that no system of exclusion could interfere with the arrangements which the public service might demand. On the selection of those persons, I aver the opinions of you, Lord Grenville, and the others whom you might bring forward as members of the Cabinet, were to operate as fully as our own, and this was to be the case also with regard to subordinate offices. The expression, that this was left to be proposed by Lord Wellesley, was intended to prove that His Royal Highness did not, even in the most indirect manner, suggest any one of those individuals. It is really impossible that the spirit of fairness can have been carried farther than has been the intention in this negotiation. I therefore lament most deeply, that an arrangement so important for the interests of the country should go off upon points which I cannot but think wide of the substance of the case. MOIRA.

No. 21.—*Lord Wellesley to Lord Moira, approving Lord Moira's Letter, (No. 20,) to Lord Grey, of the 3d June.*

My dear Lord,—I return the copy of your Lordship's letter to Lord Grey. This communication to Lord Grey is most useful, and the substance of it is admirably judicious, clear, and correct.—My declaration, this day, in the House of Lords,

was indispensably necessary to my public and private honour; both of which would have been involved, if I had not, in full Parliament, announced, that I had resigned the commission, with which His Royal Highness had charged me.

WELLESLEY.

No. 22.—*Lord Grey's Reply to Lord Moira's Letter (No. 20,) of the 3d of June. 4th June,* 1812.

My dear Lord,—Being obliged to go immediately from the House of Lords to a dinner party, and afterwards to a meeting at Lord Grenville's, which occupied me till a late hour, it was not in my power to answer your letter last night.—You must be too well aware of my personal feelings towards you, of my esteem for your character, and of my confidence in your honour, to entertain any opinion respecting your conduct, inconsistent with those sentiments. Nothing, therefore, could be more remote from my intention, and I am desired by Lord Grenville, to whom I have shewn your letter, to give you the same assurance on his part, than to cast any imputation whatever on you, as to the part you have borne in the proceedings which have lately taken place, for the formation of a new Administration. We know with how sincere an anxiety for the honour of the Prince, and for the public interest, you have laboured to effect that object.—Whatsoever objections we may feel, therefore, to the proposal which has been made to us, we beg they may be understood as having no reference whatever to any part of your conduct. That proposal was made to us in a formal and authorized communication from Lord Wellesley, both personally to me, and afterwards in a written minute. It appeared to us to be founded on a principle to which we could not assent, consistently with our honour, and with a due sense of public duty. The grounds of this opinion have been distinctly stated in our joint letter to Lord Wellesley, nor can they be altered by a private explanation; which, though it might lessen some obvious objections to a part of the detail, still leaves the general character of the proceeding unchanged. Nothing could be more painful to me than to enter into any thing like a controversial discussion with you, in which I could only repeat more at large the same feelings and opinions which, in concurrence with Lord Grenville, I have already expressed in our formal answer. I beg only to assure you, before I conclude, that I have felt very sensibly, and shall always have a pleasure in acknowledging your personal kindness to me in the course of this transaction.—I am, with every sentiment of true respect and attention, &c.&c. GREY.

No. 23.—*Lord Wellesley's Reply to the Letter (No. 19,) from Lords Grey and Grenville, of the 3d of June.*

My Lords,—I received the letter, by which I was honoured from your Lordships this morning, with the most sincere regret; and I have discharged the painful duty of submitting it to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. It would have afforded me some consolation, if the continuance of the authority confided to me by His Royal Highness had enabled me, under His Royal Highness's commands, to offer to your Lordships a full and candid explanation of those points in my minute of the 1st of June, which your Lordships appear to me to have entirely misapprehended. But as His Royal Highness has been pleased to intimate to me his pleasure, that the formation of a new Administration should be intrusted to other hands, I have requested permission to decline all further concern in this transaction.—I remain, however, extremely anxious to submit to your Lordships, some explanatory observations respecting the communications which I have had the honour to make to you; and I trust that your Lordships will indulge me with that advantage, although I can no longer address you under the sanction of the Prince Regent's authority.—I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lords, your most faithful, and obedient servant, WELLESLEY.

No. 24.—*Lord Wellesley to Lord Grey, on the same Subject, dated 4th June.*

My Lord,—When I applied yesterday to your Lordship and Lord Grenville, for permission to submit to you some explanatory observations, respecting the communications which I have had the honour to make to you by the authority of the Prince Regent, I was not aware that Lord Moira had addressed a letter to your Lordship of the same nature as that which I was desirous of conveying to you.—The form of such a letter, either from Lord Moira or me, must have been private, as neither of us possessed any authority from the Prince Regent, to open any further communication with your Lordship, or with Lord Grenville; a circumstance which I deeply lament, under a sanguine hope,

that additional explanations, sanctioned by authority, might have removed the existing obstacles to an amicable arrangement.—Lord Moira has sent me a copy of his letter* to your Lordship of yesterday's date; and as it contains an accurate, clear, and candid statement of the real objects of the proposal, which I conveyed to you, it appears to me to have furnished you with as full an explanation as can be given in an authorized paper. Under these circumstances, it might be deemed superfluous trouble to your Lordship and to Lord Grenville, to solicit your attention to a private letter from me; although I should be most happy if any opportunity were afforded, of renewing a conciliatory intercourse, under the commands of the Prince Regent, with a view to attain the object of our recent communications.—I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

WELLESLEY.

No. 25.—*Lord Grey's Reply to Lord Wellesley's Letter, No. 24, June 4th, 1812.*

My Lord, I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's Letter of this day's date.—As Lord Moira has communicated to your Lordship the copy of his letter to me, I take it for granted that you have in the same manner been put in possession of my answer, which contains all that I can say with respect to the explanation of the proposal made by your Lordship to Lord Grenville and myself.—I was perfectly aware, that Lord Moira's letter could in no degree be considered as an authorized communication, but that it was simply a private explanation, offered for the purpose of removing the objections which had been stated by Lord Grenville and me to the proposal contained in the written minute transmitted to us by your Lordship, under the authority of the Prince Regent. But though it could not vary the effect of that minute in my opinion, I was happy to receive it as an expression of personal regard, and of that desire, which we readily acknowledge both in your Lordship and Lord Moira, and which is reciprocal on the part of Lord Grenville and myself, that no difference of opinion on the matter in question should produce on either side any personal impression, which might obstruct the renewal of a conciliatory intercourse, whenever a more favourable opportunity shall be afforded for it.—I have the honour to be, with the highest regard, my Lord, your Lordship's very faithful humble servant,

GREY.

No. 26.—*Lord Moira to Lords Grey and Grenville, proposing an Interview with them, 5th June.*

Lord Moira presents his best compliments to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville. Since Lord Wellesley has declared his commission from the Prince Regent to be at an end, Lord Moira (as being honoured with his Royal Highness's confidence) ventures to indulge the anxiety he feels, that an arrangement of the utmost importance for the interests of the country should not go off on any misunderstanding.—He therefore entreats Lord Grey and Lord Grenville to advert to the explanatory letter* of the third of June, written by him to the former. And if the dispositions therein expressed shall appear to them likely to lead, upon conference, to any advantageous result towards co-operation in the Prince's service, he will be happy to have an interview with them.—Should the issue of that conversation prove such as he would hope, his object would be to solicit the Prince Regent's permission to address them formally. He adopts this mode to preclude all difficulties in the outset. Let him be permitted to remark, that the very urgent pressure of public affairs renders the most speedy determination infinitely desirable.—N. B. This was written in the presence of the Duke of Bedford, in consequence of conversation with his Grace; and was by him carried to Lord Grey.

No. 27.—*Note from Lords Grey and Grenville, declining unauthorized Discussions, 5th June.*

We cannot but feel highly gratified by the kindness of the motive on which Lord

(To be continued.)

* No. 20.

* No. 20.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXII. No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1812. [Price 1s.

"THE Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday, by the arrival of *four squadrons* of the GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, *and sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which punishment *they received on Wednesday*, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this *mutinous* spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what *they deemed* their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."——COURIER (ministerial) news-paper, Saturday, 24th June, 1809.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the History of the Prosecution and Punishment of WILLIAM COBBETT, *of Botley, for writing, and for publishing in the Political Register, Remarks upon the flogging of English Local Militiamen, in June* 1809, *and also Remarks upon the employing of German Troops upon that occasion.*

Look at the Motto! English reader, Look at the Motto!——For making remarks upon the contents of that Motto; for expressing, or endeavouring to express, my feelings upon the subject of it; for this I was sentenced to endure (if I lived so long) two years' imprisonment in Newgate; to pay, if I should live out the time, a thousand pounds TO THE KING; and to enter into bonds, with two sureties, to pay FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS more, if, in the course of seven years, I did what the law might, in any case, denominate *bad behaviour*. The sentence has been executed; the two years I have passed in Newgate, in spite of foul air and jail-distempers; and, having had health and strength sufficient for that, I have been called upon by the Officers of the Prince Regent, in the name and behalf of the King, to pay the thousand pounds, which I have paid accordingly; and I have, by the same authority, been called upon for my bonds and my sureties, which have also been given. ——The transaction being, therefore, now pretty complete, this appears to me to be the proper time for giving the world a history of; or, at least, such an account of it as may serve to give to all persons who read the English language a pretty correct idea of what the *Liberty of the Press*, in England, really is.——This account naturally divides itself into four parts: *First*, an account of what took place previously to the trial; *Second*, the trial and its result; *Third*, the nature and effect of the imprisonment; and, *Fourth*, what took place at the expiration thereof, to the time of my arrival at Botley, where I now am.

FIRST, *as to what took place previously to the trial*, the article, for which I was prosecuted, was published on the 1st of July, 1809, and I was not brought to trial till nearly a year afterwards. The proceeding was by way of *Information Ex-Officio* by the Attorney *General*; and, as it may be useful to the people of this country, and, indeed, of other countries too, to know what an Information Ex-Officio really means, I will here endeavour to give a faint sketch of its nature and extent. And this is the more necessary, seeing that there are new governments now forming in the world. Our "great law-characters" tell us, that this power of the Attorney General is one of the main features in the English constitution; and, therefore, it is right that the Lawgivers of other countries should know something about it. At the outset of the French Revolution many persons in this country were angry with the people of France, expressed great resentment against them, and, finally, became their settled enemies, because they did not make a government *like ours*. It is, therefore, right, now, when some other countries are about to form new governments, to furnish their Lawgivers with the means of judging of that, under which we live. To go into all the branches of our constitution, as now practised; to point out all its effects upon the people, would require much more time than I have, or ever shall have, to spare. But, as to EX-OFFICIO INFORMATIONS and SPECIAL JURIES, they are things which I understand, and of them I shall speak for the use of the world. If the

reader finds me, in some instances, doing little more than repeat what I have, at different times, before said, I beg him to bear in mind, that what may not be new to some may be new to others; and that, besides, the present is a suitable occasion for spreading through the whole world, and for putting upon record, in a compact form, for the use of posterity, not only all the facts relating to my prosecution and punishment, but an account of all the means which have been therein made use of.—— Having, therefore, stated the nature of the charge against me, the next thing to be done is to explain the mode of proceeding. ——I was, as I said before, prosecuted by the ATTORNEY GENERAL, that is to say, by a person who performs the office of government accuser, or prosecutor, and whose accusations are generally made in the form of what is called an Information Ex-Officio; a thing, the nature of which I am now about to explain for the benefit of the world.——*Ex Officio* are two Latin words, and in this respect, amongst many others, the use of the "*Learned Languages*," as they are called, is found to be of great service. These two words mean *By Office*, or, perhaps, more fully, *by privilege*, or *in virtue, of office*. So that, an *Information Ex-Officio* is an Information laid by the Attorney General in virtue, or by the privilege, of his Office. Aye, but what is an *information?* When any man has committed what is called, by our laws, a *crime*, and he is prosecuted for it, there must be an *accusation* preferred against him, and this accusation, when drawn up, is called a bill of INDICTMENT, which indictment, before the party accused can be put upon his trial, is presented to a *Grand Jury*, who, if they see no cause for prosecution, throw out the bill of indictment, or, if they see cause for prosecution, *find the bill*, as it is called; that is to say, they carry it in to the Judge, and tell him, that it is a *true* Bill. But, observe, that, before they can find the bill *true*, there must be *witnesses* examined by the Grand Jury upon *oath*, the Grand Jury being also upon *their oaths;* and thus, in this case, in this usual course of the law of the land, every accused person has the double security of *oaths* taken by those who judge of the matter alleged against him, and also by the witnesses to the facts of which he is accused. An INFORMATION is a thing which supplies the place of an indictment; and, in all cases where individuals are the parties, they must be moved for in Court, affidavits, or depositions, must be produced in support of the motion, and the accused party must have time and opportunity to be heard by himself, or counsel, before the Information is received by the Judges, and, of course, before the accused party can be put upon his trial. Here again, though there is no Grand Jury to stand between the accused and the prosecutor, there are the oaths of credible witnesses, and, which is of full as much importance as the oaths of witnesses, there is a hearing of the party accused, before he can be put upon his trial, and subjected to all the inconvenience and expense of a trial, which must always be heavy, and, sometimes, enormous. But, in the case of Informations Ex-Officio, there is *no Grand Jury, no witnesses, no previous hearing, no oaths*, no, *nor even any motion to the Court.* Here the Attorney General, without any previous notice whatever, accuses any man whom he thinks proper to accuse, and brings him to trial in consequence of an Information, which he himself lays against him. All that he has to do is to make out his Information, put it upon the file, or list, of the Court, and to send the accused party a little slip of paper, called a Subpœna, *to come and answer to certain charges preferred against him.* This is an *Information Ex Officio.*——Well, the party comes and goes at once upon his trial; and, if he be *acquitted*, what then? Why, he has good luck; but he has all his harass of mind, all his loss of time, and all the heavy expenses of the law to sustain; for, he gets *no costs;* no, nor any compensation of any sort. Suppose, that, after laying the information, the Attorney General *does not choose to proceed?* Why he *does not choose it*, that's all. Oh! I had like to have forgotten; the party has to sustain all *his expenses* of preparation for trial.——Besides this, the Attorney General has a new power given him by an Act of Parliament brought in by the late Attorney General (now Pusné Judge) Gibbs, and which was passed in the 48th year of the King's reign. By this Act the Attorney General is empowered to *hold to bail*, and, if bail be not found, to *imprison*, at once, by the consent of any single Judge, any man against whom *he may choose* to lay an information. See, then, what his powers amount to: he can, by his *sole will*, without the intervention of a Grand Jury, and without a rule moved for in Court; he can pitch upon any man that he chooses, and, without any oath made against such man, by any body, he may put such man upon the list of *criminals*

to be tried; and, to trial he may bring him, without any other ceremony than that of sending him a slip of paper, commanding him to appear on such a day, to be *dealt* with as the Court shall direct. This is pretty well for a beginning. But, if he chooses, he may *now*, by the new Act brought in by this late Attorney General, have the man *taken up* like a thief or a highwayman, and make him give bail, or, if he has not bail ready, he may, by consent of a Judge, *send him to jail* at once; and this, you will observe, without there being any *oath* made as to the man's having done any thing wrong; all that is required to be *proved*, in order to send such a man to jail, is, that the Attorney General *has laid an information against him!* Now, such being the case, it is clear, that the Attorney General has, with the consent of any one Judge, the power *of holding any man in England to bail*, be he who or what he may. He has the power of causing any man to be seized by a Tipstaff, and to be kept in custody till he has found bail, and that, too, without being obliged to furnish the party so taken up and held to bail with any copy or statement of the charge against him. The Attorney General may do this to *any* man. There is no man that is not exposed to the operation of this power. Well, having accused a man, having laid his Information against him; having sent him *a command to come and be tried*, and having, perhaps, *held him to bail;* having done this, he does not bring him to trial until he chooses. The Englishman who is thus hooked, must wait till the Attorney General pleases to have him tried. His command to come and be *dealt* with stands good. His bail holds him on. And, if he cannot get bail there he is *in jail*, as long as the Attorney General pleases; for, the latter *may put off the trial for any length of time.* This is quite comfortable!——The Attorney General may put off the trial, if he likes, during the whole of a man's life time. He may lay his information when the man is single, as Mr. Horne Tooke observed, and he may bring him to trial after he is married and has half a dozen children. He may inform against him while he is following one profession, and may fall on upon him with his trial when he is about to enter, or has entered, upon another. He may *forgive*, too of himself, after he has laid the Information, after he has put a man upon the list of *criminals* to be tried, after he has commanded him to come to be *dealt* with, after he has held him to bail, nay, after he has put him *in jail* for want of bail; after all this he may forgive the man, of his own head, without bringing him before the Court at all. Is it necessary to say any more about his powers? Is not this enough? Well, suppose he chooses to try the man that he has informed against? What, then, Why, then, the first step he takes, is, to demand a *Special Jury*, that is to say, twelve men, out of forty-eight men, ALL APPOINTED BY THE MASTER OF THE CROWN OFFICE. The man who is to be tried may strike out 12 from the 48, and so may the prosecutor; but, the *whole 48 are appointed by the Master of the Crown Office.*——Well. The Jury, thus appointed, does not appear; or, only part of them come. The Attorney General has the power to put *off the trial;* to say simply, I do not choose to try you now; and you shall not be tried now, because I do not choose it. His will here is absolute. The Judges themselves have no power to force the trial on. Whether his Special Jury come, or not, he can put off the trial. And, on the contrary, if the Special Jury do not come, or only a part of them come, he can demand, if he pleases, to have a Jury made up from the Common Jurors.——Then, at the trial, he begins and speaks against the accused, and he has as many more as he pleases, at *the public expense*, to speak on the same side. When that is done, the accused has to speak in his defence. And there, one would think, the thing would end. Oh! no; for, though in all cases between man and man, this is the practice, the Attorney General has the privilege of *another speech* after the defence is over; and into *this* speech he may bring whatever *new matter* he pleases. He may, indeed, reserve all the weighty part of his allegations for this speech, and thus leave the defendant without, in reality, any opportunity at all to defend himself.——If the man be found guilty, he may, or may not, be brought up for judgment, just as the Attorney General pleases. The man may be brought up and sentenced at the next term, or many years afterwards, during all which time, the liability to be brought up for judgment hangs over his head.——If he be brought up, he may speak, or offer affidavits; but, *after* that the Attorney General and his coadjutors claim the right, and exercise it, of SPEAKING AGAIN, before the judgment is passed. This they always do; especially in cases of *libel.*——Suppose the prosecuted man is *acquitted:* then he has *all his costs to pay;* for the Crown

pays no costs. The same is the case if the man be *never brought to trial*. Still he has costs, and heavy costs too. He is *obliged* to pay for a copy of the accusation against him. Poor GILBERT WAKEFIELD (whose case we must take care not to forget) had to pay, he states, several pounds, in order *to get at a knowledge of what he was accused. of*; for, unless he paid this money, he would not have known what his alleged crime was, till he actually came to the place of trial and heard the charge read against him.——It is the same with every other man, who is prosecuted in this way. He may be, as we have seen, brought to court after court, and not tried for years, and, perhaps, not tried at all; and, besides the harassing of this, he has to meet and support all the expenses. There may be just as many Informations laid against any man as the Attorney chooses to lay against him; he may be compelled to give bail upon every one of them, or he may be sent to jail; and, after all, he may, if the Attorney General chooses, never be brought to trial at all; and he has, for all this, no mode whatever of obtaining compensation or redress.——Such are the powers of the Attorney General; such is the nature of an Information Ex-Officio; such is the nature of a Special Jury; such was the mode *in which I was accused and brought to trial, nearly one whole year after the publication of the article for the publishing of which I was tried!*

SECOND, *the trial and its result*. At the trial I spoke in my own defence; and, while the judge said, that, by my defence I had *added to my crime*, while the Attorney General insisted on the same in his speech, and demanded additional punishment on that account; while they were saying this of my defence, there were not wanting others to assert, that I had, in my defence, *abandoned the cause*. The truth is, that I not only asserted, that my publication was *true*; but, that it was right to make it. I insisted, that I had a right to complain of the acts performed at Ely. I reprobated those acts in the most severe terms; and said, that, as far as I was able I would [illegible] in endeavouring to put an end to the fl[illegible] of Englishmen and to the employing of German troops.——This was the substance of what I said in the Court; and I should certainly have said a great deal more if I had been suffered to reply to the Attorney General.——What took place after the trial, and until I was lodged in Newgate, I stated at the time, in an article, part of which I will here, with very little abridgment, insert. It was written in my then new habitation, on the 14th of July, 1810, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile; and it was as follows:——"After having published seventeen volumes of this Work, embracing the period of eight years and a half, during which time I have written with my own hand nearly two thousand articles upon various subjects, without having, except in one single instance, incurred even the threats of the law, I begin the Eighteenth Volume in a prison. In this respect, however, I only share the lot of many men, who have inhabited this very prison before me; nor have I the smallest doubt, that I shall hereafter be enabled to follow the example of those men. On the triumphing, the boundless joy, the feasting and shouting, of the Peculators, or Public Robbers, and of all those, whether profligate or hypocritical villains, of whom I have been the scourge, I look with contempt, knowing very well, feeling in my heart, that my situation, even at this time, is infinitely preferable to theirs; and, as to the future, I can reasonably promise myself days of peace and happiness, while continual dread must haunt their guilty minds; while every stir, [illegible] every sound must make them quake [illegible] fear. *Their* day is yet to come.——Before I renew my usual intercourse with my Readers, and offer to them, as heretofore, my remarks upon political subjects, and subjects connected with politics, I think it necessary to say something, relative to the proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, the end of which proceedings has been my imprisonment here. It is not my intention to publish a full report of the Trial: that would be unnecessary; but on many accounts, it may be useful merely to record the transaction, previously to any remarks upon any part of it.——FIRST, then, I was prosecuted by way of Information of the Attorney General, for an article, published in the Political Register of the 1st of July, 1809, respecting *the flogging of certain men in the Local Militia*, in the town of Ely, and also respecting *the use made, upon that occasion, of a corps of foreign soldiers, called the King's German Legion*.——SECONDLY, the Trial took place on Friday, the 15th of June, 1810, when I was found *guilty*, by a Special Jury.——THIRDLY, on Wednesday, the 20th, I was compelled to *give bail* for my appearance in court to receive judgment, and, as

I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned on the evening of the 15th) a Tip-Staff went down in order to seize me personally, and to bring me up to London to give bail.——FOURTHLY, I was brought up to receive judgment on Thursday the 5th of July, when, after the Attorney General had made the speech, which I shall notice by-and-by, I was sent to the King's Bench Prison, and ordered to be brought up again on Monday the 9th of July.——FIFTHLY, on this last mentioned day, I was sentenced to be imprisoned in this prison for Two Years, to pay a fine of a Thousand Pounds TO THE KING, and, at the expiration of the Two Years, to give bail myself to the amount of Three Thousand Pounds, with two sureties to the amount of One Thousand Pounds each for my keeping the peace for Seven Years.——The Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs,* who was assisted by Mr. Garrow; the Judge, who sat at the Trial, was Lord Ellenborough; the four Judges who sat when the Sentence was pronounced were Lord Ellenborough and Judges Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; the Sentence was pronounced by Judge Grose; and the persons composing the Jury were as follows:

Thomas Rhodes,	Hampstead Road
John Davis,	Southampton Place
James Ellis,	Tottenham Ct. Road
John Richards,	Bayswater
Thomas Marsham,	Baker Street
Rob. Heathcote,	High St. Marylebone
John Maud,	York Pl. Marylebone
George Baxter,	Church Ter. Pancras
Thomas Taylor,	Red Lion Square
David Deane,	St. John Street
Wm. Palmer,	Upper St. Islington
Henry Favre,	Pall Mall.

So much for the mere *names* and *dates* belonging to the transaction. Now, as to the publication itself; as to the sort of prosecution and the manner of conducting it; as to the charge of the Judge; as to the verdict of the Jury; as to the nature and amount of the Sentence: these are all before the public, whose attention to them has been very great, and to the judgment of the public I leave them. But, on the last of the Attorney General's three speeches (for he had *three* to my *one*) I cannot refrain from making some observations, and I think myself fully justified in doing this, because I was told, that I could not be permitted to answer him verbally. The speech, to which I here allude, was made on Thursday, the 5th of July, when I was called up for judgment; and, that no one may say, that I do not treat even this Attorney General fairly, I will first insert here the whole of his speech, as it stands reported in the Morning Chronicle of the 6th of July, that report being the most correct that I have seen. In the charge of Lord Ellenborough and in the Sentence-Speech of Judge Grose, there were some passages relating to questions appertaining to general and foreign politics and to the profounder departments of *political œconomy*. On these I shall hereafter have occasion to offer some observations; but, for the present, I shall confine myself to the Speech of the Attorney General, which is reported in the following words:——"The Attorney General agreed in all that had been "said by his Learned Friends, in behalf "of the three Defendants, for whom they "appeared, as to the distinction between "their guilt and that of Mr. Cobbett, as "to whom he should speak by and by. "They had allowed judgment to go "against them by default; they had "never denied that the publication was "a libel; nor that they themselves, in "their concern in it, had acted a criminal "part. They had not made their defence "a vehicle for other calumnies and slanders, almost as bad as the original libel. "In all these respects, their case stood "contradistinguished from that of Mr. "Cobbett. There was also another distinction between their case and that of most "printers and publishers. They had not "employed the author, as some printers "and publishers did, but the author had "employed them. Yet these Defendants, "and every other person who might "chance to stand in the character of "printer or publisher, must understand, "that these circumstances could never exculpate them. All who lend themselves "to the publication of any work or "writing whatever, must know that they "become responsible for all the consequences thence arising.—He now came "to the case of Mr. Cobbett. The Court "would observe that from him the publication proceeded, and to him, as the "author, all the profits, if any, appertained. Whatever of malignity resulted from the publication, to him was it at"tributable; and whatever there arose "from it of base lucre and gain accrued "to him alone. The Court had heard the

* Now a Puisné Judge.

"Libel read, and sentiments widely different from those of the author of it must, "on the reading of it, arise in the mind of "every honest man. At the present time, "when from the ambition and increased "power of our enemy, we were obliged to "maintain a large military force, how necessary was it that a good understanding "should subsist between the military and "the people. How essential was it, that "at such a period, the soldier should "be convinced that no unnecessary hardship was thrown on him,—that he was "not forced to engage in any disgraceful "task? How essential that the community should be satisfied that however "necessary a great military force at "present is for the protection of the "country, yet that nothing tyrannical, "that no force beyond the law, is employed in compelling the inhabitants of "this country into the ranks of our armies. "The situation of the soldiers of this "country was more comfortable than at "any former period; every means that "could be devised to add to their comfort "had been adopted. Our armies had by "their zeal and valour evinced what were "the consequences of such liberal treatment; and by the glorious exertions they "had made in their country's cause, had "made more than an ample return for the "comforts thus afforded them. These, he "was satisfied, were, and must be, the "sentiments of every good man in the "kingdom. Need he call on the Court to "look back to the libel, and shew them "that the sentiments there expressed were "directly contrary to this, he presumed to "think, almost universal feeling? What "was its tendency? To encourage the "soldiers to impatience, insubordination "and disgust; to tell them that they were "hardly, cruelly, and tyrannically dealt "with by their superiors, and thereby to "render that duty of obedience which they "owe their superiors disagreeable and disgusting. To go back to the situation of "matters at the time the libel in question "was written. At that moment, instead "of lending a ready obedience to the commands of their officers, a body of Local "Militia had in a mutinous manner surrounded those very officers whom it was "their duty to obey. The place where "the transaction took place, did not afford "a force sufficient to quell the mutiny, but "a reinforcement was called in from the "nearest place whence a military force "could be properly spared, and order was "restored.—The aggressors, however, "were not dealt with as Buonaparté would "have treated his refractory troops. The "ring-leaders were selected and brought "before a tribunal where their cases were "tried and examined, and where, after "the fairest inquiry, they were found "guilty of mutiny, and had an adequate "sentence passed on them, part of which 'was mildly remitted. What was the 'interpretation, however, which Mr. 'Cobbett gave to this transaction? That 'it was not to be called a mutiny; that it 'was a mere squabble between the men "and the officers for a trifle of money; "that the men were persons who had just "thrown off their smock frocks to put on "the garb of a soldier, and still continued "so much labourers as to be ignorant of "their duty as soldiers, and had become "so much soldiers as to have lost the inclination to labour. What, he asked, "would be the result of mutiny, if libellers of this nature were to escape with "impunity? What, however, was the "conduct of the same person to the men "themselves? He taunts and upbraids "them with not having acted like men "and instructs them, that they ought not "to have submitted to the chastisement "inflicted on them. Not only was this "so, but he held up to contempt and indignation the German Legion for having "assisted, when called in, in quelling the "mutiny. He represents them as persons "who could be of no use in the general "service of the country, whose aid could "only be useful in quelling disturbances "among our native troops, and that they "were employed on this occasion only because the British troops would not have "interfered in such a service, for which the "German Legion alone were fit. Could "we expect zealous and cordial co-operation on the part of the foreign troops "whom we were, in the present situation "of affairs, obliged to employ, if we suffered them thus to be taunted in their "own persons, and to be exposed to unmerited obloquy and disgrace in the eyes "of the public of this country? As if "this, however, were not enough, the "Defendant, Mr. Cobbett, goes the length "of telling the inhabitants of the place "where the transaction occurred, that they "are base miscreants for having seen and "not having assisted in resisting so infamous and abominable a chastisement. "'I do not know,' says Mr. Cobbett, in "the libel in question, 'what sort of a

"place Ely is; but I really should like to "know how the inhabitants looked one "another in the face whilst this scene was "exhibiting in their town. I should like "to have been able to see their faces, and "to hear their observations to each other "at the time.' What was this but up- "braiding the inhabitants of Ely for sitting "quietly by and seeing this punishment "inflicted on mutineers who had been "regularly tried, convicted, and sen- "tenced to receive this punishment; and "telling them that they ought to be asham- "ed to look each other in the face, in con- "sequence of their not having assisted in "resisting it? Black as this was, this, "however, was not the blackest feature in "the present publication. The author "went on to hope that, after this occur- "rence at home, we would be a little more "cautious in drawing conclusions against "Buonaparté, and that we should no "longer hear of the cruelty, and of the ty- "rannical acts of Buonaparté. By looking "back to former parts of the publication, "the Court would find that this meant, "that the subjects of Buonaparté were sub- "ject to a less severe measure of restraint "than the inhabitants of this country. On "this principle, alluding to the means "employed or said to be employed by "Buonaparté to get together and discipline "his conscripts, the publication states that "there is scarcely any one of the persons "who wish to cry him down that has not "'at various times cited the hand-cuffings, "and other means of force, said to be used "in drawing out the young men of France,' "and who has not cited these as affording "a complete 'proof that the people of "France hate Napoleon and his Govern- "ment, assist with reluctance in his wars, "and would fain see another Revolution.' "Should it be suffered that the lawless "libeller should tell the inhabitants of this "country that they were pressed into the "ranks of our army with more severity "than that which was exercised by the "iron hand of oppression employed by the "Ruler of France? There was, indeed, a "degree of delicacy perceptible in the pre- "sent publication, but it was delicacy only "for the enemies of this country. The "author, after alluding to the means which "Buonaparté employs in filling up the 'ranks of his army, corrects himself, and 'represents them not as acts practised, but 'said to be practised, by Buonaparté, in 'accomplishing this object—'The means 'which Napoleon employs (or rather "which they say he employs) in order to 'get together and to discipline his con- 'scripts.' And who were these whom he 'thus marks out as the 'they?' whom he 'thus taunts as with the term of the great- 'est reproach—'the loyal?' a term which 'ought to ensure respect and regard, as 'embracing the first duty of subjects in 'a well regulated state towards their 'Sovereign. This was the character of 'the libel which the Defendant, Mr. 'Cobbett, was now called on to answer 'for. If this was the character of the 'libel, which, he presumed to think, "could not be denied, their Lordships "would readily see the tendency of such a 'publication, and they would easily esti- 'mate what the consequences would have 'been if the publication had produced the 'effects which it was calculated to have 'produced. What if the soldiers had 'caught the spirit of dissatisfaction and 'disgust, which was thus suggested for 'their adoption? What if the flame thus 'sought to be kindled throughout the whole 'kingdom had been lighted up? The 'consequences were too fatal even to be 'pointed at. It would have gone to break 'up every thing that was estimable in so- 'ciety—it would have gone to the de- "struction of civilization and good go- 'vernment in the country. It might be 'said by the Defendant that the publica- 'tion in question had no such tendency, 'and that these effects had not been pro- 'duced. That it had not the tendency 'contended for, he (the Attorney General) 'denied, though he admitted that, hap- 'pily, it had not produced the effects 'which it was calculated to produce. That 'the publication in question had not pro- 'duced the effects which might have been 'expected from it, we owed to the love of 'the subjects of this country towards their 'Sovereign and the established Govern- 'ment. We owed no thanks on this head, 'to Mr. Cobbett. It became, however, 'the duty of that Court to prevent and 'guard against the recurrence of such 'libels in time coming. Mr. Cobbett "himself had taught the Court what the "consequences of passing by such publica- 'tions with impunity would be. He had 'told the Court that other libellers had "been passed by, and argued upon that as "a ground for his own impunity. If he were to-day to be passed by, or to be "visited with a light punishment, would "not this, to-morrow, be adduced as a "precedent in favour of other libellers?

"Would they not be entitled to say, "If "I, by libelling, be enabled to make a for-"tune, and to amass wealth, when, in re-"turn, I will only have to sustain so slight "a punishment as that passed on Mr. Cob-"bett, will I not cheerfully incur the pe-"nalty?" If the Court should now visit "Mr. Cobbett with a light punishment, "could they answer for it that their arm "would be strong enough, next year, to "check the evil to which he (the Attorney "General) contended they were called on "to give a vital blow this day? It now "lay in the Court to inflict on the Defen-"dant, Mr. Cobbett, a just and whole-"some punishment, adequate to his of-"fence. They had had before them libel-"lers on the private character of indivi-"duals; such they had esteemed proper "objects of punishment; and that the "punishment so inflicted would tend to "diminish the frequency of the offence, if "not to prevent it entirely. They had "had before them those even who had "been guilty of libelling the administration "of justice in the country. That was a "high offence, because it tended to take "from the credit and authority due to the "judgments of the Courts of Law, and "tended to make them of less effect. Such "offences, and justly too, were visited "with a severe chastisement. But, if that "offence, great as it was, were to be com-"pared with that now under consider-"ation, it must sink into utter insignifi-"cance. The present libel went to sub-"vert society itself, and, whatever might "be thought of the atrocity of others which "had preceded it, the present was one of "a much darker and blacker hue. The "Court were therefore called on to inflict "such a punishment as should, at least, "make men pause before they embarked "in libels similar to that published by the "Defendant, Mr. Cobbett. The army, "against whom this libel was in a peculiar "manner directed, called on the Court for "justice against its traducer. The Go-"vernment called on them for confirmation "of its legal powers; for what Govern-"ment could possibly exist, if it were not "protected against such attacks as these? "The country, which looked with horror "on the mischievous tendency of the libel "now under consideration, called on them "for protection against the numerous evils "which the propagation of such publi-"cations were calculated to engender, "going, as they did, to the total subver-"sion of social order, and to the existence "of this country as a nation. Being once "brought before the Court, they (the "Public) knew that they might have con-"fidence in their protection, and that they "would no longer have occasion to dread "a repetition of such outrageous insult. "He called on the Court, therefore, for "judgment on the Defendant. He called "for justice; and that justice he knew "would be tempered with mercy, but he "trusted, that the Court would not forget "that mercy was equally due to the public as to the Defendant at the bar."——

Now, as to the necessity of a great military force in this country, and as to the cause of that necessity; as to the general treatment of the soldiers in this country and their being better treated than at any former period; as to the punishment inflicted upon the Local Militia at Ely; as to the employing of the Germans upon that occasion; as to the use of German Troops in this country at all; as to the people of Ely being able to look one another in the face; as to the manner in which Napoleon would have treated the Local Militia; and as to my "delicacy" towards the enemies of my country: these are all matters upon which I shall say nothing at all. They have all been fully discussed; they are all well understood; there can be, in the mind of no man of common sense, a mistake with respect to them. There is, indeed, one little sentence, made use of by the Attorney General, respecting the treatment of the Soldiers, which is rather obscure; at least to me it is so. He is stated to have said: "How essential is it that the community "should be satisfied, that *nothing tyranni-"cal*, that *no force beyond the law*, is em-"ployed in compelling the inhabitants of "this country into the ranks of the army." I do not understand the meaning of this. These two phrases are, in my view of things, by no means synonymous; because, if they were, the oppressions, which, as we are told, and, perhaps, truly, the people of France are compelled to undergo, would not properly form a subject of complaint, seeing that they are all exercised under the sanction of *law*. There are *Decrees* or *Senatus Consulta* for the forcing of the young men of France to go into the army; yet, the forcing of them so to go has been, and yet is, represented, in this country, as being most abominably *tyrannical*. I perfectly agree with the Attorney General, that it is essential, that the community should be *satisfied* that "*nothing tyrannical* "is employed in compelling the inhabitants

"of *this* country into the ranks of the "army;" but, towards the producing of this desirable effect his statement is not at all likely to contribute; and, indeed, unless he had stopped at the word "*tyrannical*," and spared the subsequent *definition*, he would have done well to hold his tongue upon this part of the subject.——There are two assertions made by the Attorney General, during this memorable speech, which assertions materially affect me, and upon which, therefore, I must beg leave to trouble my readers with some observations. The FIRST of these assertions is, that I made my "defence a vehicle for *other calumnies and slanders*, almost as bad as the original libel."—The SECOND, that I wrote the publication in question, and, generally, every thing I wrote, for "*base lucre*." He does not say this in so many words: but, in speaking of the cases of the other defendants, as *contradistinguished* from mine, he says, that whatever arose from it (the publication) of "*base lucre* and gain" accrued to me alone. And then, in another part of his speech, where he is stating the evil consequences, which, in the way of example, will arise from a slight punishment of me, he asks if other libellers will not, in such case, be entitled to say: "If I, by libelling, be enabled to "make a fortune, and to amass wealth, "when, in return, I will only have to "sustain so slight a punishment as that "passed on Mr. Cobbett, will I not cheer-"fully incur the penalty?"——There are several other assertions, which, as occasion offers, I may be disposed to notice; but, these two are all that I shall notice at present.——With respect to the FIRST, namely, that I had made my defence a vehicle for *other calumnies and slanders*, much more need not be said, than was said by every one who heard or read the speech, and that is, that it is very strange, that these new calumnies were not *named* by the person who was speaking in aggravation. He had had nearly a month to consider of, and to inquire into, the *facts* (for I dealt not in *insinuations*) stated by me in my defence; and, how comes it that he did not *contradict* any one of those facts? How came he to content himself with a general assertion, unsupported with even an alleged fact? Had he not *time* to go more minutely into the matter; or did he, out of mercy, forbear to *prove* these new calumnies upon me? Was it compassion that operated with him upon this occasion?——These "calumnies," as he calls them, were brought forth in answer to, and in *contradiction of*, assertions made by him in his first speech. It is, therefore, very surprising, that he should not have made an attempt, at least, to refute them. He seems to have been very anxious *to put every thing right* in the public mind; and how comes he, then, to have left these "*calumnies*" totally unanswered; especially when he looked upon them as being "almost as bad as the original libel?"——Upon the SECOND assertion, that I had written the publication in question for gain's sake; that I had *amassed wealth*, made *a fortune* by libelling; and that, I had, in short, in my writings, been actuated by a craving after *base lucre*; upon this, the first observation to make, is, that it contains a beautiful compliment to the people of this country, and comes in with peculiar fitness close after the assertions, that their *good sense* prevented the mischiefs which the publication was calculated to excite, and that *they* even called upon the court to punish me. No: the people of this country were so sensible, so discerning, so loyal, and held libelling in such abhorrence, that they were not to be excited to sedition by me; and, in a minute afterwards, to publish libels is, in *this* country, the way to *make a fortune*. The *Army*, too, abhorred this work of libelling, and even called upon the court to punish me for it; and yet, but only a minute before, there was great danger of my creating disaffection in the army, of throwing every thing into confusion, and of producing the destruction of "Social Order and our Holy "Religion," as John Bowles has it. The Attorney General was in a difficulty. It would not do to say, that my writing had *no effect* upon either the people or the army; it would not do to say, that what I wrote dropped still-born from the press, or, that it made no impression upon any body; it would not do to say this, and yet it was paying me too great a compliment to suppose that I had the power of inducing any body to think or to feel with me; therefore, I was, in one and the same speech, represented as a most *mischievous* and a most *insignificant* writer.——But, to return to the charge of writing for "*base* "*lucre*," I think the public will have perceived, that there was nothing *original* in this part of the Attorney General's speech; for, the charge had, in all forms of words, been long before made by the basest of my calumniators, by the vile wretches, who notoriously use their pens

and their pencils for pay, and who do not, like me, look for remuneration to the *sale* of their works to the public. The idea of my having "amassed wealth," arose, in the first place, perhaps, from the envy of the worst and most despicable part of those, who wished to live by the press, but who did not possess the requisite talents to ensure success to their endeavours, and at the same time preserve their independence; or, who were so deficient in point of industry as to render their talents of no avail; and who, therefore, resorted to that species of traffic, which exposed them to my lash. Such men would naturally hate me. Such men would naturally wish for my destruction. Such men would naturally stick at no falsehood, at no sort or size of calumny against a man, whose success was at once an object of their envy and the means of their continual annoyance. But, from a person in the situation of Attorney General, one might have expected a little more caution in speaking of the character and motives of any man.—— Let me, before I come to my particular case, first ask why the gains of a writer or of a book or news-paper proprietor are to be called "*base lucre*," any more than the gains of any other description of persons? Milton and Swift and Addison received money for their works; nay, Pope received more, perhaps, than all of them put together, and wrote, too, with ten times more severity and more personality than I ever did; and yet, no one ever thought, I believe, of giving to his gains the name of "*base lucre*." This is a most sweeping blow at the press. Let no one connected with it, in any way whatever, imagine that his pecuniary possessions or his estate, if he has gained one, will, or can, escape the application of this liberal charge. The fortunes of Mr. Walter, and Mr. Perry, and Mr. Stuart, and Mr. Longman, and Mr. Cadell, and of all the rest of them, are all to be considered as "*base lucre*." Base lucre is the fruit of the industry and talents of every man who works with his pen; and those whose business it is to inform and instruct mankind are either to be steeped in poverty, or to be regarded as sordid and base hunters after gain. Dr. Johnson, if now living, must, at this rate, be liable to be charged with hunting after "base "lucre," for he really lived by the use of his pen. Paley also sold his writings, and so, I dare say, did Locke; and why not, then, impute baseness to them on this account? It is notorious, that thousands of priests, and even Bishops, have sold their writings, not excepting their sermons; and is not that hunting after "base lucre?" It is equally notorious that Lawyers are daily in the habit of selling reports of cases and other writings appertaining to their profession; and what can their gain thereby be called, then, but "base lucre?" Burke sold his writings as well as Paine did his; nay, the former, for many years, and being a member of the Honourable House all the while, actually wrote for pay in a periodical work, called the Annual Register; and, of course, he sought therein after "base 'lucre." Base lucre it was, according to this doctrine, that set Malone to edite Shakespeare, and that induced Mr. Tooke to write his Diversions of Purley; and, in short, every writer, whether upon law, physic, divinity, politics, ethics, or any thing else, if he sell the productions of his pen, is exposed to this new and hitherto-unheard-of-charge.—There is, indeed, a species of gain, arising from the use of the pen, which does well merit the appellation of "base lucre;" but, the "Learned "Friend" seems to have mistaken the mark. When a man bargains for the price of maintaining such or such principles, or of endeavouring to make out such or such a case, without believing in the soundness of the principles or the truth of the case; such a man, whether he touch the cash (or paper-money) before or after the performance of his work, and whether he work with his tongue or his pen, may, I think, be pretty fairly charged with seeking after "base "lucre;" for he, in such case, manifestly sells not only the use of his talents, but his sincerity into the bargain, and drives a traffic as nearly allied to soul-selling as any thing in this world can be; nor does it signify a straw from *what quarter*, or in *what shape*, the remuneration may come, for the motive being base, the gain or lucre must be base also. Again, if a man receive from the taxes, that is to say, from the people's money, a reward for writing any thing, especially upon controverted political questions, the lucre accruing to him may fairly be called base; for here, as in the former case, he makes a base bargain for the use of his talents. It is the same with those, who are mere proprietors of works and not writers, and who vend their pages for a like consideration, coming from a like source. But, if a man *sell to the public*, sell to any one that *chooses* to buy with his *own money*, and resort to no means of cheating the purchaser out of the price of what is sold, there can be nothing

of *baseness* attached to his gains. The article is offered to the public; those who do not choose to purchase let it alone; there is no compulsion; there is no monopoly in the way of purchasing elsewhere, and there is nothing of baseness belonging to the transaction; the gain is fair and honourable, it is the right of the possessor, and more perfectly his right, perhaps, than gain of any other sort can possibly be.—After these general observations, it is hardly necessary for me to say much upon my particular case, it being impossible that the reader should not have already perceived clearly, that the charge of seeking after "base lucre" is quite inapplicable to me. But, I cannot, upon such an occasion, refrain from stating some facts, calculated to show the injustice and falsehood of this charge, when preferred against me as proprietor of a public print. I have now been, either in America or England, sole proprietor of a public print for upwards of fourteen years, with the intermission of about a year of that time, and I never did, upon *any* occasion whatever, take money or money's worth, for the insertion or the suppression of any paragraph or article whatsoever, though it is well known, that the practice is as common as any other branch of the business belonging to news-papers in general. Many hundreds of pounds have been offered to me in this way, as my several clerks and agents can bear witness; and, had I hankered after "*base lucre*," the reader will readily believe, that I should have received all that was so offered. From the daily news-paper, which I published after my return to England, I excluded all Quack-Advertisements, because I looked upon them as indecent, and having a mischievous tendency, and because to insert them appeared to me to be assisting imposture. These advertisements are, it is well known, a great source of profit to the proprietors of news-papers; and, if I had been attached to "base lucre," should I have rejected my share of that profit? I lost many hundreds of pounds by my daily news-paper, which failed, not for want of readers, but solely because I would not take money in the same way that other proprietors did. Whether this were wise or foolish is now of no consequence; but, the fact is, at any rate, quite sufficient to repel the charge of seeking after "base lucre."——From my out-set as a writer to the present hour I have always preferred principle to gain. In America the King's minister made, and not at all improperly, offers of service to me, on the part of the ministry at home. The offer was put as of service to any relations that I might have in England, and my answer was, that if I could earn any thing myself wherewith to assist my relations, I should assist them, but that I would not be the cause of their receiving any thing out of the public purse. Mr. Liston, then our minister in America, can bear testimony to the truth of this statement. And was this the conduct of a man, who sought after "base lucre?" Is this the conduct which is now fashionable among those, who call themselves "the "*loyal*," and the "*King's friends*;" Do they reject offers of the public purse? Do *they* take care to keep their poor relations out of their own earnings or property; or do they throw them, neck and heels, upon the public, to be maintained out of the taxes, as a higher order of paupers? I have acted up to my professions. I have, at this time, dependent upon me, for almost every thing, nearly *twenty children* besides my own. I walk on foot, where others would ride in a coach, that I may have the means of yielding them support; that I may have the means of preventing every one belonging to me from seeking support from the public, in any shape whatever. Is this the fashion of "the *loyal*?" Do "the *loyal*" act thus? Do *they* make sacrifices in order that their poor relations may not become a charge to the public? Let that public answer this question, and say to whom the charge of seeking after "base lucre" belongs. I wonder whether it has ever happened to the Attorney General to reject the offer of *two services of plate*, tendered him for the successful exertion of his talents? This has happened to me, though the offer, on each occasion, was made in the most delicate manner, though the service had been already performed, though the thing was done with, and the offer could not have a prospective view, and though the service had been performed without any previous application. I wonder whether Sir Vicary Gibbs did ever reject an offer of this sort? And I do wonder, how many there are amongst the whole tribe of "learned "friends," who have, or ever will have to accuse themselves of such an act? Yet has he the assurance to impute my writings to motives of "*base lucre*." The truth is, hat I am hated by the pretended "loyal," because I am proof against all the temptations of base lucre. I have spoken of the offer made me, while in America. Upon my return home the ministers made me

other offers, and, amongst the rest, they offered me a share of *the True Briton newspaper*, conducted and nominally owned by Mr. Herriot. I, who was what the country people call a *green-horn*, as to such matters, and who was gull enough to think, that it was *principle* that actuated every writer on what I then deemed the right side: I was quite astonished to find, that the *Treasury* was able to offer me a share in a news-paper. I rejected the offer in the most delicate manner that I could; but, I never was forgiven. I have experienced, as might have been expected, every species of abuse since that time; but, I did not, I must confess, expect ever to be accused of writing for "base lucre." This is a charge, which, as I shewed upon the trial, originated with the very scum of the press, and had its foundation in the worst and most villainous of passions.—In general it is a topic of exultation, that industry and talent are rewarded with the possession of *wealth*. The great object of the teachers of youth, in this country, seems always to have been the instilling into their minds, that *wealth* was the sure reward of industry and ability. Upon what ground, then, is it, that the "*amassing of wealth*," the "*making of a* "*fortune*," by the use of industry and talents, is to be considered as meriting reproach in *me*? The fact is not true. I have not *amassed wealth*, and have not *made a fortune*, in any fair sense of those phrases. I do not possess a quarter part as much as I should, in all probability, have gained, by the use of the same degree of industry and ability, in trade or commerce. But, if the fact were otherwise, and if I rode in a coach and four instead of keeping one pleasure horse, and that one only because it is thought necessary to the health of my wife; if I had really a fortune worthy of being so called, what right would any one have to reproach me with the possession of it? I have been labouring seventeen years since I quitted the army. I have never known what it was to enjoy any of that which the world calls pleasure. From a beginning with nothing, I have acquired the means of making some little provision for a family of *six children* (the remains of *thirteen*), besides having, for several years, maintained almost wholly, three times as many children of my relations. And, am I to be reproached as a lover of "*base lucre*," because I begin to have a prospect (for it is nothing more) of making such provision? And, am I now, upon such a charge, to be stripped, in one way or another, of the means of making such provision? Was it not manly and brave for the Attorney General, when he knew that I should not be permitted to answer him, to make such an attack, not only upon me, but upon the future comfort of those, who depend upon me for support? Verily, *this* is not to be forgotten presently. As long as I or my children are able to remember, *this* will be borne in mind; and, I have not the smallest doubt of seeing the day, when Sir Vicary Gibbs, and those who belong to him, will not think of any such thing as that of reproaching us with the possession of our own earnings.—During the time that I was absent from home for the purpose of giving bail, as before stated, a man, dressed like a gentleman, went upon my land in the neighbourhood of Botley, got into conversation with my servants, asked them how much property I had, where it lay, of whom I had purchased it, what I had given for it, whether I was upon the point of purchasing any more, and a great many other questions of the same sort. When he went away from one of them, he told him: "You will not have Cobbett here again for one while;" or words to that effect. I leave the public to form their opinions as to the object of this visit, and of the person who made it. The truth of the fact can, at any time, be verified upon oath. If this scoundrel had been put to the test, I wonder what account he could have rendered of the source of his means; of the money which had purchased the clothes upon his back. Not long before the time just mentioned, another person of a similar description went to another man who works for me, asked him what sort of a man I was, what he had ever heard me say *about the King or the government*, and told him that *some people thought me a very great enemy of the government*. The person went into a little public house in the neighbourhood of my farm, where he got into conversation with those whom he found there, and contrived soon to make that conversation turn upon me. He heard nothing but good of me as a neighbour and a master; and, as to *politics*, not a soul that he talked to knew what he meant, never having in their lives heard me utter a word upon any subject of that sort. Of the two servants, whom I have alluded to above, the name of the former is JOHN DEAN, and that of the latter JAMES COWHERD; both of them men, upon whose word I can rely, and who, as I said before, are ready to verify this statement upon their oaths.——The

modesty and good manners of my men induced them to give answers to the questions of these base rascals, without suspecting any thing of their real character or design; nor had either of them the smallest notion of that design, until my return home, and until I had acquainted them with the nature of my situation. If the design (which must, I think, be manifest enough to the reader) had been known, their bones, or, at least, their skin, would, I am afraid, have carried off a testimonial of their baseness and of the indignation of my servants. The base miscreants would then have had a feeling proof of the sentiments, entertained towards me by those who know me best and have had the greatest experience of my disposition.——I leave the public to ruminate upon what I have here stated, relative to the inquiries of these villains. The mis- who went to make the inquiries about the extent of my property, did not, it seems, go to Botley, but appeared to go from, and to return to, some town or village upon the Gosport road, fearing, apparently, to be known, or, at least, traced, if he put up at the inn at Botley.——I leave the public, I say, to form their opinion upon these facts. It is, I think, quite unnecessary for me to give any opinion of my own.

THIRD.—*The nature and effect of the imprisonment* are now to be particularly noticed. I was well aware, that a prison, though I had never seen the inside of one in my life, must differ very materially from a dwelling-house. I was aware of many of the disagreeable circumstances attendant on such a state; but, I had no idea of the *reality*. That part of the prison, to which I was committed, consisted of a yard, and of divers rooms. The rooms were numerous, the yard about 35 feet by 25 feet. Each room contained, or was intended to contain, two, three, or more, beds. Each bed-room was locked up at about 9 o'clock at night, and kept locked till about 7 o'clock in the morning. The door-way leading from the passage of the rooms to the yard was also locked. The windows were barred with iron. The walls that surrounded the yard were the sides of houses; and, of course, there could be very little of sun or air.——But, the *companions!* What companions had I? Men guilty of some of the most odious and detestable crimes. Swindling, Fraud, Embezzlement, and even of those crimes which are too horrid to name, but which have been committed by so many within the last two or three years. With wretches like these I was destined by my sentence to dwell for two years; I, who had never even *seen* the inside of a jail in my whole life-time, and who, amidst all the temptations of youth, had been eight years in a regular regiment without ever being, in a single instance, confined for a single moment! One fact will enable the reader to judge of the society I was sentenced to keep for two years: there was a man taken out and *sent to Botany Bay* two days after I entered the prison. He was taken out of the same part of the prison, and, perhaps, out of the very room, in which I was to have slept for two years, if I lived so long. Here was I, then, sentenced to live for *two years* amongst *felons* and men guilty of *unnatural crimes*, and to pay a thousand pounds *to the King;* aye, *to the King*, at the end of that time! I have three sons; and, if any one of them ever forgets *this*, may he that instant be .... not stricken dead; but, worse than that: bereft of his senses. May he become both *rotten* and *mad*. May he, after having been a gabbling, slavering half-idiot all the prime of his life, become, in his last days, loathsome to the sight and stinking in the nostril! I am, however, not at all afraid, that any child of mine will merit this curse; for, they have all been shown the horrid place where their father was sentenced to be imprisoned, and, I am satisfied that nothing more will be necessary.——From the place and the society here described I was ransomed by my purse; but, while I say this, I must beg to be understood as hinting no complaint against the keeper, who gave up the best part of his own house to me, from whom I and my family and friends always received the most civil and kind treatment, and whom I believe to be a very honest and humane man. I can speak, from my own knowledge, that he is constantly endeavouring to obtain, and frequently does it, relief and assistance of various sorts for those of his unfortunate prisoners who stand most in need of it. He is strict in adherence to his rules and regulations; but, I am persuaded, that it would be very difficult to find a more fit man for such a situation. Having formed this opinion during two years of actual observation, I think it, now that I am no longer in the power of Mr. Newman, my duty to declare it.——During my imprisonment the conduct of my friends was such as was naturally to be expected from men who regarded me as suffering in the public cause. The attentions of all sorts;

the acts of real, solid service, were as numerous and as great, perhaps, as any man ever received in a like space of time. But, the circumstance of this sort which gave me the most pleasure, was, that, during the two years, I was visited by persons, whom I had never seen before, from *one hundred and ninety-seven cities and towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland;* the greatest part of whom came to me as the deputies of some society, club, or circle of people in their respective places of residence. I had the infinite satisfaction to learn from the gentlemen who thus visited me, that my writings had induced those who had read them to think. This fact, indeed, of being visited by persons from almost every considerable town in the kingdom, speaks a language that cannot be misunderstood.

Within these ten years I have dealt Corruption many a heavy blow; but, in no two years did I ever deal her so many and such deadly blows as during the two years that I was in Newgate. I am not vain enough to suppose, that it was I who made her reel as she now does; but, I trust that nobody will deny that I pretty largely contributed towards it. When I compare her state at my coming out of Newgate with her state at my going into Newgate, I see as much difference as I now see in one of the old ewes, which were *full-mouthed* at my leaving home. She has been pulled down without violence. She has been *exposed* to a degree that has deprived her of all power longer to deceive. She is, in short, now come to that pass, where neither impudence nor hypocrisy will serve her turn; where, if she could any longer deceive, it would be of no use to her.——The *long faces* of the children and champions of Corruption show us what is passing in their minds. They yet enjoy the fruit of their corrupt practices, but they seem to be in hourly dread of losing them. There is, in this respect, a great change since I was put into Newgate; and, if I could persuade myself, that my being imprisoned another two years would totally destroy Corruption; that it would root her and all her infamous brood out of the land, I would cheerfully endure it, taking my chance of foul air and jail distempers.

FOURTH, *as to what has taken place at the expiration of my imprisonment, and to the time of my arrival at Botley, where I now am,* it will not be necessary to be very particular. I do not want to have it believed, that I am caressed by the public. I have no ambitious purposes to answer. I am resolved to do all that lies in my power to destroy Corruption in *all her branches* and all her fibres; and, to do this, or any thing towards it, I know that I must leave all self-gratifications out of my account. I am aware of this, and Corruption may be assured that I am quite prepared for it. I laugh at all the alarms of ENVY. They are wholly groundless. I only want to see Corruption *destroyed,* without caring a straw who has the honour of doing it. In the desire of seeing this accomplished, I overlook all minor considerations.——It is, however, due to the nation to state here, for the information of foreigners, that, on the 9th of July, the day on which my imprisonment ceased, I was invited to a grand dinner at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and, which bespoke the character of the whole, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT was in the Chair. I have no desire to draw a picture here; no desire to swell out any of the circumstances. The bare fact is enough; that this dinner, as large an one, I believe, as ever was known upon any occasion even in London, took place in *approbation of my writings;* and especially in approbation of that particular writing, for which I was imprisoned.——At this dinner there arose some circumstances not less important than the dinner itself.—It was not to be supposed, that such an occasion would pass without an attempt to do something to annoy me. Accordingly it was, in the shape of news-paper paragraphs of the same day, and in the shape of handbills distributed at the door of the Tavern as the gentlemen went in; in vehicles of this sort, it was shown, or asserted, 1st, That I had, ten years ago, expressed my decided disapprobation of the conduct and even of the principles of Sir Francis Burdett; 2nd, That, in the time between my conviction and my being brought up to judgment, I formed the design of dropping my Register, to announce which design I had prepared and actually caused to be printed an advertisement; 3rd, That this design was coupled with a negociation with the government for making the dropping of the Register a condition upon which forgiveness was to be obtained; 4th, That this offer on my part having been refused by the government, I next offered to turn about and write for them; 5th, That on account of this having been rejected, I abandoned the design, and continued the Register.——I shall answer these one by one.—As to the FIRST, I had

as much *right* to express my disapprobation of the conduct and principles of Sir Francis Burdett ten years ago as I have now to express my approbation of them. Whether the change has been produced by *conviction*, or proceeded from some *selfish motive*, the reader must be the judge, though I must say, that I think it would be very difficult to make out the probability of the latter. At any rate, it was *impossible* that the change should arise out of a desire to get at *any share in the public money;* and that is the great point to keep in view.— —As to the SECOND, it is perfectly *true;* and, surely, I had a perfect right to cease writing *whenever I pleased*. That man must have but little consideration who does not see many good reasons for my adopting such a course; but, my answer to the charge is this; that I had, and have, a *right* to cease writing whenever I pleased or shall please; and that, if I were to give up this right, I should, while I am endeavouring to ensure freedom to my country, be myself *a slave*. ——As to the *third*, *fourth*, and *fifth* propositions, all that I can say of them is, that they are FALSE; that they are *wholly* destitute of truth; that they have been invented as much as any fairy tale ever was invented; and, indeed, their falsehood is *proved* by the advertisement itself, which says, that I intended to discontinue the Register; *because .... what?* Why, because I feared, that it would be impossible for me to continue it WITHOUT SOFTENING MY TONE. This was stated as the reason; it was so to be stated *in print;* who, then, will believe either of the three last propositions to contain a single word of truth?——Having made this denial, I make it *once for all*. I shall always insist upon my *right* to cease writing *whenever I please;* and, while I continue to write, the reader will always be able to judge of the value of what I write. If he finds it useful, he will continue to supply himself with it; if not, he will cease so to do; and thus, he and I shall never be under obligations to each other.——That I should be pursued with the same envy, hatred, and malice, out of prison that I was pursued with into prison, I naturally expected. Had I not been, I should have feared that I had lost my sting. For all the falsehoods, for all the blows that baseness of all kinds has aimed at me, I have found more than sufficient compensation in the applause of the Meeting at the Crown and Anchor; in the cordial reception I met with, upon my return, at Winchester, where there were gentlemen, whom I had never seen, who had come thirty miles to meet me; and, above all, in the kindness, the warmth of affection, with which I was received at Botley, into which the young men of the village (without even a hint from any one belonging to me) drew my carriage from the distance of more than a mile.——When we got into the village, about nine o'clock in the evening of the 11th of July, there was a sight for Sir Vicary Gibbs, and Lord Ellenborough, and his brother judges to see! The inhabitants of the village gathered round me; the young men and the boys and their fathers and mothers, listening to my account of the CAUSE of my absence; hearing me speaking of the *Local Militia* and the *German Troops* at the town of Ely; hearing me calling upon fathers and mothers to reflect on what I said, and on their sons to bear it in mind to the last hour of their lives.——In short, the thing ended precisely as it ought to end, in a plain appeal to the understanding of the inhabitants of a village; to young countrymen and boys, and their fathers and mothers.——To express my feelings upon this occasion is quite impossible. Suffice it to say, that the good behaviour, the civility and kindness of all the people of the village to my family during my absence; and their most affectionate reception of myself at my return, will never be effaced from my recollection. If there had wanted a motive in me to love my country, here would have been motive sufficient. That nation cannot be otherwise than good, where the inhabitants of a whole parish are so honest, so just, and so kind. For my part, born and bred amongst the farmers and labourers of England, I have ever entertained towards them feelings of kindness; but, I have now to add the feeling of *gratitude*, and of that feeling I shall, I hope, never fail to give proof, when it is in my power to defend any of my poorer neighbours against the oppressions of the more powerful.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Wednesday,
15th July, 1812.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

To send written answers to the numerous letters of congratulation that I have received upon my enlargement would be impossible. I, therefore, here beg leave to return my sincere thanks to all those who have written me such letters.—An *address*, this day received from a *great town in the North*, is entitled to my particular thanks.

MINISTERIAL NEGOCIATIONS.

Documents published, relating to the late Negociations for making a new Ministry.

(Continued from page 84.)

Moira acts. Personal communication with him will always be acceptable and honourable to us. But we hope he will be sensible, that no advantage is likely to result from pursuing this subject by unauthorized discussions, and in a course different from the usual practice.—Motives of obvious delicacy must prevent our taking any step towards determining the Prince Regent to authorize Lord Moira to address us personally. We shall always receive with dutiful submission his Royal Highness's commands, in whatever manner, and through whatever channel, he may be pleased to signify them, and we trust we shall never be found wanting in zeal for his Royal Highness's service, and for the public interest. But we cannot venture to suggest to his Royal Highness, through any other person, our opinions, on points in which his Royal Highness is not pleased to require our advice.

Grey.
Grenville.

No. 28.—*Lord Moira to Lords Grey and Grenville, informing them, that he has the Prince Regent's authority to address them, and requesting to know, when and where he can see them.*

Lord Moira presents his best compliments to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville.—Discouraged, as he unavoidably must be, he yet cannot reconcile it to himself to leave any effort untried: and he adopts their principle for an interview, though he doubts if the desired conclusion is likely to be so well advanced by it, as would have been the case in the mode suggested by him.—He has now the Prince Regent's instructions to take steps towards the formation of a ministry; and is authorized specially to address himself to Lords Grey and Grenville. It is, therefore, his request to know, when and where he can wait upon them. He would wish to bring Lord Erskine with him.——*June 6, 1812. 11 forenoon.*

No. 29.—*Minute of a Conversation between Lord Moira and Lords Grey and Grenville, at which Lord Erskine was present.—St. James's Place, June 6th, 1812.*

Lord Moira stated to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, that he was authorized by the Prince Regent to consult with them on the formation of a new government. And satisfactory explanations having taken place between them, respecting such measures as appeared to be of the greatest urgency at the present moment, more especially with reference to the situation of H. M.'s Roman Catholic subjects, and the differences now unhappily subsisting with America; and that Lord Moira had received this commission without any restriction or limitation whatever being laid by the Prince, on their considering any points which they judged useful for his service; they expressed their satisfaction with the fairness of this proposal, and their readiness to enter into such discussions as must precede the details of any new arrangement. As a preliminary question, which appeared to them of great importance, they thought it necessary immediately to bring forward, to prevent the inconvenience and embarrassment of the further delay which might be produced, if this negociation should break off in a more advanced state; they asked, *whether this full liberty extended to the consideration of new appointments to those great offices of the household, which have been usually included in the political arrangements made on a change of administration; intimating their opinion, that it would be necessary to act on the same principle on the present occasion.*—Lord Moira answered, *that the Prince had laid no restriction upon him in that respect, and had never pointed in the most distant manner at the protection of those officers from removal; that it would be impossible for him (Lord Moira), however, to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable, in the formation of the administration, because he should deem it on public grounds peculiarly objectionable.*—To this Lord Grey and Lord Grenville replied, they also acted on public grounds alone, and with no other feeling whatever

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"That the subjects which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence, suitable to their "conditions, and as allowed by law."——DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

THE LUDDITES, OR HISTORY OF THE SEALED BAG.

No. III.

In the former Numbers I brought down this curious history to the appointment of the Committee of the House of Commons to examine and report upon the contents of the SEALED BAG. I am now about to put upon record what has been the result of that examination; and, when I have so done, I shall offer such remarks upon the subject as appear to me likely to assist in causing the thing to be *seen* in its true light and also to be *remembered* for what it has been. The people of this country have been led on by degrees to their present state. No people were ever so much changed all at once. If, twenty years ago, the people of England, who were then shouting for war, had been told what their state would be in twenty years from that time, they would have been ready, like Richard, to stab the prophet in the midst of his prophecy. If they had been told, that, before that war should end, they would be compelled to pay an income tax of ten per centum; that they would be subjected to laws of taxation such as those now in existence; that they would see German Troops brought into the heart of the country; that they would see the arms of a Local Militia put under the guard of regular soldiers; that they would see barracks erected in, or on the side of every considerable town; that they would see districts of England put under the command of German Officers; that they would see the Judges sitting at the assizes under the protection of regular soldiers; that they would see soldiers attending to protect the Sheriff and his officers at the execution of criminals; that they would see soldiers called in at an election for members to serve in parliament; and, finally, that they would see a law passed for DISARMING THE PEOPLE, or any considerable part of the people: if they had been told this, what would they have said? Would they not have regarded the man, telling them so, as either a madman or one disposed to excite hatred against the government? Would not such a man have been prosecuted as a *seditious libeller?* Nay; how many Gentlemen, how many real friends of England and of English liberty, were prosecuted, and some of them utterly destroyed, for endeavouring to prevent the war, and to produce that reform, without which, as they then stated, it was impossible for England to avoid ruin? But, even their forebodings; even their notions of ruin fell far short of what we now have in the reality before our eyes.——Let the reader, therefore, prepare his mind for much more than he has yet seen. What is to be the end of the progress, in which we now are, no man can say, and I shall not pretend to conjecture; but, I beseech the reader to be prepared; and with this caution to him, I enter upon the continuation of the history of the sealed bag.——We before saw how the Secret Committee was *appointed;* and we have now to see its *report.* This report was laid before the House of Commons on the 8th instant, and, in substance, it is given as stating, "that alarm-"ing disturbances, destructive to property, "prevailed in the counties of Lancaster, "York, &c. and had continued from the "month of March down to the latest ac-"counts on the 23d of June. That the "rioters assembled in the night-time, with "their faces blackened, armed with the implements of their trades, and other offensive instruments, with which they destroyed the property of those who were obnoxious to them. That they had in many instances written threatening letters, had proceeded the length of setting fire to the houses of individuals, and even that an atrocious murder had been 'committed on a person of the name of Horsefall, by four persons, who there was every reason to believe were accomplices in these disturbances. That great 'dread and alarm was occasioned in consequence of these proceedings; and that,

"in some instances, sums of money were "demanded and extorted. The Commit- "tee, without entering into details, thought "it necessary to state, that the first object "of these rioters seemed to be the breaking "of machinery; but they had in many in- "stances resorted to measures infinitely "more alarming, namely, the demanding "of arms; and had even carried them off, "in many instances where they allowed "every other species of property to remain "untouched. These seemed not to be the 'effect of any sudden impulse, but of an 'organized system of lawless violence. 'Sometimes the rioters were under the "control of leaders; and were distin- 'guished not by names but by numbers; 'were known to each other by signs and countersigns; and carried on all with the "utmost caution. They also took an oath, "that while they existed under the canopy "of Heaven they would not reveal any thing "connected with the present disturbances, "under the penalty of being put out of ex- "istence by the first brother whom they "should meet, &c. It did not appear to "the Committee that any sums of money "were distributed among the rioters. It "was extremely difficult to discover them. "It was held out to them that they might "expect to be joined by other discontented "persons from London, and that there were *persons in the higher ranks* who would also lend them support; but of these insinuations the Committee were able to find *no evidence.* Whatever was their object, however, and whoever were "the *secret movers* of these disturbances, "yet the secrecy with which they were "carried on, the attempts at assassination "that had been made, the oaths that had "been administered, and the system of ter- "ror that prevailed, had not failed to im- "press the Committee *deeply.*"——Deeply enough, no doubt; but there was, it seems, no evidence to prove a *setting on;* no evidence to prove *a plot.* And, this is the circumstance that will most puzzle the ministry. They can find no *agitators.* It is a movement of the *people's own,* as far as it goes; and, if the ministry say, that it does not arise from the dearness of provisions and from other causes of *distress;* if it does not arise from that source, it follows, that it must arise from *some dislike of what the government itself is doing or has done;* it follows, that the people are displeased with something in their rulers; and this is what is called *disaffection.*——There is a sad dilemma here for the eulogists of the system. For, either it is a good system, or it is not: either it is calculated to make the people happy, or it is not; if the latter, *the system ought to be changed;* if the former, *the people are hostile to the government for hostility's sake;* they, in this case, must hate the system under which they live.——I shall not undertake to say which is the case. It is not necessary. But, one or the other is the case; that I will say, and, in the assertion, I am warranted by irrefutable argument. The conclusion, either way, is mortifying enough to the pride of those, who began the war for the purpose of keeping democratical principles out of England, and who, at a later period, *exulted,* with ARTHUR YOUNG, that nothing short of an *iron despotism* would be sufficient to keep order in France; and that, thus, the people of England would be *terrified from all thoughts of reform.* This malignant, this diabolical idea is clearly and unreservedly expressed by Arthur Young, in his "Warning." Yes; after having seen all France; after having witnessed, described, and inveighed against the oppressions and miseries under the old government of France, he exults at the prospect of seeing the people of France punished with an iron and everlasting despotism; and *why?* Because they had put down for ever that old government, under which he had before said they were so grievously oppressed.——But, what have these sentiments of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture to do with the subject before us? A great deal to do with it. For, we now see, that though the people of France were so far foiled by the English government and its allies as not to be able to establish freedom in France; though they have been, after all, compelled, for the sake of tranquillity and safety, to submit to what they call monarchy, and what our hired writers call a military despotism; though the wish, the abominable, the fiend-like wish of Arthur Young and the Anti-jacobins has been thus far, according to their own account, accomplished; though they assert that France labours under the most terrible of despotisms; still are they now compelled to confess, that there are a part, at least, of the people of England who have not taken the "Warning." These people have seen all that has passed in France. They have seen it all, and yet they are, it seems, not afraid of *change!* Mr. Young must be greatly surprised at this. He must be greatly mortified to see his most charitable wish disappointed!——

Returning now more immediately to the subject; upon the above-mentioned *report* has been grounded a Bill, which is now before parliament. Of this Bill, which is intended as a *remedy* for the evils stated in the report, the chief feature is a power given to the Justices (who are all appointed *by the Crown*) to DISARM THE PEOPLE at their discretion, or, at least, so nearly at discretion, as to leave no room for a clearly defined exception.——There are other provisions in the Bill, which would be calculated to attract attention, if unaccompanied with that which I have just stated; but *this* is such a thumper, that it leaves no room for surprise or any other feeling at the rest. DISARM THE PEOPLE! Disarm the people of England! And FOR WHAT? No matter what. The fact is quite enough. The simple sentence stating this one fact will save foreign statesmen the trouble of making any inquiries relative to the internal state of England. It speaks whole volumes. A law is passing for taking the arms away from a part of the people of England! What can be added to this, in order to give Napoleon an adequate idea of our situation? Why, this: that LORD CASTLEREAGH is the man to propose the measure!——The whole of the act will be inserted by me hereafter, in order that it may be read in every country in the world; and, in the meanwhile, I shall content myself with a few remarks upon the debates, which took place, in the House of Commons, during the progress of the Bill; but, these I must postpone to my next, for subjects now present themselves, which, in point of *time*, demand a preference. None can equal it in point of intrinsic importance; because the *disarming of the people* is decisive of the character, not only of our present, but of our future situation; but, in point of *time*, there are subjects which are still more pressing.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN STATES.——A second American War seemed to be all that was wanted to complete the round of adventures in this jubilee reign; and this, it seems, we have now got. It was very hard to persuade people, that America would declare war. I begged of the Regent not to listen to those who affected to laugh at American hostility. I told him, in so many words, that we should have war, unless we redressed the grievances that America complained of. Scarcely any body could be prevailed upon to believe this; but it is come true, it seems, after all. The Anti-Jacobins will not believe me; they despise my warnings; and they pay for it in the end. Not only the public, but the government, in England, wholly disbelieved that the Americans would go to war. The truth is, that there are so many newspapers in England, whose sole purpose is to deceive the public, that the wonder is, that any truth at all ever gains general belief.——There has, however, been an extraordinary degree of obstinacy as to the real intention of America with regard to war. Nothing could induce people to believe that she would go to war. I asserted and proved, as I thought, that it was naturally to be expected that she would go to war, unless we did away the Orders in Council and also the Impressment of American Seamen; but, scarcely a soul would believe. Perhaps, it may be good for the cause of freedom that I was not believed!——But, let us now quit the past, and look a little to the future.——What will take place now? The letter, or pretended letter, from Liverpool, under the date of the 18th instant, would make this cheated nation believe, that, the moment the news arrives of the repeal of the Orders in Council, *the quarrel with America will be at an end.*——It will be best, however, to let the letter speak for itself.——" I have to advise you, that a pilot-boat is arrived here " to-day from New York, which she left on " the 23d ult., bringing an account that the " Senate, after deliberating seven days, had " come to the resolution of declaring war " against Great Britain, 19 to 13. An " express had arrived at New York to Major Bloomfield, which he read at the head " of his army, formally announcing that " the United States had declared war " against Great Britain.—I think it proper " to add, however, that the houses in New " York which dispatched the pilot with " this information, for the purpose of making speculations in produce, expressly " ordered that, should the Orders in Council be revoked, their friends here were " on no account to make any purchases for " them.—This is a *convincing proof* that " this Declaration of War will be *short lived*, and on the arrival of the Gazette, " containing the revocation of the Orders " in Council, all matters in dispute between the two countries will be amicably " settled. The Mackarel schooner had been " dispatched from New York by Mr. Foster, direct to Falmouth the day before

"the pilot-boat sailed. When the Senate "came to the resolution of declaring war, "*the account of Mr. Perceval's death had* "*not reached Washington*, but was known "at New York."——Thus a new falsehood is to be set on foot. We are now to believe, that the declaration of war is *to have no effect.* Till now it has been asserted, distinctly asserted, that the SENATE had *rejected* the proposition for war. This, as the reader well knows, has been stated most distinctly, with all the circumstances attending the fact. It was not only asserted, that the Senate had rejected the proposition, but the number of the majority against the motion was given to this deceived, this cheated, this insulted nation. In the Courier news-paper of the 17th instant was published the following paragraph: ——"We stop the press to state, that we "have just learned, that on a motion made "in the House of Representatives for de- "claring war against Great Britain, the "question was carried by a large majority; "but on being brought up to the Senate, "it was REJECTED by *a majority of Two.*" ——This was published on the 17th of July, and, on the 20th, the above letter from Liverpool.——Now, upon what *authority* was the first statement made? Clearly upon no authority at all. It was a falsehood; a falsehood intended to deceive the people of England; a falsehood intended to cheat them; a falsehood intended to answer most base and yet most foolish purposes; for, on the 20th, out comes the truth by sheer force. I have heard a gentleman say, that he verily believed, that, if the French were at Dover, half a million strong, these same news-papers would represent Napoleon as at the last gasp. I hardly believe that; for, by the time he was safely landed, they would be considering of the means of going over to his side, and would, in their own minds, be settling as to their price. But, short of a crisis like that, there is nothing that will induce them to desist from persevering in falsehood to *the very moment of detection.* To the very moment! They know well, that a few weeks, days, or hours, must expose their falsehoods to the public; but, they know also, that, for those weeks, days, or hours, the falsehoods answer their purpose. And, when one falsehood is worn out, they have another. Thus it is, that this nation is deceived; it is thus that it is more deceived than any other nation upon earth; and that, at last, when a calamity comes upon it, it seems to be thunderstruck at what all the rest of the world clearly foresaw. It is thus, too, more than by any other means, that the country has been brought into its present humbled and distressed state. The people have always been believing pretty nearly the contrary of truth while the event was coming. The result has, in almost every case, been precisely the opposite of what was expected; and the world have thought the people of England mad for their silly expectations; but, if the world knew the means that are used to make the people of England believe falsehoods instead of truth; if the world knew, that the people of England, *during the progress* of any expedition or other warlike undertaking, for instance, hear nothing but falsehoods respecting it, the world would not be surprised at the disappointment of the people of England at the result.——These observations apply with peculiar force to the dispute with America, who has been represented to the people of England as being, even *now*, wholly incapable of going to war, and whose government has been represented as acting contrary to the sense of the people in all its acts of resistance against England. Now, however, we are at war, if the above news be true; and even now new falsehoods are attempted to be palmed upon us.——But, does the reader not perceive, that, if America has *declared war*, she is *at* war? And that, if she is at *war*, there must be a *treaty* before there can be a *peace?* To make a treaty of peace will require some months, at any rate; and, does the reader suppose, that the Americans, after the expense of arming has been encountered, will disarm, till she has obtained satisfaction upon *all* the points at issue? The acts of aggression (as she considers them) on our part are many; and does the reader suppose, that the mere news of the repeal of the Orders in Council will satisfy her? ——Besides, if there were no subject of disagreement but that of the Orders in Council, does not the reader perceive, that the repeal has not been *full*, and *complete*, and *unqualified;* and that, if it were so, America cannot be expected to disarm without some sort of compensation? What! Is our government to commit upon the Americans whatever acts of aggression it pleases; and, after that, when America arms and declares war, are we to suppose, that, to effect an instant peace, we have nothing to do but to *put a stop* to our aggressions? I do not take upon me to assert, that they are *aggressions;* but, sup-

posing them to be such, as I really *think* they are, does the reader suppose, that our government possess a license to commit acts of aggression, and to put forward its mere *cessation* of them as a ground for peace with the offended party? This is not the way with our government, either abroad or at home. It is always talking of "*indemnity for the past and security for the future;*" and, why are we to suppose that the American Government will not talk in the same way? If a man offend our government, does it say, "cease to offend us, and there is an end of the matter?" No: this is not the language it is now making use of to the people in the Luddite counties. It punishes them, when it can catch them; and shall it lay it down as a maxim, that it is never to be made responsible for what it does?——The reader may be assured, that the Americans do not consider it as exempted from the usual laws and principles by which nations regulate their conduct towards each other; and, he may be further assured, that the inquiries relative to the state of our manufacturers will not, when read in America, tend to lower her tone.——She is now armed; she has got over her great reluctance to inlist soldiers and to fit out armed vessels; and, she will, in my opinion, never lay down her arms, that is to say, she will never make peace with us, until we agree to make her ample compensation for her losses and injuries under the Orders in Council, and also agree to desist from impressing any persons on board her ships at sea.——Are we prepared for this? Are the associates of Perceval ready to give up these points? Are they ready to pay for what has been captured under regulations, which the Americans regard as a violation of their rights; and are they ready to make it a crime in any English officer to seize seamen on board American ships at sea? If they are, we shall certainly soon be at peace with America; if they are not, my opinion is, that we shall have war with her, till those points are given up.——The close of the pretended Letter from Liverpool is curious. It observes that, "when the Senate came to the resolution "of declaring war, *the account of Mr. "Perceval's death had not reached Wash-"ington.*"——As much as to say, that if the news of his death *had* reached Washington, war might *not* have been declared! And this is the way in which the *friends* of the little dead lawyer speak of him, is it? They leave us clearly to infer, that the news of his death; the bare news of his death, might have *prevented a war with America!* And yet have these same writers the impudence to call the people of Nottingham, and other places, *monsters* because they expressed their joy upon receiving that same news!——In conclusion, I beg the reader to bear in mind, that I have been nearly two years endeavouring to prevent a war with America; that, very soon after I was sentenced to be imprisoned two years in Newgate and to pay a thousand pounds to the King, for writing about the flogging of English Local Militia-men at the town of Ely and about the employing of German Troops upon that occasion; I beg the reader to bear in mind, that, very soon after that imprisonment commenced, I began my most earnest endeavours to prevent this war, the most fatal, I fear, of all the many wars in which we have been engaged, since the present King mounted the throne. I was enabled to tell pretty exactly what would come to pass, unless we redressed the grievances of America without delay. I had letters from America, written by persons of a little more understanding than appears to be possessed by those from whom our lawyers get their information. I did not know to what extent the merchants of America might submit to have their property seized; but I was well assured, that the American people would no longer suffer their seamen to be impressed upon the open sea. This I was positively told nearly two years ago; and, I am now particularly anxious to impress it upon the minds of the ministers; for, they may be *assured*, that the American Government, if it has actually declared war, will never make peace till that point is settled to the satisfaction of the American people; till, in short, we agree to desist wholly from taking any person whatever out of an American ship *at sea.*——I am aware how stinging it will be to *some persons* in England to yield one jot to America. I am aware how much more they hate her government than they hate that of France. I am aware how glad they would be to hear of the United States being swallowed up by an earthquake. Not so, however, *the people* of England generally, who do not grudge any thing that is yielded to America so much as they do what is yielded to other powers. They do not, besides, see very clearly the *advantages* they are to derive from the *keeping down of the Americans by the means of the English navy.* They do

not see the benefit that is likely to accrue to them from any thing, the tendency of which is to press upon a free people in another country. Nothing, I am convinced, will ever make an American war popular in England.

French Overtures for Peace.—This is a subject of great importance. Not so great as that of disarming the people of English counties, but, certainly, of very great importance. *Peace and Reform* are necessary to England; they are now become necessary to her happiness and even to her safety. When, therefore, another offer of peace has been made to us, it behoves us to inquire what were the *terms* proposed.——In another part of this Number I have inserted the letter of the Duke of Bassano, containing the proposition of the Emperor Napoleon, and also the answer of Lord Castlereagh.——The proposition has been represented as unfair, insidious, and I know not what besides; but, in my opinion, a proposition more fair, more frank, and, the circumstances considered, more *moderate*, never was made by one nation to another at the opening of a negociation. The basis is, each party shall keep in peace the territories of which the other has not been able to deprive him by war. This is the proposed basis; or, at least, it is the main stone of it. And, what can be more fair; what more explicit or comprehensive; what more reasonable? To reject a basis like this is to proclaim a disposition to continue war, without end and without object.——But, it is, it may be said to other parts of the overture, that Lord Castlereagh objects. He objects to the leaving of Spain in the hands of King Joseph. This point has already cost us four years of war at the rate of about 20,000,000 of pounds a year, and how many *men* it has cost I cannot even venture to guess. Eighty millions of money is, however, something; and, it would seem that we are very far indeed from being at the end of the account.——The overture of Napoleon is, by Lord Castlereagh, understood to mean, that, as to Spain, the present king, Joseph is to reign there; and, this being the case, the Prince Regent cannot consent to treat, because he "owes it "to his honour," because he is bound by treaty to Ferdinand and his Cortes. Really I do not see how he can be so bound. Ferdinand has lived in France ever since the war began in Spain. I am at a loss to imagine how *he* can be said to have any treaty at all with us. If we look upon his abdication in favour of Napoleon as nothing at all, still we must know that the man is in France; we must know that he has never received any Embassador from England; that he has signed no treaty, and that he has, in fact, no power whatever as a king. Besides, *who made him a king?* How came he to be considered king of Spain? His father is alive; and, while he lives, how can his son be king? Why, they tell us, that the king, his father, *abdicated* the throne in favour of his son. But, the father has since declared, in the most public and solemn manner, that, in abdicating, he yielded to fear; that the abdication was extorted from him at the peril of his life, and, upon that ground he resumed his crown.

Besides, if the right of Ferdinand will stand upon the ground of an abdication in his favour, why will not the right of Napoleon stand upon the same ground, since we know well, that Ferdinand abdicated the throne in favour of Napoleon; If abdication is to hold good in the one case, why not in the other? If Ferdinand can acquire a crown by the abdication of its possessor, why can he not dispose of it in the same way?—It has been said, that the abdication was *extorted* from Ferdinand; but, we have not heard that *he himself* has made any such complaint. It is our kind and generous government that makes the complaint for him. But, at any rate, it was but extorting from him that which his own father had accused him of having extorted. If Ferdinand, in the face of his father's protest, had a right to possess the crown, surely any one to whom he might make it over could not fail in his right of possession.——So much for the *legitimacy* of Ferdinand's rights. This, however, is a trifle compared with the design, now clearly developed, of continuing the war *though Portugal is offered to be guaranteed to the House of Braganza.* What could we expect more than this? This seemed, at one time, to be an object beyond our hopes; and now when the enemy offers it to us, and offers besides to leave us in possession of all the French and Dutch and Danish Islands, containing about 35 millions of inhabitants, nearly twice the number that France has added to her subjects; when the independence of Sicily is offered to be guaranteed; and when the Emperor offers to leave us in quiet possession of Malta; aye, of that MALTA, which was the cause, and the sole professed cause, of this war of Trojan duration; when even

Malta is offered to be left to us, our government declines to treat, it rejects the overture, *for the sake of Ferdinand and his Cortes!*——When, then, are we to have peace? We have it now in our power to see Portugal independent of the French, to see Sicily in a state to dispense with the aid of an English army and an English subsidy; and, at the same time, we may retain possession of all the immense conquests that we have made during the war, all the French and Dutch settlements in all parts of the world. In short, Napoleon gives up to us three quarters of the globe, *excepting the American States*, which are not his to give.——I shall be told, perhaps, that the *guaranteeing* of the independence of Portugal and of Sicily would be of no use; for, that the enemy would seize on them in peace, or declare war again for the purpose, as soon as our troops were withdrawn. This is possible; but, then, he who tells me this, must recollect that his argument goes to establish the necessity of eternal war, or, at least, war to the extermination of Napoleon, and of all those who shall possess his power and act upon his policy; for, the same possibility will exist next year as well as this year, and every year as long as the power and territories of the French empire shall remain what they now are.——The truth is, that the terms offered as a basis of peace are fair and reasonable, and, for a first offer, very moderate; but, our government appears to be *afraid of peace*. It is obviously afraid, that guarantees would be useless in behalf of Sicily and Portugal; it is afraid that Napoleon would seize on them the moment our troops should be withdrawn, and it feels *that it would have no power to punish him for so doing!* There's the rub! The great, the giant power of France; the intrinsic strength of that empire; this it is that frightens our government, and makes those who have the management of it alarmed at the idea of peace; and this giant power has been created by those coalitions against republicanism, of which England was the soul.——Were not this the case it would be impossible for any set of ministers to think for one moment of rejecting an offer like that contained in the letter of the Duke of Bassano, which offer, as I observed before, gives up all that we have ever contended for, except Spain; and, if it be said, that Spain in family alliance with France would be dangerous to us, let it be borne in mind, that Spain has been in that state for more than a century, and that, even at the *last peace*, the peace of Amiens, Spain was so completely in alliance with France, that the latter *negociated for her.*——If not, then, with an offer such as is now made us; if we have now no chance of peace, when are we to hope for it? If we are not to have peace till the giant power of France is *reduced*, who amongst us can reasonably hope to see peace again?——I shall return to this subject in my next.

Bristol Election.——This contest is, for the present, at an end. It has been decided against Mr. Hunt by a large majority; but, let it be borne in mind, that the election has been carried on under the "*protection*" of *soldiers*. This is a perfect novelty, even in this age of novelties.——That there will be another election is certain; for, unless there be, there is an end, at once, to even the slightest show of the elective franchise.——The nation is indebted to the people of Bristol for the stand that they have made against corrupt influence; and the people of Bristol are indebted to Mr. Hunt for having been enabled to make that stand; they are indebted to him, and to him alone, for having had AN ELECTION, or any thing in the shape of an election.——I shall, in my next, when in full possession of all the facts relating to this glorious struggle against corruption, put those facts upon record in a way that I think most likely to give them the best chance of producing effect.

English Liberty of the Press.——It appears to me to be necessary to put upon record, in a compact form, all the principal facts relating to the prosecution carried on against me, and the punishment inflicted upon me.——I shall now state these facts here; and, in my next, and in *every future Number* of the Register, if it continue to be published as long as I live, it shall form the *last page;* so that, in time, it may be read by every man in every country where the English language is understood; and so that it may, if people choose, be cut off, and pasted upon walls or other places.——I have confined myself to bare facts; facts which nobody can deny. I have had recourse to no colouring at all. Here are the unvarnished facts, and let every man form his own judgment upon them.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the COURIER:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday, "by the arrival of four squadrons of the "GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from "Bury, under the command of General "Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were "tried by a Court Martial, and *sentenced* "*to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednes-"day, and a part was remitted. *A stop-*"*page for their knapsacks* was the ground "of the complaint that excited this muti-"nous spirit, which occasioned the men to "surround their officers, and demand what "they deemed their arrears. The first di-"vision of the German Legion halted yes-"terday at Newmarket on their return to "Bury."——That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were *actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him*; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Baxter of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way

home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property, (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

To MR. RICHARD KITTLE, OF NORWICH.

Dear Sir,

I have this moment received your letter of the 19th, informing me, that you, and other friends of freedom and enemies of corruption, have fixed on the 3d day of August next for giving me a dinner at the White Swan in your city, and that you intend to advertise in both the Norwich papers to that effect. By this time you will have received a letter from me, containing the reasons for my at present foregoing the very great honour which I was before informed you intended me; but, as I owe a similar explanation to all our friends in and near your public-spirited city, I here repeat, that I found my farm so imperiously to demand my presence, especially at this important season of the year, and with a sense of my recent losses in my mind, and prudence dictating, at the same time, the removal of my family from a gentleman's house to a farm house, that I could not bring myself to resolve to leave home, anxious as I was to see and shake by the hand the friends of freedom at Norwich. If the object of my absence had been the rendering of some greater service to the cause of freedom than I could render by remaining at home, the reasons I have given would not have been a sufficient apology for the disappointment I shall occasion; but, as the object would have been no other than the receiving of a self-gratification, I trust that you and all our friends will have the goodness to accept, in the lieu of the personal attendance, the most sincere thanks for your kind intention, and an assurance that I shall always esteem it amongst the best compensations for the losses and the sufferings of your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

MINISTERIAL NEGOCIATIONS.

DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED, RELATING TO THE LATE NEGOCIATIONS FOR MAKING A NEW MINISTRY.

(Continued from page 96.)

than that which arose from the necessity of giving to a new government that character of efficiency and stability, and those marks of the constitutional support of the crown, which were required to enable it to act usefully for the public service; and that on these grounds it appeared to them indispensable, that the connexion of the great offices of the court with the political administration should be clearly established in its first arrangements,—A decided difference of opinion as to this point having been thus expressed on both sides, the conversation ended here, with mutual declarations of regret.—Nothing was said on the subject of official arrangements, nor any persons proposed on either side to fill any particular situations.

B. and C. Two Letters (which passed between Lords Moira and Grey) subjoined for the purpose of throwing light on the ground of part of these transactions. (B.) —*May* 31*st*, 1812.

My dear Lord,—A just anxiety not to leave any thing subject to misunderstanding, must excuse me if I am troublesome to you. Since I quitted you, the necessity of being precise in terms has occurred to me: and, although I think I cannot have mistaken you, I wish to know if I am accurate in what I apprehend you to have said. I understood the position, stated by you as having been what you advanced in the House of Lords, to be this, "That pledges "had been given to the Catholics, a de- "parture from which rendered their pre- "sent disappointment more galling; and "that you said this in the hearing of per- "sons who could contradict you if you

"were inaccurate." Just say whether I have taken your expression correctly or not. MOIRA.

(C.)——Holland House, May 31, 1812.

My dear Lord,—I cannot sufficiently thank you for your kind anxiety to procure an accurate statement of the words spoken by me in the House of Lords. It is difficult to remember precise expressions so long after they were spoken; but I am sure I cannot be far wrong in stating the substance of what I said, as follows:—I was speaking on the subject of the Irish Catholics, and particularly on the charge of intemperate conduct which had been made against them. I stated, that great allowances were to be made for this, considering their repeated disappointments; and I cited, as instances of these, the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the Union. I then said, that the most distinct and authentic pledges had been given to them, of the Prince's wish to relieve them from the disabilities of which they complained; that I spoke in the hearing of persons who could contradict me if what I said was unfounded, and who would, I was sure, support its truth if questioned; that now, when the fulfilment of these pledges was confidently expected, to see an Administration continued in power, which stood on the express principle of resisting their claims, was, perhaps, the bitterest disappointment they had yet experienced; and that it was not surprising, if, under such circumstances, they felt, and acted, in a way that all well wishers to the peace of the empire must regret.—This I give as the substance, and by no means as a correct repetition of the particular expressions used by me; and this statement I can neither retract, nor endeavour to explain away. If, in consequence of it, the Prince feels a strong personal objection to me, I can only repeat, what I have already said to you, that I am perfectly ready to stand out of the way; that my friends shall have my full concurrence and approbation in taking office without me, and my most cordial support in the government of the country, if their measures are directed, as I am sure they must always be, by the principles on which we have acted together.—I write this from Lord Holland's, in a great hurry, and in the middle of dinner; but I was unwilling to defer, even for a minute, to answer an inquiry, which I feel to be prompted by so friendly a solicitude for me. I have not the means of taking a copy of this letter. I shall therefore be obliged to you to let me have one; and I am sure, if, upon recollection, I shall think it necessary to add anything to what I have now said, you will allow me an opportunity of doing so.

GREY.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

ENGLAND and FRANCE.——Overtures for Peace by the Emperor Napoleon.

Copy of a Letter addressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to His Britannic Majesty.—Paris, April 17, 1812.

Sir,—His Majesty, constantly actuated by sentiments friendly to moderation and peace, is pleased again to make a solemn and sincere attempt to put an end to the miseries of war.——The awful circumstances in which the world is at present placed, have induced a resolution in the mind of his Majesty, the result of which has been to authorize me to explain to you, Sir, his views and intentions.——Many changes have taken place in Europe for the last ten years, which have been the necessary consequence of the war between France and England, and many more changes will be effected by the same cause. The particular character which the war has assumed, may add to the extent and duration of these results. Exclusive and arbitrary principles cannot be combated but by an opposition without measure or end; and the system of preservation and resistance should have the same character of universality, perseverance, and vigour.——The peace of Amiens, if it had been observed, would have prevented much confusion.——I heartily wish that the experience of the past may not be lost for the future.——His Majesty has often stopped when the most certain triumphs lay before him, and turned round to invoke peace.——In 1805, secure as he was by the advantages of his situation, and in spite of the confidence which he might reasonably feel in anticipations which Fortune was about to realize, he made proposals to his Britannic Majesty, which were rejected, on the ground that Russia should be consulted. In 1808, new proposals were made, in concert with Russia. England alleged the necessity of an intervention, which could be no more than the result of the negociation itself. In 1810, his Majesty, having clearly discerned that the

British Orders in Council of 1807, rendered the conduct of the war incompatible with the independence of Holland, caused indirect overtures to be made towards procuring the return of peace. They were fruitless, and the consequence was, that new Provinces were united to the Empire. ——In the present time are to be found united all the circumstances of the various periods at which his Majesty manifested the pacific sentiments which he now orders me again to declare that he is actuated by. ——The calamities under which Spain, and the vast regions of Spanish America suffer, should naturally excite the interest of all nations, and inspire them with an equal anxiety for their termination.——I will express myself, Sir, in a manner which your Excellency will find conformable to the sincerity of the step which I am authorized to take; and nothing will better evince the sincerity and sublimity of it than the precise terms of the language which I have been directed to use. What views and motives should induce me to envelope myself in formalities suitable to weakness, which alone can find its interest in deceit?——The affairs of the Peninsula and the Two Sicilies are the points of difference which appear least to admit of being adjusted. I am authorized to propose to you an arrangement of them on the following basis:——The integrity of Spain shall be guaranteed. France shall renounce all idea of extending her dominions beyond the Pyrennees. The present dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain shall be governed by a National Constitution of her Cortes.——The independence and integrity of Portugal shall be also guaranteed, and the House of Braganza shall have the Sovereign authority.——The kingdom of Naples shall remain in possession of the present Monarch, and the kingdom of Sicily shall be guaranteed to the present family of Sicily.——As a consequence of these stipulations, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily shall be evacuated by the French and English land and naval forces——With respect to the other objects of discussion, they may be negociated upon this basis, that each power shall retain that of which the other could not deprive it by war.——Such are, Sir, the grounds of conciliation offered by his Majesty to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.——His Majesty the Emperor and King, in taking this step does not look either to the advantages or losses which this Empire may derive from the war, if it should be prolonged; he is influenced simply by the considerations of the interests of humanity, and the peace of his people, and if this fourth attempt should not be attended with success, like those which have preceded it, France will at least have the consolation of thinking, that whatever blood may yet flow, will be justly imputable to England alone.——I have the honour, &c.

THE DUKE OF BASSANO.

Copy of the Answer of Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of His Britannic Majesty, to the Letter of the Minister for Foreign Relations, of the 17th of April, 1812.—London, Office for Foreign Affairs, April 23, 1812.

Sir,—Your Excellency's Letter of the 17th of this month has been received and laid before the Prince Regent.—His Royal Highness felt that he owed it to his honour, before he should authorize me to enter into any explanation upon the overture which your Excellency has transmitted, to ascertain the precise meaning attached by the Government of France to the following passage of your Excellency's Letter, the 'actual Dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain governed by the national Constitution of the Cortes.'——If, as his Royal Highness fears, the meaning of this proposition is, that the Royal authority of Spain, and the Government established by the Cortes, shall be recognized as residing in the brother of the head of the French Government, and the Cortes formed under his authority, and not in the legitimate Sovereign, Ferdinand the Seventh, and his heirs, and the Extraordinary Assembly of the Cortes, now invested with the power of the Government in that kingdom, in his name, and by his authority—I am commanded frankly and explicitly to declare to your Excellency, that the obligations of good faith do not permit his Royal Highness to receive a proposition for peace founded on such a basis.——But if the expressions cited above, apply to the actual government of Spain, which exercises the Sovereign authority in the name of Ferdinand the VIIth, upon an assurance of your Excellency to that effect, the Prince Regent will feel himself disposed to enter into a full explanation upon the basis which has been transmitted, in order to be taken into consideration by his Royal Highness; and it being his most earnest wish to contribute, in concert with his Allies, to the repose of Europe, and to bring about a peace, which may be at once honourable, not only for

Great Britain and France, but also for those States which are in relations of amity with each of these Powers.——Having made known without reserve the sentiments of the Prince Regent, with respect to a point on which it is necessary to have a full understanding, previous to any ulterior discussion, I shall adhere to the instructions of his Royal Highness, by avoiding all superfluous comment and recrimination on the accessary objects of your letter. I might advantageously for the justification of the conduct observed by Great Britain at the different periods alluded to by your Excellency, refer to the correspondence which then took place, and to the judgment which the world has long since formed of it.

As to the particular character the war has unhappily assumed, and the arbitrary principles which your Excellency conceives to have marked its progress, denying, as I do, that these evils are attributable to the British Government, I at the same time can assure your Excellency, that it sincerely deplores their existence, as uselessly aggravating the calamities of war, and that its most anxious desire, whether at peace or war with France, is to have the relations of the two countries restored to the liberal principles usually acted upon in former times.——I take this opportunity of assuring your Excellency of my respect.

CASTLEREAGH.

FRANCE AND RUSSIA.——*Correspondence relative to the Dispute of* 1812.

Copy of a Note addressed by the Minister of Foreign Relations to Count Romanzow, Chancellor of Russia. Paris, April 25, 1812.

Count—His Majesty the Emperor of Russia had acknowledged at Tilsit the principle, that the present generation should not have looked to the enjoyment of happiness, but on the ground that the nations in the full enjoyment of their rights might give themselves up freely to the exercise of their industry; that the independence of their flag should be inviolable; that the independence of their flag was a right belonging to each of them, and its protection a reciprocal duty of the one towards the other; that they were not less bound to protect the inviolability of their flag, than that of their territory; that if a Power cannot, without ceasing to be neuter, allow its territory to be taken away by one of the Belligerent Powers, so neither can it remain neuter, in permitting to be taken away from under the protection of its flag, by one of the Belligerent Powers, the property which the other has placed there; that all Powers consequently have the right of exacting, that nations, pretending to neutrality, should cause their flag to be respected in the same manner as they enforce respect to their territory; that so long as England, persisting in its system of war, should disavow the independence of any flag upon the seas, no Power, which is possessed of coast, can be neuter with respect to England.——With that penetration and elevation of sentiment by which he is distinguished, the Emperor Alexander also perceived that there could not be any prosperity for the Continental States, but in the establishment of their rights by a maritime peace. This great interest was predominant in the Treaty of Tilsit, and every thing else was the immediate result of it.——The Emperor Alexander offered his mediation to the English Government, and engaged, if this Government would not consent to conclude peace upon the principle of acknowledging that the flags of all Powers should enjoy an equal and perfect independence upon the seas, to make common cause with France, to summon, in concert with her, the three Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, to close their ports against the English, to declare war against England, and to insist upon the adoption of the same measure by the various Powers.——The Emperor Napoleon accepted of the mediation of Russia, but the answer of England was a violation of the rights of nations, till then unexampled in history. She, in the midst of peace, and without any preliminary declaration of war, attacked Denmark, surprised her capital, burned her arsenals, and took possession of her fleet, which was dismantled and lying secure in her ports. Russia, in conformity to the stipulations and principles of the Treaty of Tilsit, declared war against England; proclaimed anew the principles of the armed neutrality; and engaged never to swerve from this system. Here the British Cabinet threw off the mask, by issuing, in the month of November, 1807, those Orders in council, by virtue of which England levied a toll of from four to five millions upon the continent; and she compelled the flag of every Power to submit to the regulations which were the result of her principles of legislation. Thus, on the one side, she made war upon all Europe; and, on the other, she secured to herself the

means of perpetuating the duration of that war, by founding her financial system upon the tributes which she arrogated to herself —a right of imposing upon all people.—— Already in 1806, and while France was at war with Prussia and Russia, she had proclaimed a blockade which had placed under an interdict the entire coast of an empire. When His Majesty entered Berlin, he answered this monstrous presumption by a Decree of blockade against the British Isles. But to meet the Orders in Council of 1807, more direct and specific measures were necessary; and His Majesty, by the Decree of Milan, of the 17th of December of the same year, declared all those flags denationalized which should permit their neutrality to be violated by submitting to those Orders.——The attempt on Copenhagen had been sudden and public. England had prepared in Spain new attempts, hatched with reflection and in the dark.—— Not having been able to shake the determination of Charles IV., she formed a party against that Prince, who would not sacrifice to her the interests of his kingdom. She used the name of the Prince of the Asturias, and the father was driven from his throne by the name of the son. The enemies of France and the partisans of England took possession of the Sovereign authority.——His Majesty, called upon by Charles the Fourth, sent troops into Spain, and war was commenced in the Peninsula.——By one of the stipulations of Tilsit, Russia was to evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia. This evacuation was deferred — new revolutions, which had taken place at Constantinople, had several times bathed in blood the walls of the Seraglio. —— Thus scarcely a year had elapsed from the peace of Tilsit—the affairs of Copenhagen, of Constantinople, and the Orders in Council, published in 1807, in England, had placed Europe in so unlooked-for a situation, that the two Sovereigns thought proper to come to an understanding, and the interview at Erfurth took place.——With the same designs, and inspired by the same spirit which had directed their proceedings at Tilsit, they agreed as to what exacted from them such considerable changes. The Emperor consented to withdraw his troops from Russia, and at the same time consented that Russia should not only evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia, but that she should unite these provinces to her empire.—— The two Sovereigns, inspired with one and the same desire of re-establishing a maritime peace, and then as much disposed as at Tilsit to defend those principles for the defence of which they had entered into an alliance, resolved to make a solemn application to England. You, Count, came, in consequence, to Paris, and a correspondence ensued between you and the British Government. But the Cabinet of London, which had perceived that war was about to be rekindled on the Continent, rejected all overtures towards negociation. Sweden had refused to shut her ports against England; and Russia, in conformity to the stipulations of Tilsit, had declared war against her. The result to her was, the loss of Finland, which was united to the Russian empire; and at the same time the Russian armies occupied the fortresses on the Danube, and made war with effect upon the Turks.——Nevertheless, the system of England was triumphant. Her Orders in Council threatened to produce the most important results; and the tribute, which was to furnish the means of supporting the perpetual war which she had declared, was perceptible upon the seas. Holland and the Hanseatic Towns continuing to trade with her, their commerce frustrated the salutary and decisive regulations of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, which alone were calculated to effectually resist the principles of the British Orders in Council. The execution of these Decrees could not be assured, but by the daily exercise of a firm and vigilant Administration. Unexposed to the influence of the enemy, Holland, and the Hanseatic Towns, it was necessary, should be united. But while the sentiments dearest to the heart of His Majesty yielded to the interest of his people and that of the Continent, great changes were taking place. Russia abandoned the principle to which she had pledged herself at Tilsit, viz. to make common cause with France, which she had proclaimed in her Declaration of War against England, and which had dictated the Decrees of Berlin and Milan.——They were evaded by the Ukase which opened the ports of Russia to all English ships laden with colonial produce, English property, provided that they were under a foreign flag. This unexpected blow annulled the Treaty of Tilsit, and those important transactions which had put an end to the struggle between the two greatest Empires of the World, and which had afforded to Europe a probability of obtaining a maritime peace. Approaching commotions and bloody wars were of course to

be immediately expected.——The conduct of Russia at this time was constantly directed towards these fatal results. The uniting of the Duchy of Oldenburgh, dovetailed, as it were, into the countries recently brought under the same principles of Government as France, was a necessary consequence of the uniting of the Hanseatic Towns. An indemnity was offered. This object was easy to regulate with reciprocal advantage. But your Cabinet made an affair of State of it; and, for the first time, was seen a Manifesto of an ally against an ally.——The reception of English vessels in Russian ports, and the regulations of the Ukase of 1810, had made it known that the treaties were dissolved. The Manifesto showed that not only the bonds which had united the two Governments were broken, but that Russia had publicly thrown the gauntlet to France, for a difficulty which was foreign to her, and which could not be solved but by the method which His Majesty had proposed.——It was not to be concealed that the refusal of this offer disclosed the project of a rupture already formed. Russia prepared for it at the very time that she was dictating terms of peace to Turkey; she suddenly recalled five divisions of the army of Moldavia: and, in the month of February 1811, it was known at Paris that the army of the Duchy of Warsaw had been obliged to repass the Vistula, in order to fall back upon the Confederation, because the Russian armies, on the frontiers, were so numerous, and had assumed so menacing a posture.——When Russia had resolved on measures contrary to the interests of the active war which she had to support—when she had imparted to her armies a developement burdensome to her finances, and without any object, in the situation in which all the Powers of the Continent were then placed, all the French troops were within the Rhine, except a corps of 40,000 men, stationed at Hamburgh for the defence of the coasts of the North Sea, and for the maintenance of tranquillity in the countries recently united; the reserved places in Prussia were occupied only by the Allied troops. A garrison of only four thousand men had remained at Dantzic; and the troops of the Duchy of Warsaw were on the peace establishment, a part of them even was in Spain.——The preparations of Russia then were without object, unless she entertained an expectation to impose upon France by a grand array of forces, and to oblige her to put an end to the discussions respecting Oldenburgh, by sacrificing the existence of the Duchy of Warsaw; perhaps, also, Russia, not being able to disguise from herself the fact of her having violated the Treaty of Tilsit, had recourse to force, for no other purpose but to seek to justify violations which could not be defended.——His Majesty nevertheless remained unmoved (impossible). He persevered in his desire of an arrangement: he was of opinion, that at any period it would be time enough to resort to arms; he required only that powers should be sent to Prince Kurakin, and that a negociation should be opened with respect to these differences, which might be thus easily terminated, and which were by no means of a nature to call for the effusion of blood. They were reducible to the four following points:——1st. The existence of the Duchy of Warsaw, which had been a condition of the peace of Tilsit, and which, since the close of 1809, gave Russia occasion to manifest those instances of defiance to which His Majesty answered with condescension, carried as far as the most exacting friendship could desire, and honour could allow.——2d. The annexation of Oldenburgh, which the war against England had rendered necessary, and which was conformable to the spirit of the Treaty of Tilsit.——3d. The Legislation respecting trade in English merchandises and denationalized vessels, which ought to be regulated according to the spirit and the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit.——4th. Lastly, the dispositions of the Ukase of 1810, which, by destroying all the commercial relations of France with Russia, and opening her ports to simulated flags freighted with English property, were contrary to the letter of the Treaty of Tilsit.——Such would have been the objects of the negociation.——As to what concerned the Duchy of Warsaw, His Majesty would have been forward to adopt a Convention, by which he would pledge himself not to encourage any enterprise which might have a tendency, directly or indirectly, to lead to the re-establishment of Poland.——As to Oldenburgh, he offered to accept the intervention of Russia, which nevertheless had no right to interfere in what involved a Prince of the Confederation of the Rhine, and he agreed to give that Prince an indemnity.——With regard to commerce in English merchandises and to denationalized ships, His Majesty desired to come to some understanding, in order to reconcile the wants of Russia with the principles of the Continental System, and the spirit of the

Treaty of Tilsit.——And, lastly, as to the Ukase, His Majesty consented to conclude a Treaty of Commerce, which, in securing the commercial relations of France, would, at the same time, provide for all the interests of Russia.——The Emperor flattered himself, that such dispositions, dictated by so manifest a spirit of conciliation, would, at length, have led to an arrangement. But it was impossible to prevail upon Russia to grant the powers for opening a negociation.—She invariably answered all the new offers made to her by fresh armaments, and the conclusion was, at length, necessarily come to, that she refused to explain, because she had nothing to propose but what she dared not avow, and which could not be granted to her; that it was not any stipulations, which by identifying the Duchy of Warsaw still more with Saxony, and placing that Duchy in security from any commotions that might alarm Russia for the tranquillity of her provinces, that she was desirous to obtain, but the Duchy itself, which she wished to unite to herself: that it was not her own commerce, but that of the English which she wished to favour, in order to release England from the catastrophe which menaced her: that it was not for the interests of the Duke of Oldenburgh that Russia wished to interfere in the business respecting the annexation of that Duchy, but that it was an open quarrel with France that she wished to keep in reserve, till the moment of the rupture for which she was preparing.——The Emperor then became sensible that he had not a moment to lose. He also had recourse to arms. He took measures to oppose army to army, in order to guarantee a State of the second order so often menaced, and which reposed all its confidence upon his protection and good faith.——Nevertheless, Count, His Majesty still continued to avail himself of every opportunity to manifest his sentiments. He declared publicly, on the 15th of August last, the necessity of arresting the very dangerous course in which affairs were proceeding, and wished to attain that object by arrangements, for which he never ceased to request that a negociation should be entered into.——Towards the close of the month of November following, His Majesty believed he might indulge the hope that this view was at length likely to be participated in by your Cabinet. It was announced by you, Count, to the Ambassador of His Majesty, that M. de Nesselrode was destined to proceed to Paris with instructions. Four months elapsed before His Majesty was apprized that this mission would not take place. He instantly sent for Colonel Czernichew, and gave him a letter to the Emperor Alexander, which was a fresh endeavour to open negociations. M. de Czernichew arrived on the 10th of March at St. Petersburg, and that letter still remains unanswered.——How is it possible longer to dissemble that Russia evades all approximation? For eighteen months she has made it a constant rule to lay her hand upon her sword whenever propositions for an arrangement have been made to Russia.——Seeing himself thus constrained to abandon every hope from Russia, His Majesty, before he should commence this contest in which so much blood must be shed, felt it to be his duty to address himself to the English Government. The distress felt by England, the agitations to which she is a prey, and the changes which have taken place in her Government, decided His Majesty to take this course. A sincere desire of peace dictated the proceeding, which I have received orders to communicate to you. No agent had been sent to London, and there has been no other communications between the two Governments. *The letter, of which* your Excellency will find a copy annexed, and which I addressed to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of His Britannic Majesty, had been sent by sea to the Commandant on the Dover station.——The course which I now take towards you, Count, is a consequence of the dispositions of the Treaty of Tilsit, with which His Majesty has the wish to comply till the last moment. If the overtures made to England should produce any result, I shall take the earliest opportunity to make it known to your Excellency. His Majesty the Emperor Alexander will participate in the business, either in consequence of the Treaty of Tilsit, or as an ally of England, if his relations with that country be already adjusted.——I am formally commanded, Count, to express, in concluding this dispatch, the wish already communicated by His Majesty to Colonel Czernichew, to see those negociations, which, during eighteen months, he has never ceased to solicit, prevent, at length, those events which humanity would have so much reason to deplore.——Whatever may be the situation of things when this letter shall reach your Excellency, Peace will still depend upon the determinations of

your Cabinet.——I have the honour, Count, to offer you the assurance of my high consideration.

THE DUKE OF BASSANO.

Copy of a Note from Prince Kurakin to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.—Paris, 18 (30) April, 1812.

My Lord Duke,—Since the interview which I had on Tuesday last with your Excellency, and in the course of which you gave me reason to suppose that the verbal communications which I had the honour of making, according to the tenor of my latest instructions, should be admitted as the grounds of the arrangements on which we are about to enter; since that time I have not been able to find you at home, and enter into a second conference, in order to the discussion of this object, and the settling the project of this convention.——It is impossible for me, my Lord, to defer any longer transmitting to the Emperor, my master, an account of the execution of the orders he has given me. I acquitted myself verbally towards his Majesty the Emperor and King, in the private audience which he granted me on Monday. I also acquitted myself in the same manner towards your Excellency, in my interview with you on Friday, Monday, and Tuesday. I flattered myself, that the agreement to a project of convention, founded upon a basis which I had the honour to propose, and which I had hoped would be agreeable to his Majesty the Emperor and King, would put it in my power to prove immediately to his Majesty the Emperor, my master, that I had fulfilled his intentions, and had the good fortune to have done so successfully. Deprived for two days of the power of seeing your Excellency, of following up and concluding, in conjunction with you, a work so important and so urgent, in consequence of the circumstances that are to be submitted to us, that not a single day should be lost; and seeing the certainty overthrown with which I had flattered myself that this work would be finished without delay, and which might lead to the conclusion that it ought to have, namely, that of preventing the fatal consequences of the close approach which has been made by the army of his Majesty the Emperor and King to that of the Emperor, my master, it now remains for me to provide for my responsibility towards my Court, by officially acquitting myself, in the communication which I have received orders to make to your Excellency, and which hitherto have been only made verbally.——I am ordered to declare to your Excellency, that the preservation of Prussia, and her independence from every political engagement directed against Russia, is indispensable to the interests of his Imperial Majesty. In order to arrive at a real state of peace with France, it is necessary that there should be between her and Russia a neutral country, which shall not be occupied by the troops of either of the two powers: that as the entire policy of his Majesty the Emperor, my master, is calculated to preserve solid and stable principles of amity with France, which cannot subsist so long as foreign armies continue to be quartered so near the Russian frontiers, the first basis of negociation can be, no other than a formal engagement or a complete evacuation of the Prussian States, and of all the strong places of Prussia, whatsoever may have been the period and the pretext of their occupation by the French or Allied troops; of a diminution of the garrison of Dantzic; the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania, and an arrangement with the King of Sweden, calculated to give mutual satisfaction to the crowns of France and Sweden.——I must declare, that when the measures above-mentioned shall be acquiesced in on the part of France, as the basis of the arrangement to be concluded, I shall be permitted to promise, that such arrangements may include, on the part of his Majesty the Emperor, my master, the following engagements:——Without deviating from the principles adopted by the Emperor of all the Russias for the commerce of his States, and for the admission of neutrals into the ports of his dominions—principles which his Majesty can never renounce, he binds himself, as a proof of his adherence to the alliance formed at Tilsit, not to adopt any change of the prohibitive measures established in Russia, and severely observed to the present time, against direct trade with England. His Majesty is also ready to agree with his Majesty the Emperor of the

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO MY CORRESPONDENTS.

Since I have returned home, the postage of Letters has cost me more than *thirty shillings a week*. This is an expense that it would be inconvenient for me to bear. I therefore hereby notify, that, after this day week, I will never, on any account, receive any letter, from any body, *the postage of which is not paid*, whether by the General or by the Twopenny post; and that I will pay the postage of all the Letters that I send to any persons whatever. Parcels left with Mr. Bagshaw, Brydges Street, Covent Garden, will be forwarded to me with care.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF BRISTOL.

LETTER II.

Gentlemen,

If I have not to congratulate you upon the return of Mr. Hunt as your representative, I may well congratulate you upon the spirit which you have shown during the election, and upon the prospect of final success from the exertion of a similar spirit. That another contest will take place in a few months there can be no doubt; for, the law allows of no exceptions with regard to the use of soldiers. The ancient common law of England forbade not only the use, but the very *show* of force of any kind, at elections; and, the act of parliament, made in the reign of King George the Second, is quite positive as to a case like yours. That Act, after stating the principle of the Common Law as to soldiers in an election town, says, that, when an election is about to take place in any city or borough, wherein there are any soldiers stationed or quartered, the soldiers shall be removed out of the said city or borough; that they shall go out one day, at least, before the poll begins; that they shall not return till one day, at least, after the poll has closed; that the distance to which they shall be removed, shall be two miles at least. There are a few exceptions, such as Westminster or any other place where the Royal Family may be, who are to have their guards about them whether there be an election going on or not; and also, in case of fortified towns, where, though there be an election going on, soldiers are to remain in sufficient number to take care of the works.

Now, then, as Bristol is neither a place of residence of the Royal Family, nor a fortified town, it is clear, that, if soldiers have been suffered to remain in, or to return to, your city within the periods above described, the election must be void; or, there is, at once, an end to the above-mentioned act of parliament, and also to the ancient common law of England in this respect, and the very show of freedom of election is gone. It has not only been stated to me from the best authority; but, it has been stated in print by your well-known enemies, that soldiers were not only brought within the precincts of your city, during the time that the poll was open, but that they actually were stationed, with bayonets fixed, in the very Guildhall; and, in short, that after the first or second day of the election, the city was under the control of military armed men.

This being the case, there can be no doubt of the election being declared void; or, if it be not, there will, at any rate, be no disguise; it will become *openly declared*, that soldiers, under the command of men appointed by the King, and removeable at his sole will, can be, at any time, brought into a place where an election is going on, and can be stationed in the very building where the poll is taken. Whether, amongst the other strange things of our day, we are doomed to witness this, is more than I can say; but, at the least, it will be something *decisive;* something that will speak a *plain language;* something that will tend to fashion men's minds to what is to come.

But, I have heard it asked: "would "you, then, in *no case*, have soldiers call-"ed in during an election? Would you "rather see a city *burnt down?*" Aye would I, and to the very ground; and, rather than belong to a city where soldiers were to be brought in to assist at elections, I would expire myself in the midst of the flames, or, at least, it would be my duty so to do, though I might fail in the courage

to perform it. But, *why* should a city be *burnt down*, unless protected by *soldiers?* Why suppose any such case? Really, to hear some men talk now-a-days, one would be almost tempted to think that they look upon soldiers as necessary to our very existence; or, at the least, that they are necessary to keep us in order, and that the people of England, so famed for their good sense, for their public spirit, and their obedience to the laws, are now a set of brutes, to be governed only by force. If there are men who think thus of the people of England, let them *speak out;* and then we shall know them. But, Gentlemen, it is curious enough, that the very persons, who, upon all occasions, are speaking of the people of England as being so happy, so contented, so much attached to their government, are the persons who represent soldiers as absolutely necessary to *keep this same people in order!*

To hear these men talk, one would suppose, that soldiers, as the means of keeping the peace, had always made a part of our government; and, that, as to elections, there always may have been cases when the calling in of soldiers was necessary. But, the fact is, that soldiers were wholly unknown to the ancient law of England; and, that, as to an *army*, there never was any thing of an army *established* in England till within a hundred years. How was the peace kept *then?* How were riots suppressed in those times? We do not hear of any cities having been burnt at elections in those days. I will not cite the example of America, where there are elections going on every year, and where every man who pays a sixpence tax has a vote, and yet where there is not a single soldier in the space of hundreds and thousands of miles; I will not ask how the peace is kept in that country; I will not send our opponents across the Atlantic; I will confine myself to England; and, again I ask, *how the peace was kept in the times when there were no soldiers in England?* I put this question to the friends of Corruption; I put this question to Mr. Mills, of the Bristol Gazette, whose paper applauds the act of introducing the troops. This is my question: how was the peace kept at elections, how were towns and cities preserved, how was the city of Bristol saved from destruction, *in those days when there were no soldiers in England?* I put this question to the apostles of tyranny and despotic sway; and, Gentlemen, we may wait long enough, I believe, before they will venture upon an answer.

I have heard it asked: "What! would "you, then, make an election void, because "soldiers were introduced, though one of "the candidates would have been killed, "perhaps, without the protection of the "bayonet? Would you thus set an elec- "tion aside, when it might be evident, "that, without the aid of soldiers, the man "who has been elected, would not, and "could not, have been elected, on account "of the violence exercised against him? "If that be the case; there is nothing to do "but to excite great popular violence "against a man; for, that being done, you "either drive him and his supporters from "the polling place, or, if he call in sol- "diers, you make his election void." This has a little plausibility in it; but, as you will see, it will not stand the test of examination. Here is a talk about exciting of violent proceedings; here is a talk about burning the city; but, *who*, Gentlemen, were to be guilty of these violent proceedings; *who* were to burn the city? Not the horses or dogs of Bristol; not any banditti from a foreign land; not any pirates who had chanced to land upon the coast. No, no; but "the *rabble*, the *mob*;" and *what* were they? Were they a species of monsters, unknown to our ancient laws and to the act of George the Second? Or were they men and women? If the latter, they were, in fact, *people of Bristol;* and, the truth is, that if the people of Bristol abhorred a man to such a degree that it was unsafe for him or his advocates to appear on the hustings, or in the streets; if this was the case, it was improper that that man should be elected, since it must be clear, that, if elected, he must owe his election to undue, if not corrupt, influence. What! and do the advocates of corruption suppose, that our law-makers had not this in their view? Is it to be imagined, that they did not foresee, and, indeed, that they had not frequently seen, that elections produced fierce and bloody battles? They knew it well; and so did the legislators in America; but, still they allowed of no use of soldiers. They reasoned thus, or, at least, thus they would have reasoned, if any one had talked to them of soldiers: 'No; we 'will have no soldiers. The magistrate 'has full power to keep the peace at all 'times, not excepting times of election, 'when assaults and slanders are no more 'permitted by law than at any other time. 'The magistrate has all the constables and 'other inferior peace officers at his com- 'mand; he can, if he find it necessary, 'add to the number of these at his plea-

'sure; and, if the emergency be such as 'not to allow time for this, he can, by his 'sole authority, and by virtue of his com- 'mission, which is at all times effective, 'call upon the whole of the people to *aid* '*and assist* him in the execution of his 'duty, and for refusing to do which any 'man is liable to punishment. Having 'endued the magistrate with these powers; 'having given him a chosen band of sworn 'officers, armed with staves; having given 'him unlimitted power to add to that band; 'having given him, in case of emergency, 'the power of commanding every man, of 'whatever age or degree, to aid and assist 'him in the execution of his duty; having 'thus armed the magistrate, how can we 'suppose him to stand in need of the aid 'of *soldiers*, without first supposing the 'country in a state of rebellion, in which 'case it is nonsense to talk about *elections*. 'To tell us about the *popular prejudices* 'excited against a candidate, is to tell us 'of an insufficient cause even for the calling 'out of the possé; but, if this prejudice be 'so very strong, so very general, and so 'deeply rooted, that the magistrate, with 'all his ordinary and special constables, 'and his power to call upon the *whole of* '*the people* to aid and assist, is unable to 'protect him from violence, or, is unable 'to preserve the city against the rage ex- 'cited by his presence and pretensions; if 'there be a prejudice like this against a 'candidate, we are sure that it would be 'an insult to the common sense of mankind 'to call such a man, if elected, the *repre-* '*sentative* of that city; and, therefore, we 'will make no new law for favouring the 'election of such a man.'

Such, Gentlemen, would have been the reasoning of our ancestors, such would have been the reasoning of the legislators of America, if they had been called upon to make a law for the introduction of *soldiers at an election;* which, let the circumstances of the case be what they may, and let the sophistry of the advocates of corruption be what it may, is, after all, neither more nor less than the forcing of the people to suffer one candidate to be elected and another to be set aside. The soldiers do, in fact, decide the contest, and cause the return of the sitting member; unless it be acknowledged, that his election *could have been effected without them;* and, then, *where is the justification for calling them in?* I have heard of nobody who has attempted to anticipate any other decision than that of a *void election*; and, indeed, who will dare to anticipate any other? For, if the return be allowed to stand good in favour of Hart Davis, does any man pretend, that there can ever exist a case in which soldiers may not be brought in? They are brought in under the pretence of quelling *a riot;* under the pretence of their being necessary to preserve the peace, and where is the place where this pretence may not be hatched? It is in any body's power to make a row and a fight during an election at Westminster, for instance; and, of course, according to the Bristol doctrine, it is in any body's power to give the magistrate cause for calling in soldiers, and for posting them even upon the very hustings of Covent Garden. In short, if Hart Davis, his return being petitioned against, be allowed to sit, we can never again expect to see a candidate of that description unsupported by soldiers; and, then, I repeat it, the very show, the mere semblance, of freedom of election will not exist.

It being, for these reasons, my opinion, that the return of Hart Davis will be set aside, and, of course, that another election for your city is at no great distance, I shall now take the liberty to offer you my advice as to the measures which you then ought to pursue; first adding to what I said in my last a few observations relative to Mr. Hunt.

At the close of my last letter I observed to you, that it was owing to this gentleman, and to him alone, that you had *an election*. You now know this well. You have now *seen* what it is to have at your head a man of principle and courage. With all the purses of almost all those in Bristol who have grown rich out of the taxes; with all the influence of all the corrupt; with all the Bristol news-papers and almost all the London news-papers; with all the Corporation of the City; with all the bigoted Clergy and all their next a kin, the pettifogging Attorneys; with all the bigots, and all the hypocrites, and all alarmist fools; with all these against him, and with hundreds of bludgeon men to boot; opposed to all this, and to thirty or forty hired barristers and attorneys, Mr. Hunt stood the poll for the thirteen days, in the face of horse and foot soldiers, and that, too, without the aid of advocate or attorney, and with no other assistance than what was rendered him by one single friend, who, at my suggestion, went down to him on the sixth or seventh day of the election. Gentlemen, this is, as I verily believe, what no other man in England,

whom I know, would have done. There may be others capable of the same exertions; and, let us hope, that England does contain some other men able to undergo what he underwent; but, it falls to the lot of no country to produce *many* such men. At any rate, he has *proved* himself to be the man for you; he has done for you what none of the milk-sop, miawling orators at Sir Samuel Romilly's meetings would have dared even to think of. *They* talk of freeing the city from the trammels of corruption; *they* talk of giving you freedom of election; *they* talk of making a stand for your rights. What stand have they made? What have you had from them but talk? They saw the enemy within your walls; they saw him offer himself for the choice of the people of Bristol; they saw preparations making for chairing him as your representative on the first day of the election; and what did *they* do to rescue you from the disgrace of seeing him triumph over you, while you were silent? Nothing. They did, in fact, sell you to him upon the implied condition, that he, as far as he was able, should sell his followers to them when the time came. You have been saved from that disgrace; you have had 14 days of your lives wherein to tell your enemies and the enemies of your country your minds; you have had 14 days, during which corruption trembled under your bitter but just reproaches; you have had 14 days of political instruction and inquiry; you have had those who affect to listen to your voice 14 days before you, and in the hearing of that voice; there have been, in your city, 14 days of terror to the guilty part of it. This is a great deal, and for this you are indebted to Mr. Hunt and to him alone. Your own public virtues, your zeal, activity and courage, and your hatred of your country's enemies did, indeed, enable Mr. Hunt to make the stand; but, still there wanted such a man as Mr. Hunt; without such a man the stand could not have been made; without such a man you could not have had an opportunity of giving utterance to the hatred which you so justly feel against the supporters of that corruption, the consequences of which you so sorely feel.

That a man, who was giving such annoyance to the corrupt, should pass without being calumniated was not to be expected. Every man, who attacks corruption, who makes war upon the vile herd that live upon the people's labour, every such man must lay his account with being calumniated; he must expect to be the object of the bitterest and most persevering malice; and, unless he has made up his mind to the enduring of this, he had better, at once, quit the field. One of the weapons which corruption employs against her adversaries is calumny, secret as well as open. It is truly surprising to see how many ways she has of annoying her foes, and the artifices to which she stoops to arrive at her end. No sooner does a man become in any degree formidable to her, than she sets to work against him in all the relationships of life. In his profession, his trade, his family; amongst his friends, the companions of his sports, his neighbours, and his servants. She eyes him all round, she feels him all over, and, if he has a vulnerable point, if he has a speck, however small, she is ready with her stab. How many hundreds of men have been ruined by her without being hardly able to perceive, much less name, the cause; and how many thousands, seeing the fate of these hundreds, have withdrawn from the struggle, or have been deterred from taking part in it!

Mr. Hunt's *separation from his wife* presented too fair a mark to be for a moment overlooked; but, it required the *canting crew*, with a Mr. Charles Elton at their head, to give to this fact that deformity which it has been made to receive. Gentlemen, I wish to be clearly understood here. I do not think lightly of such matters. When a man separates from his wife there must always be ground for regret; it is a thing always to be lamented; and, if the fault, in this case, was on the side of Mr. Hunt, it is a fault, which, even in our admiration of his public conduct, we ought by no means to endeavour to palliate. But, Gentlemen, I do not and the public cannot, know what was the *real cause* of the separation of which so much has been said. Mr. Hunt has, upon no occasion that I have heard of, attempted to justify his conduct, in this respect, by stating the reasons of the separation; but, I am sure that you are too just to conclude from *that circumstance*, that the fault was wholly his. It is impossible for the public to know the facts of such a case. They cannot enter into a man's family affairs. The tempers and humours of wives and of husbands nobody but those wives and husbands know. They are, in many cases, unknown even to domestic servants and to children; and, is it not, then, the height

of presumption for the public to pretend to any knowledge of the matter?

But, be the facts of the case what they may, I am quite sure, that as a candidate for a seat in parliament, they have nothing to do with the pretensions of Mr. Hunt, any more than they would have had to do with his claims to a title for having won the battle of Trafalgar. There is a Mr. Walker, who, I think, is an Attorney at Bristol, who has written a pamphlet against Mr. Hunt, in which pamphlet he argues thus: 'Mr. Hunt has, by quitting his wife to live with another woman, broken his plighted vows to his own wife; a man who will break his promises in one case will break them in another case; and, therefore, as Mr. Hunt has broken his promises to his wife, *he will break his promises to the people of Bristol*.' These are not Mr. Walker's words, but you have here his reasoning, and from it you may judge of the shifts to which Mr. Hunt's adversaries are driven. As well might Mr. Walker tell you that you will break any promise that you may make to your neighbours, because you have not wholly renounced the Devil and all his works and all the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, as you, in your baptism, promised and vowed to do. If Mr. Walker's argument were a good one, a man who lives in a state of separation from his wife ought to be regarded as a man dead in law; or, rather, as a man excommunicated by the Pope. If his promises are good for nothing when made to electors, they are good for nothing when made to any body else. He cannot, therefore, be a proper man for any body to deal with, or to have any communication with; and, in short, he ought to be put out of the world, as being a burden and a nuisance in it.

There is something so absurd, so glaringly stupid, in this, that it is hardly worth while to attempt a further exposure of it, or I might ask the calumniating crew, who accuse Mr. Hunt of *disloyalty*, whether they are ready to push their reasoning and their rules up to *peers* and *princes*, and to assert that they ought to be put out of power if they cease to live with their wives. They would say, no; and that their doctrine was intended to apply only to those who had the boldness to attack corruption. The man who does that is to be as pure as snow; he is to have no faults at all. He is to be a *perfect Saint;* nay, he is to be a great deal more, for he is to have no human being, not even his wife, to whisper a word to his disadvantage. "You talk "of mending the *constitution*," said an Anti-jacobin to Dr. Jebb when the latter was very ill, "mend *your own*;" and I have heard it seriously objected to a gentleman that he signed a petition for a reform of parliament while there needed a reformation amongst his servants, one of whom had assisted to burden the parish; just as if he had on that account less right to ask for a full and fair representation of the people! After this, who need wonder if he were told not to talk against rotten boroughs while he himself had a rotten tooth, or endeavour to excite a clamour against corruption when his own flesh was every day liable to be corrupted to the bone?

After this, Gentlemen, I trust that you are not to be cheated by such wretched cant. With Mr. Hunt's family affairs you and I have nothing to do, any more than he has with ours. We are to look to his conduct as a public man, and, if he serve us in that capacity he is entitled to our gratitude. Suppose, for instance, the plague were in Bristol, and the only physician, who had skill and courage to put a stop to its ravages, was separated from his wife and living with the wife of another man; would you refuse his assistance? Would you fling his prescriptions into the kennel? Would the canting Messrs. Mills and Elton and Walker exclaim, "no! we will have "none of your aid; we will die rather "than be saved by you, who have broken "your marriage vows!" Would they say this? No; but would crawl to him, would supplicate him, with tears in their eyes. And, yet, suffer me to say, Gentlemen, that such a physician in a plague would not be more necessary in Bristol than such a man as Mr. Hunt now is; and that the family affairs of a member of parliament is no more a matter of concern with his constituents than are the family affairs of a physician a matter of concern with his patients. When an important service had been received from either, it would be pleasanter for the benefited party to reflect that the party conferring the benefit was happy in his family; but, if the case were otherwise, to suppose the benefit less real, or the party conferring it entitled to less gratitude, is something too monstrously absurd to be entertained by any man of common sense.

The remainder of my subject I must re-

serve for another Letter, and in the mean while, I am, Gentlemen, your sincere friend,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 27, 1812.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FRENCH OVERTURES FOR PEACE *(continued from page 110).*——Since I wrote the article here referred to, there has taken place a debate in the House of Commons, upon the subject of the French overtures. Mr. Sheridan made, on the 21st of July, a motion for the production of the correspondence, relating to that subject, which motion seems to have been made for the purpose of attacking Napoleon, or, at least, for that of answering the publications in the Moniteur. The debate is of importance in many respects, and especially as having pretty clearly developed what are the notions of the *court* upon the subject of peace with France, Mr. Sheridan being well known to be now merely a courtier, a courtier and nothing else.——I said, in my last, that the proposition of France was *fair* and *frank*, and, the circumstances considered, *moderate*. Mr. Sheridan has described it as *perfidious, insidious*, and *insulting*. We see with very different eyes, then; and, therefore, let the reader judge between us. —— To enable him to judge rightly, he must first have the proposition distinctly before him. It was this: "that "the crown of Spain should be guaranteed "to Joseph, and Spain governed by a national constitution of her Cortes, the "French armies being withdrawn; that "Portugal should be guaranteed to the "House of Braganza, our troops being "withdrawn; that Sicily should be guaranteed to the king, and evacuated by "us; and that, with respect to other objects of discussion, they should be negociated upon this basis, that each power "should retain that of which the other had "not been able to deprive it by war." ——Such, reader, was the overture made by France; and do you see in it any thing perfidious, insidious, or insulting? It is as plain in its meaning as words can make it. There is no possibility of misunderstanding it; and, therefore, it cannot with propriety be called *perfidious*. Mr. Sheridan says it is perfidious, because it invites us to do that which would be a breach of faith towards our ally; but, if it really does this, it cannot for that be called *perfidious;* to make it out as being perfidious, it must be shewn that its object was to accomplish something treacherous *against us.* If I make a proposition to a rebel to desert his associates, I am not guilty of perfidy; my proposition is not perfidious, though I am certainly calling upon him to do that which would be perfidious towards those associates.——However, the proposition of Napoleon is free even from the imputation of tempting England to do a perfidious act. Mr. Sheridan says, that we could not agree to leave Joseph in possession of Spain without the "grossest perfidy to our allies, and "the most treacherous violation of all our "most solemn engagements." Now, in the first place, supposing this to be true, was it a reason for our refusing to negociate without demanding the giving up of this point as *a preliminary?* We might have negociated, and yet not have yielded this point. We might have offered to give up some of our own immense acquisitions in Asia, Africa, or America, in order to get Joseph out of Spain. But, really, we seem to have formed the design of taking all and giving up nothing.—— However, this is nothing to the question; for what solemn engagements have we, what engagements can we have, with *Ferdinand?* It is for him, observe, and not for the *people* of Spain, that we are contending in this instance; for *Ferdinand and his heirs;* and, again I ask, what treaty, what compact, what engagement of any sort, we have, or can have, *with him?* Can our government show his name signed to any document? Have they ever had any communication with him? Is not his father alive; and does not his father protest against his claim to the throne of Spain? In fine, has not he, in as solemn a manner as he was able, made over to Napoleon all his claims to that throne? And, with all this before us, and seeing this same Ferdinand living as a subject in France, shall we continue this war, which is daily sinking hundreds to the poor-house, on account of engagements with Ferdinand? Shall we call a proposition to treat for peace perfidious, because it contemplates the exclusion of this man from the throne of Spain?——We are told by Mr. Sheridan that it was *insidious* as well as perfidious, because it wanted to ensnare us into the appearance of doing what it never meant we should do. It was as easy to assert this as it was to assert any thing else; and as easy to assert any thing else as this. When Cardinal Wolsey fell into disgrace, his enemies, not content with

charges for which there were grounds, invented others for which there were none and, ridiculous as was the charge of the Cardinal's having endangered the life of the king by whispering in his ear when the former had the venereal disease, it was not more ridiculous than is this charge against the Emperor Napoleon. Where is Mr Sheridan's *proof*, where are his arguments to show, that the French wished us to appear to do that which they never meant we should do? He observes, that Napoleon was engaged in a negociation with Russia and finding her unbending, he sends his proposition to us *on the 17th of April* and, *on the 25th of the same month*, he communicates it to *the Russian government*, before he could get our answer, which he did not send to the Russian government and which he did not intend to send. Hence Mr. Sheridan concludes, that the proposition to England was a mere trick to induce Russia to give way by making her believe, that England would certainly accept of the proposed terms, and leave Russia to shift for herself.——This, in part, might be the object as to the *time* of making the offer to us; but, it could hardly be the sole object of the proposition; because, if it had, the proposition would have been such as it would have been impossible for even our ministers to reject.——Mark, however, the contradiction here: it is, on the one hand, asserted, that the proposition was a mere trick for the purpose of frightening Russia; that it was solely intended for the purpose of making her believe, that France was upon the eve of peace with England; that, in sending a copy of the proposition to the Russian minister, to give him "a list of all the *great and many sacrifices* France was willing to make to induce England to a peace," the object was to induce him to come to the terms of France. This is possible; but, it is strange indeed, and almost impossible, that the proposition to us should, at the same time, be "*insulting*;" for, if it were insulting, how can any man believe that it was sent to the Russian minister with a view of terrifying him at the prospect of a separate peace between France and England? Both qualities the proposition could not contain: it could not be, at one and the same time, *grossly insulting to England*, and calculated for the purpose of making Russia believe that Napoleon was ready to make "*great and many sacrifices*" *to obtain peace with England*. Either by itself might be true; but both could not. The proposition, says Mr. Sheridan, was really addressed to Russia and not to us; it was not, he says, meant for us at all. It was a mere sham overture. It was a proposition to England nominally for the purpose of having something to show to the Czar, in order to induce him to believe that France was ready, if he did not come to her terms, to make "*great and many sacrifices to England*;" and yet, this same proposition is, in almost the same breath, called too *grossly insulting* to be entertained for a single moment!

Mr. Sheridan, who is what is called an Old Stager, ought to have perceived the dilemma, which he was framing for himself in his eagerness to accumulate accusations on the head of Napoleon. Either the proposition was insulting to us, or it was not: if it was not, it has not been truly described; if it was, then it was not calculated to make the Russians believe that France was ready to make sacrifices to us. In one of the two respects Mr. Sheridan's assertions *cannot* be true.——If it really was the intention of France to use the proposition merely as the means of scaring the Russian Czar into her terms, she would, as I before observed, have set no bounds to her liberality towards us, it being as easy to retract much as little; but, indeed, the whole of the proposition seems to me to carry in it an air of *sincerity*: and, I am very sure, that nothing has been advanced by Mr. Sheridan, or by any one else, in this debate, to prove the contrary. I can see powerful reasons for a desire for peace on the part of Napoleon. He has established his empire; he can wish little in the way of territory and nothing in the way of glory as a soldier. He has now to complete his renown by giving peace, and plenty, and happiness to his vast dominions. There are divers circumstances that must now incline him to peace; and all his acts show, that he has set his heart upon doing for his empire that which he cannot do for it in war.——*He* is not, and need not be, *afraid* of peace. *He* is not afraid of a depopulation of his empire on account of the pressure of taxation; *he* is not afraid of any sudden attack on the part of any enemy; *he* would not, in peace, be compelled to support immense establishments. Indeed, I can see many solid reasons for his now wishing for peace, and very few, if any, for his wishing to continue the war; and, not one word was said, during the debate, in the way of *proof* of the contrary.——The reasons for his having made his overture at this time have, as Mr. Sheridan told the House,

been stated by himself in these words: "Seeing himself thus constrained to abandon every hope from Russia, his Majesty, "before he should commence this contest "in which so much blood was to be shed, "felt it to be his duty to address himself "to the English Government; the distress "felt by England, the agitations to which "she is a prey, and the changes which "have taken place in her Government, decided his Majesty to take this course." ——And what could be more natural? What could be more reasonable? What more frank than this statement of reasons? Really men must have their minds most monstrously perverted before they look upon language like this as insidious. What is the answer of Mr. Sheridan to this? What does he say to prove that this is false and hypocritical? Nothing at all. He comes out with a set of clap-trap phrases, such as he has often made use of, but such as are, I am persuaded, not so likely to succeed as formerly. "So," says he, "the "Buonaparté's imperial sympathies for the "distress of his *beloved* England, his contrite pity for the agitations to which she "was a prey, were the moving impulses "that finally swayed his gentle spirit to solicit peace. *(A laugh!)*—But this was 'too much—too much even for the charitable credulity of his Hon. Friend. 'And so far was he (Mr. Sheridan) from 'admitting those agitations to exist in this 'country, either to the extent or in the spirit so insidiously implied in the passage 'just read, that he believed that if ever "there was a period since the commencement of the war, in which we might and "ought to make one bold struggle, it was "the present; because, however severe the "pressure of the times might have been "felt, the people of this country were well "aware of the *wild ambition to which they* "*were to be traced*, and the implacable "hostility by which that ambition was infuriated.—*(Hear, hear!)*—Put to them "the alternative of *privation* or *conquest*, "and would a second thought stay the indignant decision of one freeman throughout the empire?—*(Hear, hear!)*—Indeed, were it possible for him to regret "the repeal that had lately taken place, "he would regret it if it had the effect of "so libelling the national character as to "induce a belief that that repeal had been "conceded, in order to make men willing "to resist a foreign yoke.—*(Hear!)*—If "temporary privations were to make us "indifferent to *conquest*, or *independence*, "we were ripe for slavery; but *it* was *impossible!* He referred to his Honourable Friend, who had spoke but the language of every man in the country, when "he said that he should rather see the empire fall in the contest, perish in honourable ruin—than *sink into a miserable existence*, after having survived her honour by signing a *degrading peace*."—— Now, reader, is this an answer to the reasons of Napoleon? Do you find any thing here to convince you that the proposition was insidious? Does Napoleon (supposing the words to be his) talk about his "*beloved* "England?" And, is it not very true, that we are suffering very greatly from the war? Napoleon does not talk of his *sympathy* for us; he does not pretend that he is animated by any feeling of that sort towards us; but, he says, and very reasonably says, that he was in hopes, that our sufferings would induce our government to listen to the voice of peace; and, did Mr. Sheridan imagine, that this was to be *answered* by a poor dull jest?——As to the people of this country being well aware of the wild ambition to which the war and their sufferings on account of it are to be traced, I believe that the far greater part of the people of England think that they are to be traced to the want of a disposition in our own government to treat for peace; and, if this be their opinion, I am quite sure, that Mr. Sheridan has said nothing to remove it. "Put them," says he, "to the "alternative of *privation* or *being conquer-* "*ed*." No, but put to them the alternative of *privation* or a *peace on moderate terms*; or, at least, a peace on the basis now offered by France. Why put to the people the other alternative? What reason is there for it? Does Napoleon propose to *conquer* England; or does he propose the surrender of its independence? Does he talk of any such thing? No: but, on the contrary, he proposes to treat upon the basis, that all that we have conquered we shall consider as our own for ever, and, the reader well knows how great have been our boastings as to those conquests. He says, "keep all that you have conquered;" and Mr. Sheridan construes him to say to us, "give up England itself to me." And then he tells us, that we are ripe for *slavery* if we can balance between *temporary privations* and *loss of independence*. ——This is the sort of statement and of reasoning (if it be worthy of the name), by which England has been led on, step by step, to her present state. The people

were told, in 1793, that they had to choose between temporary privations and *atheism* and *bloodshed.* They were made to believe, that they would *all kill one another*, if they did not go to war with the French infidels and republicans. George Rose told them, a few years later, that they were a *sensible people;* for that they had preferred giving up a part of their property rather than be deprived of the "*blessed comforts of religion;*" and, now, when the French are become royalists again, and go to mass as regularly as ever, we are told that we have to choose between *want of food* and the *loss of independence*, though, at the very same time, the Emperor of France, so far from proposing to encroach upon our independence, is willing to leave us in full possession of all the many and extensive and populous islands and countries that we have conquered during the war; and, over and above all these, that island of Malta, for the possession of which this war was avowedly undertaken. He is ready to yield even the *plume;* even the *point of honour.* He is ready to give up that for which the contest began; he, with all the charges of mad ambition and pride and haughtiness and insolence, which our ministers and their adherents are constantly preferring against him; mad, ambitious, proud, haughty, and insolent as he is, he is ready to yield up the prize for which he has been so long contending rather than not have peace. And, in answer to such a proposition what do we hear? Why, new charges of ambition and of insolence; and, we are asked, whether we prefer *being conquered* to "*temporary privation.*" No, Mr. Sheridan, we do not prefer being conquered to temporary privation; no, we do not prefer this; but, we do prefer, or, I, at least, prefer, a peace that would leave England in possession of all she holds, and put Portugal and Sicily into the hands of their sovereigns; I prefer a peace like this, with the usual accompaniments of peace, to the continuation of a war which has produced that state of things which is now in existence in England. I prefer a peace that would leave us in possession of all our conquests and that would make no stipulations about our maritime rights, to a war that may yet reduce hundreds of thousands to beggary and despair, and may, eventually, leave us neither conquests nor security. This, Mr. Sheridan, is the way to state the alternative, and not the way in which you have stated it; and, you may be assured, that there are now left very few persons indeed, who will not laugh at your rant about "rather seeing "the empire perish in *honourable ruin*, "than *sink into a miserable existence.*" Sir, those who, by such Rolla-like rant, were induced to burn Tom Paine in effigy; those who subscribed their spoons and teapots in order not to be deprived of "the "blessed comforts of religion:" those who were made to believe, that the people of England would cut each other's throats if Messrs. Tooke and Hardy and their associates were not hanged for endeavouring to destroy rotten boroughs; even those persons, Sir, are not now to be made believe, that the country is to be sunk into "*a miserable existence*" by peace, on a basis that will leave her in possession of *the avowed object of the war*, together with all the conquests which she has made during that war, and the bare expense of the illuminations and of the firing of the Park and Tower guns, on account of which conquests would go no small way in feeding the famishing manufacturers. No, Sir; even those persons are not to be made believe, that such a peace would sink their country into a state of "*miserable existence.*"——Equally inapplicable to the occasion was all Mr. Sheridan's bombast about our *maritime rights.* "By war," said he, "Buonaparté never, thank God, can deprive us "of those rights; and I trust in God, that "he never will by negociation *(hear! "hear!).* He complains of our zeal in "behalf of those rights; of our zeal to "preserve inviolable the *inheritance left us "by our brave ancestors*, and to transmit "it unimpaired to our posterity. Let him "show to us any other country possessed of "the same rights and privileges as England, "and exercising them with the same mode-"ration *(hear!).* I should be glad to see (not "that it could be matter of much gratifica-"tion either) but if this temperate con-"queror were to be invested with similar "rights and privileges, I should be cu-"rious to see the practical rebuke inflicted "on English rapacity, by the character-"istic self-denial, and moderation of the "French ruler. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* "England might challenge him to say, he "could have done what she had on similar "circumstances. He could be what she "was *Esne Qualis eram?* But rather than "concede what it would be dishonour to "yield; rather than stoop that flag that "had *waved high for England* in every "quarter of the world, I would *scuttle the*

"*island*, and let in the ocean to overwhel "them and it, sooner than consent to "surrender of that charter to which *nature* "*had set her seal*, and which seemed to "have been secured by the guarantee of "PROVIDENCE itself!"——"*Pious* "*to the last!*" This is such fustian as might extort cheers from a dozen or two half-drunken sailors in a booth at Portsdown fair, where there are hundreds of them at this moment under the diverting influence of showmen and mountebanks of all degrees of skill and of all prices; but, I must regard it as a pretended and not a real speech of Mr. Sheridan, as far as relates to this passage. If we could regard it in any other light, what must we think of all this talk about the flag "*waving high for Eng-* "*land*, and about *scuttling the island;*" what must we think of this Jack Tar-like slang; what must we think of all this the way of answer to a proposition, which said not one single word about our flag, or our navy, or our maritime rights?——Not only did the Emperor of France propose nothing hostile to our maritime rights, but he expressly proposed to leave us in possession of all those conquests, which our navy had enabled us to gain, and the continued possession of which necessarily implied a naval superiority in every part of the world. Why, then, does this hireling news-writer (for the thing must be his) attempt to make the people believe, that Napoleon has proposed to deprive us of our maritime rights? The reason is, that he sees the government has rejected the overture of France; and, it is his *business to justify* that rejection.——I shall return to the subject in my next; and, in the mean while, I think, I can rest satisfied, that the people of England do, or will very soon, see the matter in its true light; and will not be long at a loss to discover the real cause of the rejection of an overture so manifestly fair, and to England so honourable and advantageous.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 28, 1812.

To Messrs. Wm. Barry, Preses, and Mr. John M'Naught, Secretary to the Meeting held at Paisley, at the Salutation Inn, on the 9th of July, 1812, to celebrate the termination of my imprisonment; and also to Mr. John Williams, one of a company of tradesmen met on the same day, and for the same purpose, at Oxford.

Gentlemen,

In answer to the "Congratulatory Letters," which you, in the name of your respective Meetings, have been requested to write to me, be pleased to accept of my best thanks; and of my assurance, that these marks of your approbation, coming, as they do, accompanied with such indubitable testimonials of your wisdom and talents, will not fail to operate as a great encouragement to my future exertions: and that, as to those "effusions of ENVY," by which you perceive me to be assailed from so many quarters, and which you seem to look upon as calculated to excite *disgust*, I assure you, that they have with me a precisely contrary effect, as, indeed, they ought; for "effusions of ENVY" were never yet called forth without a tolerable share of merit in the object; and, if I am sensible, that I am envied beyond my merit, I ought to be the more anxious to make myself worthy of the honour that is thus involuntarily conferred upon me.

I thank you most sincerely for your kind wishes as to my family and domestic concerns; and I hope that not a man of you, and that no one belonging to you, will ever know distress, though that is, alas! too much to hope with the prospect that we now have before us.

I am your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 29, 1812.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

ENGLAND *and* FRANCE. *Overtures for Peace by the Emperor Napoleon.*

(Continued from page 128.)

French and King of Italy, with respect to a ystem of Licenses to be introduced into Russia, in the same manner as in France; t being always understood, that it cannot be admitted till it has been ascertained that t is not calculated to augment the deterioation already experienced by the trade of Russia.——His Majesty the Emperor of all ne Russias will engage also by this Convention, to treat, by a particular arrangement, for certain modifications, such as may be desired by France for the advantage of ier trade in the Custom duties imposed by Russia, in 1810.——Finally, his Majesty will also consent to bind himself to conclude treaty of exchange, of the Duchy of Oldenburgh for a suitable equivalent, which hall be proposed by his Majesty the Emperor and King, and in which his Imperial Majesty will declare the protest withdrawn which he was about to publish, to support

the rights of his family to the Duchy of Oldenburgh.——Such are, my Lord Duke, the grounds which I have been ordered to point out, and the admission of which, in what relates to the evacuation of the Prussian States and Swedish Pomerania; the reduction of the garrison of Dantzic to its establishment, previous to the 1st of January 1811; and the promise of a negociator with Sweden can alone render possible an amicable arrangement between our Courts.—It is with much regret, notwithstanding the time which has elapsed since I communicated them verbally to your Excellency, that I still find myself altogether uncertain with respect to the effects of my proceedings.——Notwithstanding the favourable inferences which I was happy to draw from the interview which his Imperial and Royal Majesty was pleased to grant me on Monday, as well as the assurances I received from your Excellency, I cannot forbear to inform your Excellency anew of that which I represented to his Majesty the Emperor, as well as formerly to you, viz. that if to my great regret the intelligence should reach me that Count Lauriston had quitted Petersburg, I would conceive it my duty to apply immediately for passports, and quit Paris. PRINCE ALEX. KURAKIN.

Copy of a Note from Prince Kurakin to the Minister for Foreign Relations.—Paris, 23d April (7th of May) 1812.

My Lord Duke,—Near fifteen days have elapsed since I have made the communications enjoined by my last instructions, brought by Baron Serdobin, and which I hastened to submit to you two hours after I had received them.—I had the honour personally to inform his Imperial and Royal Majesty, in the course of the audience granted on Monday, the 27th of the same month, of those propositions of the Emperor, my august master, which constituted the immediate object thereof. The hopes which I had reason to entertain, from all that his Majesty was pleased to say, in the course of the audience, with respect to his anxious desire to prevent, by conciliatory steps, a rupture, which threatens Europe with a new war, induced the agreeable expectation that my proceedings would succeed to the satisfaction of the Emperor, my master, whose wishes have never been other than for the preservation of peace, and his alliance with France, and to have the essentially equitable and moderate mode, through me, become the basis of an amicable arrangement. —It was the more reasonable for me to indulge such hopes, because you yourself, my Lord Duke, had constantly in the course of the first interviews which followed my communications, encouraged them, by the justice which you did to the spirit in which those communications were conceived, at once conciliatory and pacific, and chiefly directed to satisfy his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, with respect to all the requisitions he has hitherto made of Russia. His Majesty the Emperor and King, in the course of the audience granted me on April 27, having desired that I should immediately discuss with your Excellency the propositions which I was directed to make, had induced me to contemplate the possibility of giving an account to the Emperor, my master, after the lapse of a very little time, of the reception his offers had met with. Never did circumstances of a more urgent nature justify a desire, and entreaties consequent thereon, to receive a speedy answer: nevertheless, my Lord Duke, I have not yet received one. My pressing and reiterated applications, my daily visits to your Excellency, have been attended with no other result but your refusal to enter into an explanation with respect to the propositions in question, grounded on a want of orders to that effect from his Imperial and Royal Majesty. It is impossible, my Lord Duke, to deceive oneself as to the fatal effects which such delays as these must inevitably produce. The daily increasing proximity of the armies of his Imperial and Royal Majesty and his Allies to the Russian Empire, may, in a moment, bring about events, after which all hope of the preservation of peace must vanish; and which, indeed, at this very time have destroyed the probability of preserving it. The only method by which Europe may be saved from the evils which menace her, is the acceptance of the conciliatory offers which the Emperor, my master, has ordered me to make. Yet not only no answer from your Excellency has informed me that they were accepted, but you have also hitherto refused to enter into the explanation I have solicited, and still solicit, with respect to the manner in which those offers are viewed, or to what, in the aggregate of our propositions, may not have proved agreeable to the Emperor.——Amidst the critical circumstances in which the two Empires are placed, the prolongation of such delays to explanations calculated to produce reconciliation, admits of no other interpretation than a pre-conceived resolution not to enter into any explanation of the kind, and

consequently an election of war, I must not conceal from your Excellency, that as this is the point of view in which I must consider any new delays which may prevent my receiving a categorical answer to the communications which I have made, pursuant to the orders of the Emperor, my master; I must therefore assure you, my Lord Duke, that if, in the course of the interview which you have fixed for to-morrow, I should be still so unfortunate as to find you unprovided with instructions from the Emperor to give me an answer to my propositions, and that an answer assuring me that they are accepted without any modification whatsoever (for your Excellency is fully aware that I am not authorized to admit of any), I shall in that case find myself, in consequence of the departure of his Majesty, the Emperor and King, which is announced for to-morrow, and which will preclude all hope of the expected answer, placed under the necessity of considering the withholding of such answer as an indication of an election being made of war, and my further stay at Paris is altogether superfluous; and deeply regretting that I have not been able to contribute to the preservation of that peace and alliance, in the establishment of which it has been the greatest happiness of my life to have participated for the last five years, I shall be obliged to demand passports from your Excellency, to enable me to quit France; and I earnestly request that in such case you will obtain orders from his Imperial and Royal Majesty to grant them without delay. ——Receive, my Lord Duke, assurances of my high consideration.

PRINCE KURAKIN.

Copy of a Note from the Minister for Foreign Relations to Prince Kurakin, the Russian Ambassador.——Paris, 9th May, 1812.

Sir—I have received the Notes which you did me the honour to address to me on the 10th of April and the 7th of May. Before I can possibly answer them, I must inquire of your Excellency whether you have full powers vested in you to form, conclude, and sign an arrangement of the differences which have arisen between the two Powers; and in case you have received such powers, I must beg, that, in conformity to the Custom of all Cabinets, you will make a preliminary communication to that effect.——I have the honour of offering to your Excellency fresh assurances of my high consideration.

THE DUKE OF BASSANO.

Copy of the Answer of Prince Kurakin to the above Note.——Paris, April 27, (May 9,) 1812.

My Lord Duke—I have just received a letter from your Excellency, dated this day; and you will permit me to evince my great surprise at the question it contains, and which I imagined I had completely obviated by the frankness with which I had communicated, without any reserve whatever, the final instructions which I received from His Imperial Majesty my august master. Your Excellency is aware of the conciliatory propositions which form the object of them, and which clearly and decisively prove the anxious wish of my august master, to preserve peace and his alliance with the Emperor Napoleon. I am always ready to arrange with you as to the most proper form to give them, by a Convention which I will sign with you, *sub spe rati*, although unprovided with particular and special powers for the purpose; and I can safely answer your Excellency, in consequence of the perfect knowledge I have of the intentions of the Emperor, my master, and of the intelligence I have received of his design to transmit to me full and special powers, that in the event of the basis proposed by me being agreed to by His Majesty the Emperor and King, the arrangement which I shall sign, will be ratified by His Imperial Majesty. I must observe to your Excellency, that even if I were in possession of, at this time, full special powers for the purpose, according to established custom, still the ratification of the two Sovereigns would be necessary, before the act could receive full and complete validity. I have to express my deep regret, that, in the midst of such urgent circumstances, when every instant may produce the commencement of hostilities, the silence which has been observed by the Minister of His Imperial and Royal Majesty, during the long period of fifteen days, with respect to the manner in which His Majesty viewed the basis of arrangements which I have been ordered to present to him, should have so considerably retarded the possibility of concluding them.——I must express to your Excellency my astonishment at your thinking the explanation into which I have entered, or rather repeated, neces-

sary (as I have had already the honour of very explicitly detailing in our former interviews every thing that constitutes the present question), before you could answer my notes of the 30th of April and the 7th of May.——Your Excellency does not mention that of the 6th of May, to which I have an equal right to require, and do equally require, an answer.——I earnestly entreat that you will let me have the three answers as soon as possible. They must contain explanations which are indispensably necessary to enable me to fulfil the very positive duties imposed upon me by the situation in which I am placed.——Receive, my Lord Duke, fresh assurances of my high consideration.

PRINCE ALEX. KURAKIN.

Copy of a Letter from Prince Kurakin to the Minister for Foreign Relations.——Paris, 29 April (11 May), 1812.

My Lord Duke—I intended going this morning to your Excellency's, for the purpose of reminding you that I had not received an answer to my letter of yesterday, when I received that which you did me the honour to write me last night, some hours previous to my departure, which, from what you had the goodness to state to me, I did not suppose would have taken place for two or three days longer. Although you are so kind as to say I shall have the passports which I required, I have received only that for the Gentleman of the Chamber, Kologrivoff, on which even it is not noted that it is for a courier going to Petersburg.——I beg your Excellency to send me the three others which you promised me for the persons attached to my chapel and household, and who are to set off with carriage drivers for Vienna, already engaged for the purpose, and with respect to whom not being able to send them away at the appointed time, I have suffered a loss of the price agreed on with them for the carriage from here to Prody.——Your Excellency has not thought proper to answer the three communications, made to you on the 30th of April and the 6th and 7th of May, with respect to the more important objects of our intercourse, notwithstanding the established custom of answering every official communication made by an Ambassador, in a manner so authentic, and under such pressing circumstances. Neither have you written to me, according to promise, to acquaint me with the motives which induce you to consider an arrangement between the two Powers as yet possible, and which you think should determine me to prolong my stay at Paris, and not to press for my passports.——This silence, on your part, places me exactly in the same situation as when I first required them.——Not having been able to obtain from you the official and written explanation which I required, of the reasons which should induce me to postpone my departure—an explanation which I reckoned on being able to submit to the notice of my august master, in order the more fully to acquaint him of the hope which you entertained of the still existing possibility of an accommodation—I find myself compelled to renew my most pressing solicitations for passports, grounded upon the unhappily too great certainty that my presence here can be of no longer use.——I beg your Excellency may have the goodness to make his Royal and Imperial Majesty acquainted with this formal requisition, on my part, the first time that you may have any communication with him. I indulge a hope, that his Majesty is too well aware of, and will too readily call to mind, the personal attachment which has caused me so zealously to fulfil my duty, in endeavouring to preserve peace and concord between the two empires, to admit of his supposing, that the requisition I make for permission to quit my post is grounded upon any thing but the complete and painful certainty I feel, that every hope of being able, in the character of a negociator, to bring about a reconciliation is cut off.——Although I have to acknowledge many personal obligations to your Excellency, I shall consider it as a greater proof of friendship than you have yet honoured me with, if you will exert yourself to enable me to quit a place which you must be aware it cannot be otherwise than extremely painful to me to continue in, since the departure of his Royal and Imperial Majesty, and that of your Excellency, deprive me of the satisfaction of thinking that I am capable of effecting any thing useful.——I am about to quit Paris, never to return thither. I shall remain at my country-house at Sevres, till your Excellency shall have sent me my passports. I shall there anxiously expect your Excellency's answer to enable me to set off, having already made every necessary arrangement for the purpose, and sent away such part of my household as I could dispense with, only retaining the few servants who are to accompany me on my journey.——I renew, my Lord Duke, the assurances of my high consideration.

PRINCE ALEX. KURAKIN.

Copy of the Answer of Count Romanzoff to the Note of the Minister for Foreign Relations of the 25th April.—Wilna, May 7 (19), 1812.

My Lord Duke,—The Count de Narbonne has given me the dispatch which your Excellency confided to him. I have not delayed a moment to place it before the Emperor. His Majesty, always faithful to the line of conduct which he originally marked for himself, always persevering in a mere system of defence, in short, always more moderate in proportion as the developement of his power enables him to repulse with greater vigour such attempts as might be made against the interests of his Empire, and the dignity of his Crown, is satisfied to adhere to the wish with which you, my Lord Duke, conclude the interesting communication of your Court. Constantly seeking to prove how much he has it at heart to avoid every thing which might infuse into his connexion with France a spirit of animosity and acerbity, such as would endanger its continuance, he has directed me not to enter into any refutation of alleged grievances, nor to oppose assertions which, for the most part, are grounded upon imputed facts, quite destitute of probability, and upon hypothesis altogether gratuitous. The dispatches addressed to Prince Kurakin, by the Baron de Serdobin, have partly anticipated the answer to all the accusations which have been made.——They have represented, in its true light, the loyal conduct which the Emperor has observed in all his relations with France. They have given, with respect to our armaments, explanations, confirmed in such a degree, as appear to have even outstripped the hopes of the Emperor Napoleon. Since, notwithstanding the menacing movements of his armies beyond a line, where, for the security of our frontiers, they ought to have stopped, affairs continue here in the same state as at the time of the departure of the last Courier. Indeed, not a single man has entered the territory of Prussia, or that of the Duchy of Warsaw, and no new obstacle has tended on our part to prevent the continuance of peace.——On the contrary, the last instructions which Prince Kurakin has received, furnish him with ample means of terminating all differences, and of opening the negociation which your Court desires.——We have learned with satisfaction, the reception which our propositions have met with on the part of the Emperor Napoleon. The official answer which your Excellency shall give to them, and which we are desired by Prince Kurakin to expect, will definitively settle the important question of peace or war.——The moderation which marks that I have now the honour of addressing to you, offers you, my Lord Duke, ample security that any overture that may be made of a pacific nature, will be anxiously accepted.——His Majesty is much pleased with the step which has been taken with respect to the British Government. He is grateful for the attention of the Emperor Napoleon in informing him thereof. He will always duly appreciate the sacrifices which that Sovereign shall make, in order to promote the conclusion of a general peace, for the attainment of which great and attractive object, no sacrifices can, in his opinion, be too considerable.——I have the honour to offer to your Excellency, &c. &c.

COUNT DE ROMANZOFF.

Copy of a Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Count Lauriston, Ambassador of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, at St. Petersburg.—Dresden, May 20, 1812.

I have the honour, Count, to send you copies of two notes from Prince Kurakin, dated the 30th of April and 17th of May, of a note which I addressed to that Ambassador on the 9th of the same month, and of the answer which he returned to me on the same day; and, lastly, of a note of the 11th of May, which reached me yesterday, and by which Prince Kurakin renews, in the most pressing manner, his demand of his passports.——His Majesty, Count, could never have believed that this Ambassador would have taken so much upon himself: he thinks it fit that you should, by a note, addressed to the Count de Soltikoff, demand passports for yourself, in order to proceed to the Count de Romanzoff to Wilna, or to any other place of meeting that shall be appointed. You will announce to Count Soltikoff, that the communications with which you are charged, and which you cannot make but to the Chancellor or to the Emperor himself, are as important as they are urgent.——You will show Count Romanzoff all the documents which I transmit to you. You will express the astonishment which his Majesty must have felt, when I gave him an account of proceedings so unexpected, and so contrary to the dispositions which the Emperor Alexander manifested to yourself: when he

perceived, that in the notes of the Russian Ambassador, the evacuation of Prussia was put forward as a condition upon which France was not even to deliberate—a condition such as his Majesty had never proposed after the greatest victories; when, in fine, by the demand of the independence of Prussia, his independence was violated, inasmuch as the destruction has been insisted on of those political engagements which he has contracted in the exercise of the right which belongs to all Sovereigns. You will, Count, make it be felt sensibly, how much the notes of Prince Kurakin are, in their form, and by their contents, opposed to those pacific dispositions, of which that Ambassador had given the assurance; by what spirit of conciliation his Majesty is induced to suppose, that in presenting their notes and combining to them the demand of his passports, he has trangressed the bounds prescribed to him, and with what regret, if they were really the expression of the intentions, and the result of the Orders of the Court of Petersburg, his Majesty would see every hope vanish, of succeeding, by a negociation, which he has been constantly soliciting for nearly two years, in the adjustment at last of the differences that divide the two countries.

You will insist, Count, on obtaining explanations which may still leave the way open for an accommodation. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Copy of a Letter from Count Romanzoff to Count Lauriston.——Wilna, 27th May (8th June), Evening, 1812.

Mr. Ambassador,—His Imperial Majesty has just been informed by Count Soltikoff, that your Excellency had demanded passports, for the purpose of attending his Majesty, with a view to execute in person the orders which you had received from the Emperor, your master.——Though, in the midst of his troops, his Majesty would have felt pleasure in withdrawing himself for a short time from his present occupations, in order to receive near his person the Ambassador of a Sovereign, his Ally; but a circumstance, totally foreign to all his Majesty's thoughts, prevent him.——He has just learned that the course of the post by letters between his Empire and foreign nations, has been suspended at Memel, and, according to every appearance, all communication with his Empire prohibited.——He has since been informed, that one of his Couriers, returning from one of his missions to his Majesty, has been unable to obtain permission to pass the frontier into his States, and that it has been necessary for him to turn back.——Acts so extraordinary require to be cleared up. His Majesty, not being previously apprized of the nature of the communications with which your Excellency is charged, faithful to his own system, which is to follow the ordinary course of things in the relations of the two Cabinets, invites you, Mr. Ambassador, to choose rather not to quit St. Petersburg, and to have the goodness to do me the honour to address to me, in writing, the communications which you have to make, or else to convey them, in writing, directly to his Imperial Majesty, at your own option; and in order to afford you the means of so doing, his Majesty has commanded me to place, for this purpose, at your disposal, the Sieur Baereus, an Officer in the corps of Field, who will have the honour to deliver you this letter.——I entreat your Excellency, &c. COUNT DE ROMANZOFF.

Copy of a Letter from Count de Lauriston to Count Romanzoff.——St. Petersburg, 31st May (12th June), 1812.

Sir, Count,—The goodness which I have experienced on the part of his Majesty the Emperor Alexander, the marks of confidence with which he had condescended to honour me, prevented me from foreseeing any obstacle to the journey which I proposed to make to Wilna. I had, therefore, made arrangements for my journey, notwithstanding the very violent rheumatic pains which I have suffered for many days, sensible of all the importance of the communications which I was charged to make to his Majesty, or to your Excellency, under circumstances when the smallest delay might be injurious.——What, then, was my astonishment on receiving your Excellency's letter! I saw all my hopes vanish; I saw that I had deceived myself in the idea I had of the confidence which I supposed his Majesty would be pleased to confer on me, inasmuch as he refuses me any direct communication either with himself or with your Excellency, at a moment when this confidence, which I believed I had merited by my conduct, by my invariable zeal for the maintenance of the alliance, might be, as I have no hesitation to say it would have been, of the greatest advantage to the two Empires. The reasons even which your Excellency has put forward to prevent my

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."——That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Baxter of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXII. No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1812. [Price 1s.

"I implore your Royal Highness to reflect on the manifold miseries that may arise from this "cause, and to be pleased to bear in mind, that, to yield hereafter upon force or menace, will be "disgrace; whereas to yield now would indicate a sentiment of justice."——Letter to the Regent, Vol. XXI. Pol. Reg. p. 789.

TO THE PRINCE REGENT,

ON THE DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.

LETTER VII.

Sir,

If I have now to refer to the proofs of the correctness of those opinions which I addressed to your Royal Highness many months past, upon the subject of the Dispute with America, I beg you to be assured, that I do it not in the way of triumph, but in the hope, that even yet my advice, most respectfully offered to your Royal Highness, may have some weight with you, and may, in some small degree, tend to avert that last of national evils, a war with America, a war against the children of Englishmen, a war against the seat of political and religious freedom.

In my former Letters I took great pains to endeavour to induce your Royal Highness to distrust the statements in our public prints as to the power of the English party in the American States. I assured you, that the venal press in England was engaged in promulgating a series of deceptions with regard to the opinions of the people of America. I took the liberty to point out to your Royal Highness the mischiefs which must result from listening to the advice of those whose language might correspond with that of this press; and, in short, I showed, that, if the endeavours of that pernicious, partial, and corrupt press had their intended effect, war with America must be the consequence. By this press (the vilest instrument of the vilest corruption that ever existed in the whole world) the people of England were induced to approve of the measures which have now produced a war with America; or, at least, they were induced to wink at them. They were made to believe, that our measures of hostility against America were useful to us, and that the American Government had not the power to resent them by war. The same, I doubt not, was told to your Royal Highness verbally; but, how wretchedly have the nation and you been deceived!

The state of affairs between the two countries now stands thus: There exists a Dispute on the subject of our *Orders in Council*, on that of the *Impressment of American Seamen*, and on the *possession of the Floridas*. There are some other matters of inferior importance, but they would admit of easy arrangement. With regard to the Orders in Council, your Royal Highness was advised to issue, on the 21st of April last,* a Declaration, stating that you would not repeal the Orders in Council, until France, Officially and Unconditionally, by some public promulgation, repealed her Berlin and Milan Decrees. France, so far from doing this, has, in the most public and solemn manner, declared, that she will never do what your Declaration required, though, at the same time, she has repeated (and she has done no more) what she had said to the American Government in 1810, and what was then communicated to our Government by the American Minister in London. Nevertheless, you were afterwards advised to repeal the Orders in Council, though the conditions of the Declaration before issued were not at all satisfied, but were, in fact, set at open defiance.

This repeal, which took place on the 23d of June last,† was, however, too late in its adoption to prevent war. The American Government, who had been making their preparations for many months, and which preparations had been the subject of mockery with the venal press in England, declared war on the 18th of June last. The intelligence of this having been received in England, your Royal Highness was advised to issue, on the 31st of July, an Order in Council for an embargo on all American vessels in our ports, and also for capturing and detaining all American vessels at sea.

* See Register, Vol. XXI. p. 735.
† Register, Vol. XXI. p. 815.

This is the state of affairs between the two countries; and the main question now appears to be, whether, when the American Government hears of our repeal of the Orders in Council, they will revoke their declaration of war. This is a question of great interest at this moment; and, I shall, therefore, proceed to lay before your Royal Highness my sentiments with respect to it.

The same sort of infatuation, that has prevailed here, with regard to American affairs, for many months past, appears still to prevail. Indeed, Sir, I can call it no other than *insolence;* an insolent contempt of the Americans, thought by those who hate them, and who would, if they could, kill them to the last man, in revenge for their having established a free government where there are neither sinecures, jobs, or selling of seats. This insolence has induced people to talk of America as a country incapable of resenting any thing that we might do to her; as being a wretched state, unsupported by any thing like vigour in government; as a sort of horde of half-savages, with whom we might do what we pleased; and, to the very last minute, the great mass of the people here; ninety-nine out of every hundred, firmly believed, *that America would never go to war with us.* They left *provocations* quite out of the question. They appeared to have got into their heads a conclusion, that, let us do what we would to America, *she would not go to war with us.*

This way of thinking has pervaded the whole of the writings upon the subject of the Dispute with America. At every stage in the progress towards war, the corrupt press has asserted, that America *knew better* than to go to war with us. When she went so far as to pass Acts for raising an army and equipping a fleet, and that, too, with the avowed intention of making war against us; still the hirelings told the people, that she dared not go to war, and that she only meant to *bully.* I could fill a large volume with assertions from the Times news-paper alone, that *we should not yield a tittle,* and that *America would not dare to go to war.* But, the fact is too notorious to dwell upon. There is no man, and especially your Royal Highness, who can have failed to observe the constant repetition of these assertions.

At last, however, America *has dared to go to war,* even against that great warrior George the Third, nearly three-fifths of whose reign has been occupied in wars, exclusive of the wars in India. He has been not only the greatest warrior, but the greatest *conqueror* of any European prince that ever lived. Napoleon is nothing to him as a conqueror; and yet the Americans have dared to declare war against him. But, even now, now that she has actually declared war, and that, too, by an Act of Congress, by a law passed by *real* representatives of the people; by men elected by the free voice of the nation; by an unbribed, unbought, unsold, unenslaved assembly, not by a set of corrupt knaves whom the President can at any time twist about by means of the people's money; even now, when she has declared war in this solemn manner, the hireling newspapers in London would fain make us believe, that the whole thing is a mere make-belief, that it is a mere feint, and "will "end in smoke." At the least, they tell us, that when the news of the repeal of our Orders in Council reaches America, there must be *a revocation of the declaration of war.* They seem to forget, that the declaration of war in America is *an Act of Congress,* and that to do away the effect of that Act, another Act must pass. They seem to forget, that it is *the people* who have declared war; and that the people must be consulted before that declaration can be annulled, or revoked. But, Sir, the fact is, that these writers talk miserable nonsense. We are *at war* with America; and, before we can have peace with her again, we must have *a treaty of peace.*

But, the main question for rational men to discuss is: "Will the repeal of our Or-"ders in Council be sufficient to induce "America to make peace with us, without "including the redress of her other griev-"ances?" This is the question that we have to discuss; it is a question in which hundreds of thousands are immediately interested; and it is a question which I think may be answered in the *negative;* that is to say, Sir, I give it as my opinion, that the repeal of our Orders in Council will not be sufficient to restore us to a state of peace with America, and, I now proceed respectfully to submit to your Royal Highness the reasons, upon which this opinion is founded.

In my last Letter (at p. 787, Vol. XXI.) I had the honour to state to your Royal Highness, that there was another great point with America: namely, the *Impressment of American seamen,* which must be adjusted before harmony could be restored between the two countries; and, as you must have perceived, this subject of com-

plaint stands at the head of Mr. Madison's statement of the grounds of war; it stands at the head of his manifesto against our Government. His own words will best speak his meaning:——"Without going "beyond the renewal, in 1803, of the war "in which Great Britain is engaged, and "omitting unrepaired wrongs of inferior "magnitude, the conduct of her Govern-"ment presents a series of acts hostile to "the United States as an independent and "neutral nation.—British cruizers have "been in the continued practice of violat-"ing the American flag on the great high-"way of nations, and of seizing and car-"rying off persons sailing under it, not in "the exercise of a belligerent right, found-"ed on the law of nations against an ene-"my, but of a municipal prerogative over "British subjects. British jurisdiction is "thus extended to neutral vessels in a si-"tuation where no laws can operate but "the law of nations and the laws of the "country to which the vessels belong; and "a self-redress is assumed, which, if Bri-"tish subjects were wrongfully detained "and alone concerned, is that substitution "of force for a resort to the responsible "Sovereign, which falls within the defini-"tion of war. Could the seizure of Bri-"tish subjects, in such cases, be regarded as "within the exercise of a belligerent right, "the acknowledged laws of war, which "forbid an article of captured property to "be adjudged without a regular investiga-"tion before a competent tribunal, would "imperiously demand the fairest trial, "where the sacred rights of persons were "at issue. In place of such trial, these "rights are subjected to the will of every "petty commander.—The practice, hence, "is so far from affecting British subjects "alone, that under the pretext of searching "for these, thousands of American citizens, "under the safeguard of public laws, and "of their national flag, have been torn "from their country, and from every thing "dear to them,—have been dragged on "board ships of war of a foreign nation, "and exposed, under the severities of their "discipline, to be exiled to the most dis-"tant and deadly climes, to risk their lives "in the battles of their oppressors, and to "be the melancholy instruments of taking "away those of their own brethren.— "Against this crying enormity, which Great Britain would be so prompt to avenge if committed against herself, the United States have in vain exhausted remonstrances and expostulations: and that "no proof might be wanting of their con-"ciliatory dispositions, and no pretext left "for continuance of the practice, the Bri-"tish Government was formally assured of "the readiness of the United States to enter "into arrangements, such as could not be "rejected, if the recovery of the British sub-"jects were the real and the sole object. "The communication passed without ef-"fect."

The grievance here complained of is certainly very great, and cannot be expected to be borne by any nation capable of resistance. If England were at peace and America at war, and if the latter were to assume the right of stopping our merchant vessels at sea, and taking out of them by force any men whom her officers might choose to consider as Americans, what should *we* say to the assumption? And, would not your Royal Highness be ashamed to exercise the royal authority without the power instantly to punish such an affront to the dignity of the Crown and the honour of the Country? But, *degrading* as this impressment is to the national character of the Americans, it cuts them still deeper by the real sufferings that it inflicts; by the ruin which it occasions to thousands of families; and by the deaths which it produces in the course of every year. I have before stated that the number of impressed American seamen is very great, or, at least, has so been stated in America, amounting to many thousands, constantly in a state of the most terrible bondage to them; and, as some are daily dropping off, while others are impressed, the extent to which the evil has been felt in America must have been very great indeed, during so long a war.

Our corrupt news-papers, with the Times at their head, are endeavouring to misrepresent the nature of the complaint of America, and thereby to provide the Ministers beforehand with a justification for war rather than afford her redress. Upon the part of the President's manifesto above quoted, the Times makes these observations:—"She "first complains of our impressing *British* "seamen, when found on board American "vessels: but this is a right which we "now exercise under peculiar modifica-"tions and restrictions. We do not at-"tempt to search *ships of war*, however "inferior their force to ours: and as to "searching merchantmen, we do not even do this, vaguely or indiscriminately; but upon *positive and accurate information*. And practically, we apprehend, that the *criminal concealment* on the part of Ame-

"rica, is a much greater nuisance to us, "than a wanton search on our part is to "her. Let her, however, propose "such "arrangements" on this head, as are cal- "culated to effect the recovery of British "subjects, and she will find Great Britain "far from averse to listen to her."

This, Sir, is a tissue of falsehoods and misrepresentations. The President does not complain that we impress *British seamen:* he complains, that, under pretence of taking British seamen, we take *American* seamen. This is what he complains of, which is precisely the contrary of what is here stated. As to our not taking men out of American ships of war, our Government knows well, that America has no ships of war worth speaking of, and that she has thousands of merchant ships. It is said here, that we do not search American merchantmen "vaguely and indiscriminately; "but, upon *positive* and *accurate information.*" One would suppose it impossible for any man, capable of writing a paragraph, to sit down coolly and state so perfect a falsehood as this. But herein we have an instance of the length to which the hirelings of the English press will go in supporting any thing which they are called on to support. It is a fact, and this writer knew it to be a fact, that any commander of any ship in our navy, when he meets an American merchantman at sea, does, or may, go or send on board of her, and that he does, or may, take out of her any persons, who, IN HIS OPINION, are British subjects. That this is a fact no one can deny; where, then, is the "positive "and accurate information?" It is also a fact, that the Americans have frequently asserted, that our officers have thus taken out of their ships at sea many thousands of American Citizens, under the pretence of their being British subjects. It is also a fact, which is proved by the books at our own Admiralty, that the American Government, through its Consul in London, has *obtained the release* from our fleet of a great number of American Citizens thus impressed, seized, and carried off upon the high seas. It is also a fact, proved by the same authority, that many of the Americans thus taken have lost their limbs in the compulsory service of England, a service which they abhorred. It is a fact that I take upon me to vouch for, that, amongst the American Citizens, thus captured and carried off, and forced into our service of late years, were *two grand nephews of General Washington*, and that one of the two was released from our service by the Lords of the Admiralty, in consequence of an application from the American Consul, while I was in prison for writing about the flogging of the Local Militia in the town of Ely, and about the employment of German troops upon that occasion.

And yet, Sir, in the face of all these facts, has the hired writer the audacity, the the cool impudence, to assert, that we never search American vessels for seamen, "but "upon *positive* and *accurate* information." With this instance of falsehood; of wilful, shameless falsehood, before them, one would imagine, that the public would never after be in danger of being deceived by the same writer; but, alas! Sir, the cunning slave who sells his pen for this purpose knows well, that the public, or, at least, that that part of the public whom he wishes to deceive will never, till it be too late, be able to detect him; he knows that his falsehood goes where the exposure seldom comes, and, if it come at all, he knows that its arrival will be too late to prevent the effect, to produce which is his object.

He next calls upon America *to propose her arrangement*, upon this subject; though in the very manifesto, upon which he is commenting, the President declares that an offer had been made to our Government, to enter into an arrangement, but that "the "communication passed without effect." It is going very far on the part of America to offer to enter into any arrangement upon the subject; for, why should not she say, as we certainly should say: "Take care of "your own seamen; keep them from us in "any way that you please; but, you shall, "on the seas, take nobody out of our vessels." Nevertheless, she has offered to enter into arrangements, "such," she says, "as could not be rejected, if the "recovery "of *British* Seamen was the *sole* object;" and yet this writer accuses her of the *criminal concealment* of our seamen! We have rejected this offer of an arrangement for the prevention of British seamen from taking shelter in American ships; and, yet this writer accuses America of a desire to injure us by making her ships an asylum for British deserters!

Our Government say, that, if we do not exercise our power of searching American ships, and taking out our own seamen, our sea service will be ruined by the desertions to those American ships. For instance, a British ship of war is lying at Plymouth, and there are three or four American vessels in the same port. Numbers of the

seamen get on board the American ships; they get out to sea; and, if they cannot be seized there, they go off safely to America or to any other part of the world, and are thus lost to our navy. There is no doubt, Sir, but this might become a very serious evil, if not counteracted. But, are the Americans to suffer because (for whatever reason) our sailors desert? And, above all, are real American Citizens to be exposed to impressment, to be sent to be shot at, to be conveyed to the West or East Indies, to be made to end their days under the discipline of an English man of war; are real American citizens to be exposed to all this because British seamen desert, and because that desertion (a very serious crime) may become extremely dangerous to us? I am sure your Royal Highness is too just to answer this question in the affirmative.

The case must be new, because the relative situation of the two countries is a novelty in the history of nations; but, while we have an undoubted right to recover our own seamen, if we can do it without violating the rights of other nations, we can have no right, in any case, to seize American Citizens. America says, 'I do not 'want your seamen. I would rather not 'have them. Keep them by what means 'you please. Take them wherever you 'can find them in my ships; but, before 'you do it, produce *proof of their being* '*yours*, and that, too, before a *competent* '*tribunal*.' Nothing can be fairer than this; but this necessarily sets aside all impressments *at sea*, where there can be *no proof given*, because there can be no tribunal, or umpire, to decide upon the proof; and we contend, that, without the power of impressing *at sea*, our navy would be greatly injured by desertion, and our strength thereby materially weakened.

This is the point upon which we are at issue with America. Supposing the Orders in Council to remain repealed, and the Dispute as to that matter to be settled, this is the point upon which, if not settled amicably, we shall have war with the American States. It is the point upon which *the people* of America, who are *something*, are more sore; and I am convinced that it is a point which they will not give up. They say, and they truly say, that it is a mockery for them to talk of their freedom and their independence, if the very bodies of their citizens are liable to be taken upon the high seas and forced into the service of a foreign sovereign, there to be treated according to the rules and regulations of that sovereign. A people submitting to this cannot be called free, and their country cannot be called independent. Therefore, when the time comes for entering on a treaty of peace with America, I hope your Royal Highness will resist all advice tending to a pertinacious adherence to the exercise of the power of impressment; for, while that power is exercised, we shall, in my opinion, never have real peace with America.

The other point in dispute, namely, the *possession of the Floridas*, or, at least, that part of them which belongs to Spain, is of inferior importance; but, I am of opinion, that that point will not be easily overcome, unless we are prepared to give it up. America sees the possibility of Old Spain becoming a mere puppet in the hands of England, and she sees the almost *certainty* of its becoming a dependent upon either England or France; and, she wants neither France nor England for *so near a neighbour*. She has, in the adventures of *Captain Henry*, seen the danger of having a neighbour on her Northern flank; and, the Floridas are not divided from her by immense deserts and lakes as Canada is. While the Floridas were held by the sleepy old government of Spain, America saw little danger; but, she will not, I am convinced, suffer either England or France to be mistress of those provinces.

This is a point, therefore, which, in my opinion, we should be *forward* in giving up, and not get into a war with America *for the sake of Ferdinand*, as we are continuing the war with France for his sake. The revolutions going on in South America it is the interest of the United States to encourage and assist to the utmost of their power; and, I should advise your Royal Highness to show an earnest desire to avoid interference therein; for if, upon the ground of supporting the authority of Ferdinand, or, upon any other ground, you show a disposition to take part against the republicans of South America, that alone will be sufficient greatly to retard, if not wholly defeat, all attempts at an accommodation with America. Nay, Sir, to speak freely my sentiments, I do not expect peace with America while we have an army in Spain, or, at least, while there is the smallest chance of our obtaining a settled ascendency in that kingdom; and I really think, that every mile of progress that we are making there puts peace with America at a greater distance. We, in this country, or, the greater part of us, see no danger in the increase of any power,

except the power of Napoleon, whose territories half envelop our coast, and whose armies are but at the distance of a few hours' sail. Not so the Americans. They see danger in the increase of *our* power, ours being that sort of power by which they are most annoyed. If they had their choice between us and France for a neighbour in South America, they would not hesitate a moment in preferring France; because her power is not of that sort which would be formidable to America. What she would wish, however, is to see South America independent of Old Spain, and, of course, of the masters of Old Spain: and she is not so blind as not to perceive, that the contest in Old Spain now is, who shall have it under her control, England or France.

For these reasons every victory that we gain in Spain will be an additional obstacle to peace with America, unless we set out by a frank and clear declaration, leaving South America to itself and the Floridas to the United States.

Before I conclude, I beg leave to notice that part of the Speech, recently delivered by your Royal Highness's order to the two Houses of Parliament, wherein mention is made of the dispute with America. The part I allude to is this: "His Royal "Highness has commanded us to assure "you, that he views with most sincere "regret, the hostile measures which have "been recently adopted by the Govern- "ment of the United States of America "towards this country. His Royal High- "ness is nevertheless willing to hope, that "the accustomed relations of peace and "amity between the two countries may yet "be restored; but if his expectations in "this respect should be disappointed, by "the conduct of the Government of the "United States, or by their *perseverance* "*in any unwarrantable pretensions*, he "will most fully rely on the support of "every class of His Majesty's subjects, in "a contest in which the *Honour of His* "*Majesty's Crown*, and the *best interests* "*of his dominions*, must be involved."

This part of the Speech has been thought, and with reason, to augur war; for, I am not aware of "*any pretension*" of America that she will not "*persevere*" in. If pretensions to be put forward, to be now originated, had been spoken of, there might have been more room for doubt; but, in speaking of pretensions to be *persevered* in, the speech necessarily refers to pretensions *already put forward;* and, I repeat, Sir, that I do not know of any pretension that America has put forward, in which I do not believe she will persevere, to do which the conduct of your Royal Highness's ministers is eminently calculated to give her encouragement.

As to support from *the people* of England in a war against America, your Royal Highness will certainly have it, if the grounds of the war be *clearly just*; but, it would be very difficult for your ministers to make the people perceive, or believe, that the impressment of American seamen, any where, and especially in the very ships of America, was necessary "to the honour "of His Majesty's Crown, and involved "the best interests of his dominions." The people have now seen all the predictions of the hireling prints, with regard to America, falsified; they have been told, that America could not support herself for a year without England, and they have seen her do it for a year and a half, and at the end of that time declare war. They are not now to be persuaded that this government can do what it pleases with America.

It has been stated, with an air of triumph, by the partisans of your ministers, that the *Opposition* are pledged to support a war against America, unless she is satisfied with the repeal of the Orders in Council. But, *the people*, Sir, have given no such pledge; the manufacturers have given no such pledge; and, the war will not be a jot the more popular on account of its having the support of that set of men who are called *the Opposition*, and for whom the people have no respect any more than they have for their opponents. The Orders in Council were a grievance to America, but not a greater grievance than the imprisonment and captivity of her citizens; not a greater grievance than to see her citizens dragged by force into a service which they abhor, on so many accounts, however pleasant and honourable it may be to our own countrymen. This grievance was known to exist; and, therefore, if the Opposition have given a pledge to support a war against America, unless she be satisfied with the repeal of the Orders in Council alone, they have given a pledge to do that in which they will not have the support of the people.

I am one of those, Sir, who do not regard a great extension of trade as a benefit; but, those who do must lay their account with seeing much of our trade destroyed *for ever* by a war with America. Three

or four years of war would compel her to become a manufacturing country to such an extent as never more to stand in need of English goods; so that, if your Royal Highness's ministers do insist upon exercising the power of seizing people on board of American ships at sea, those persons who manufacture goods for America must seek another market, for that is closed against them for ever.

For many years, Sir, there has existed in this country, a faction perfectly desperate in their HATRED OF FREEDOM. They not only hate all free nations, but they hate the very sound of the word freedom. I am well satisfied that persons of this description would gladly hear of the murder of every soul in America. There is nothing that they hate so much as a man who is not a slave, and who lives out of the reach of arbitrary power. These persons will be sorely grieved to see peace preserved between the two countries on terms honourable to America; but, I am, for my part, ready to confess, that with me it will be a subject of joy; I am ready to declare, that I see less reason than ever for an Englishman's wishing to see the people of America humbled or borne down; and that it will grieve me exceedingly to reflect that England is taxed, and that English blood is shed, for the purpose of enforcing the power to impress American seamen; but this mortification I shall, I trust, be spared by the humanity and wisdom of your Royal Highness.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Tuesday,
4th August, 1812.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR.——The war now going on in the North of Europe has, to a great degree, eclipsed the war in the South, and for this reason, that it must be pretty evident, that, if Napoleon be successful in the former, he will finally be successful in the latter.——The *grounds* of the war in the North are to be seen in the correspondence between the French and Russian ministers, already inserted in the Register. The sole cause is, in fact, a refusal on the part of the Czar to shut English commerce out of his dominions, which English commerce the Emperor of France is resolved shall be shut out of every spot to which his influence extends, as long as he is at war with England.——The progress of this war will be hereafter more fully dwelt upon, but I cannot refrain from noticing here, that the first effect of it appears to have been *the rescuing of Poland from a foreign yoke.* This is what we did not expect to see in our day; but, we have seen many things that were unexpected; and we have many more yet to see.. The *motive* of Napoleon in doing this good act may be questioned. By me it shall not, as I do not care a straw for his motive. The Polanders are likely to become free. The cause of it I care very little about.——Our hired news-papers are taking infinite pains to make their readers believe, that the campaign is going on exceedingly well; that the Russians are doing just what they intended to do; and that the French are falling into *a trap.* So they told us in wars which ended at *Austerlitz*, *Wagram*, *Tilsit*, and *Berlin.* Napoleon was, in all these cases, going on into a trap; and so, it seems, he is now.——The Russians have, we are told, resolved to act upon the "*defensive*;" and, in pursuance of this resolution, they have already retreated before the French for nearly 200 miles, leaving not only the towns and the whole country to their pursuers, but also vast *magazines* of warlike stores and provisions. And this is called acting upon the *defensive!* Now suppose that Napoleon were to land at Southampton, with a view of marching to London by the way of Basingstoke, and that our army stationed at Winchester were to make off a few hours before his arrival, and get to Basingstoke before him, and thence to make off again at his approach, and so on, should we call this acting upon the *defensive?* What a set of impudent ruffians are the conductors of the English hired press! And what a shame is it to the nation, that these ruffians should find readers! The Russians, according to their own account, have run away at the approach of the French nearly 200 miles; they have left every thing in the hands of the enemy; they have not stopped to look him in the face; Napoleon pursues them as a hound pursues a hare; and yet these English hirelings have the audacity to tell the people of England, that the Russians are doing just what they ought to do, just what they *intended* to do, and that, while they are surrendering a whole kingdom into the hands of the French without firing a shot, they are acting upon the *defensive!* To defend a country means to *keep an enemy out* of it; to act upon the defensive, means to defend merely, and not to sally out to

attack; but, to all the other perversions of the meaning of words, to *Bank restriction*, and to all the other inventions in this way, it required the atrocious impudence of our hired writers to apply the epithet *defensive* to the act of *running away*. If I were to employ a dozen of men to *defend* my house, and they upon the approach of the expected assailant, were to leave the house to defend itself, should I pay them for what they had done? Should I commend them? Should I say that they had fulfilled my *intentions?* No; and to tell the people of England, that the Russians are now doing what they intended to do is certainly a mark of such insolence as has seldom been equalled.——However, in the end, it will answer no purpose. Events will tell the truth. Facts, in the end, speak for themselves; and they now tell us to mistrust all that these hired literary ruffians say; for, while these are endeavouring to make us believe, that Napoleon is hated in France, and that the people long to put him down, we see him leave the country for months together, and place himself at the head of an army 600 miles distant from his capital. This fact alone is an answer to all that we have been told of his *unpopularity*.——To me it appears, that he will not be long in settling affairs in the North. I do not believe one single word of what the hirelings tell us of the zeal of *the people* against him. On the contrary I see the people of Poland rising *for him*, calling for blessings on him for having restored them to liberty. The wiseacre of the Times news-paper has the following observations, under date of the 4th instant: "In the *fallen state of the public* "*mind on the Continent*, it is gratifying to "find some exceptions among the men "whose feeling is the most important at "this time. We have been already told "of the strong disgust of the Prussian "troops, and some of the more distin-"guished of the Prussian Generals, on "their junction with the French service. "We are now informed, that *General* "*Count Bellegarde*, *a celebrated Austrian* "*Officer*, and others of his countrymen, "have refused to take commands in the "Austrian auxiliary force. If this be "true; and our accounts give it implicit "credit; what must be the sentiments in "those *lower ranks of the Austrian army*, "which feel *the injury* more keenly, as "they are not allowed to express it? and "what a diminution of the French force "might not be effected by some *liberal* "*offers of settlement in the Russian terri-*"*tories?*" -Poor soul! What he means by the "*fallen* state of the public mind". is that state which indicates a resistance to the insolence and oppression of despots. And who is this Count Bellegarde? Why, a general whom the French beat to a mummy. The French would, I dare say, be very glad to get rid of the whole of the Austrian Officers. They have sergeants and corporals enough of their own to put in their stead. But the most impudent part of this paragraph relates to the Austrian soldiers, who are represented as having peculiar cause of discontent against the French, when, as all the world knows, a French soldier is a gentleman compared to an Austrian soldier.——No, no! Liberal offers of settlement in the Russian territories would do nothing. The French army knows that it can make settlements for itself; and besides, how the hypocrite peeps out here! This same writer was telling us just before, that the Russians were doing just what they intended to do; that the French were going on into a trap; and, of course, the more there were of them the better. But, now, behold! he has a scheme for *seducing the French army* from their commander!

Sir Francis Burdett's Address.——I subjoin this Address together with the Speech by which it was preceded, as I find them in the news-papers. There will a time offer for remarking on them in future; in the meanwhile the public will observe, that they have passed *uncontradicted* by any one in the House, and, as far as I have observed, out of the House. The speech (imperfect as the report must necessarily be) contains some very curious statements as to the amount of *pensions* and *sinecures*, and the savings that might be made in the public expenditure.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, 5*th August*, 1812.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S

Speech and Address, spoken and moved in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, 28th July, 1812, according to the Report, given in the Morning Chronicle of the 29th of July.

Sir F. Burdett, in consequence of his notice upon this subject, rose, and observed that since public grievances required public remedies, and since those grievances

never prevailed to a greater extent than at the present moment, he felt it his duty, even at this late period of the Session, to state his opinion, and to endeavour to persuade the Prince Regent to apply the only remedy that could afford permanent and effectual relief. Although the probability of success in the conflict on the Peninsula might be greater than in the commencement of the campaign, he could not help thinking that the Country was surrounded by more imminent dangers, foreign and domestic, than had threatened it at any former period. It would be utterly impossible for him to do more than to give a slight and imperfect sketch of the actual state of our affairs, which menaced extensive disaffection and the most aggravated calamities by which a nation could be afflicted. The dangers were of various kinds; but among the most alarming were the inroads that had of late years been made upon the Constitution, and which had actually so incorporated themselves with it, that to a superficial observer the one appeared even to form a part of the other. The invasions of the Common Law had been frequent, and the most dangerous symptom was the hostile manner in which the Judges construed that law to the detriment of the subject. The danger was peculiarly great where the Liberty of the Press was concerned; and it was increased by that usurpation of power by the Attorney General, by Ex-officio Informations, whereby an innocent man was placed in a situation of peril, unauthorized by the Constitution. In matters of lesser importance, this assumption had been tolerated on the maxim *De minimis non curat lex;* but it had been raised to a height even in the time of Sir W. Blackstone, which alarmed that Learned Judge, who maintained that Ex-officio Informations were not legal, excepting in cases where immediate interposition was necessary, to prevent further danger by delay. It had now been carried to an extent which disgusted every man of common understanding. Not contented with the authority already conferred, the Legislature had recently passed an Act, allowing the Attorney General the additional power of holding to bail. In prosecutions by the Crown it now appeared that the Attorney General was entirely master of the Court, and for the first time in any proceeding for an offence less than high treason, in the case of the unfortunate Bellingham, the Crown had challenged no less than eight out of twelve jurors; by law the right of the prisoner to challenge was restricted, but the right of the Attorney General was unlimited; this abuse was the corruption of justice at its very source, and, if not restrained, would in time destroy what had been of late years vainly called the *palladium* of British liberty. The intervention of the Master of the Crown Office further aggravated the evil.——The House and the country had been lately threatened with some violent exertion to support the labouring finances. Such a measure was, after the experience of former extortions and exactions, indeed formidable. The Honourable Baronet would recommend, that the exertions made should not be to raise but to save money; exertions of economy, and not of taxation. He recollected three former great exertions of a similar kind to that lately alluded to: the first was the imposition of the Income Tax; the second the increase of it to 10 per cent, and the third the levy of the War Taxes. What fresh attempts were to be made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer it was not easy to imagine. An examination of the Report of the Committee of Finance for 1810, would satisfy every unprejudiced mind that the most vigorous exertions of economy were necessary, and would be effectual. He did not indulge the vain hope of convincing the holders of sinecures that they ought to be abolished, but he believed that he could astonish some of them, when he told them that for Scotland and Ireland only they amounted to £.392,361. The Report alluded to likewise disclosed many other important particulars. Under the most comprehensive title of "Compensation for loss of office, on account of the Union, or any other causes before or since that event" was embraced, no less a sum than £.100,083, including a charge that seemed most curiously forced in, of £.2,000 a year to the *Prince of Mecklingburg Strelitz.* In England, the charges for sinecures on the Post-office, Excise, Consolidated Fund, &c., was no less than £.459,510, and all the salaries paid for the discharge of no duties, ascended to the enormous sum of £.952,684. The expenses attending the American, Dutch, and French Loyalists, the Prince Regent of Portugal, the Prince of Orange, the Emperor of Austria, (the ally of our deadly enemy,) and other Foreigners, exclusive of their great military emoluments, formed a charge of £.2,143,590, not including the sum improperly granted to the Duke of York in 1801, which had not been re-

turned, and for which no interest was paid. The expense of foreign corps was £.968,000, and the loans to Portugal, and to the East India Company were four millions. If the desirable object of an exchange of prisoners were effected, another million might be saved.' The sum of £.176,000, annually granted for secret services, was to be watched with peculiar jealousy; how it was applied, none but Ministers knew; perhaps, to reward such agents as Captain Henry, or to pay informers to entrap men into offences. No less than £.100,000 was annually allowed for the poor Clergy of the Church of England: why could not the poor be supported by the rich Clergy? In the Honourable Baronet's opinion, *the starving Manufacturers were much more deserving objects of charity.* Besides these various charges, large salaries were paid to the Commissioners of public accounts, who had not saved the public as much money as would pay their expenses for a single twelvemonth. The next head included sums which might be much more fitly included under the title of jobs; among these were £.8,000 to the Board of Agriculture, £.68,000 for bridges and roads in Scotland (exceeding the entire amount of the land-tax of that country)! besides other large charges for improvements near Palace-yard, that ought to have been borne by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and for the erection of a new Mint, at a time when coin was out of circulation. The erection of barracks, which would have cost £.500,000, had been, this year, in part, prudently resigned. The whole of these expenses rose to the extravagant sum of nine millions, all, or the greater part of which, might, with due management, be saved to the nation, already sinking under burdens, which, by new exactions, were to be augmented. With respect to the million of money paid for the Civil List, the Honourable Baronet thought that the Crown had made an improvident bargain, and as the lands belonging to the Sovereign would let for much more, although only 50 or £.60,000 was produced from them, if the contract were abrogated, another million might be saved, and the King benefited.——The greatest grievance of which the country had to complain was, the assumption by the House of Commons of the whole of the powers of the State. He (Sir F. Burdett) had been constantly held up as the enemy to the constituted authorities—to the authorities legally constituted he was a sincere friend, and he would at all times support the just power and dignity of the Throne. The House of Commons, a boroughmonger faction, erected itself into an odious oligarchy, and usurped all the powers of the three branches of the Constitution. In this cause most of our evils originated. The annual sum of nearly 23 millions was paid as the Army Expenditure, but on calculating the pay of the whole military force at the highest rate, it did not exceed six millions. To what purpose, then, was the remainder applied? It was divided among the Officers, and was swallowed by jobs in the Barrack and other Departments. The same remarks applied to the Navy, and Lord St. Vincent (no light authority on this subject) had declared, that the marine affairs of the nation might be conducted at one-third of their present expense. What then, it would be inquired, was the remedy? But he was sure that those who put the question could themselves answer it without prompting—*Parliamentary Reform.* On the many occasions when this question had been discussed, some gentlemen had professed themselves friendly to reform, but they did not see the benefit that would result from it. If, as it could be proved, the present corrupt state of the representation was the real cause of all the corruption in the various branches of Government, the benefit that would result from reform, must be obvious to all. The ministers themselves, although in the present state of things, they were supported by corruption, were compelled to be responsible for many acts which originated in the defects of the House of Commons. Whether war or peace would be the issue of our differences with America was a question, compared with Parliamentary Reform, of little consequence, and without it, the Regent might, with any ministers, in vain attempt to satisfy his subjects.——The Honourable Baronet wished to state his opinion with respect to the late overtures by France for peace, because on a former night he had failed in catching the eye of the Speaker. The refusal was made by this Government on the ground of a subsisting treaty between George the Third and Ferdinand the Seventh. It was an absurdity to imagine that such a contract could, under the present circumstances, exist. Ferdinand was not in a situation to make or execute it; he was not King of Spain, in the usual acceptation of the words, and had resigned his hereditary right of succession to the crown. The ground of refusal turned out to be a mere flimsy pre-

tence; or supposing such a treaty did or could exist, one Administration was not bound to fulfil the engagements of another; each was responsible for its own acts; and it was, however, of little importance whether Ferdinand or Joseph were the King of Spain. If, however, situated as this nation was previous to the breaking out of the new war, which Russia had been rash enough to commence, the offer made by France had been repeated to any impartial man, the Honourable Baronet was convinced that he would have thought that we could not have done better than close with the proposal, as it would be a fortunate opportunity of getting out of our difficulties and embarrassments. The truth was, not that we were fighting in the peninsula for Ferdinand, but for ourselves: and the real question was, whether we were to lay claim to the crown of Spain? The most sanguine hopes were indulged as to the issue of the war just commenced in the North. For his own part, the Honourable Baronet could not concur in the belief held out in newspapers, that Buonaparté, from a want of provisions, would be compelled to withdraw. Knowing himself nothing of military tactics, the Honourable Baronet could not help believing that the Emperor of the French, after all his experience, would be as well aware of the dangers he was exposed to as the writers of newspapers, or even as His Majesty's Ministers. Seeing who was at the head of foreign affairs, and that the two Noble Lords opposite (Castlereagh and Palmerston) were to have the planning of our expeditions, he entertained as little hope of their success against Buonaparté as he should of the success of a child engaged at chess with the celebrated Phillidore.——It was with the hope, continued the Honourable Baronet, of at least awakening in the mind of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent a sense of the necessity of something being substantially done; something that might unite the minds and hearts of the people, and that might obtain the redress of grievances, which now bore them to the earth, that he had ventured to trouble the House with his sentiments. Measures of economy ought to be adopted. The nation would bear the taxes, if necessary, without repining, when they saw that they were as prudently applied to their legitimate purposes, as they were lavishly granted by that House. He could not expect that his sentiments would meet with the concurrence of many who heard him. He knew he was represented as one who was disaffected to the constituted authorities, as they were called: he denied that he was so, however: he was ready to support the Crown in all its constitutional powers; but he owned he was disaffected to the vile Oligarchy that now governed both the Crown and the Country. To them he owed no allegiance; but on the contrary would rather swear eternal enmity to them on the Altar of his Country. He had been accused, also, of being the protector of those who were the disturbers of the peace. He was no such person; and neither was he the protector of those who violated the constitution by calling in the military to kill and destroy the people. He would contend there was no necessity for such proceedings. The constitution, if duly administered, was not so feeble as to require them; it had no such inherent debility: it was not such a gaudy, unsubstantial thing as that, to be hung up merely on a fine day, as it were, to be gazed upon with curiosity, but not to be touched. It had vigour enough in itself, if that vigour was properly employed; and his disaffection was to the men who did not properly employ it. While such measures were pursued, he cared not who were Ministers; he cared not what Oligarchs were in, or what Oligarchs were out, the country was equally a loser.——There was another subject to which he wished to call the attention of the House, and which had been already touched upon by the Member from Bedford on a former evening. It had pleased Providence within the last few years to permit events which had, in effect, suspended the constitution; and that House had most unconstitutionally taken upon itself powers to which it was not competent. As, however, he did not wish to see similar proceedings, and as it was possible, every one would allow, that the Prince Regent might be taken from us while his father was yet living, he could wish that some legislative measure should be adopted in anticipation of such a possibility, to prevent the recurrence of the same exercise of unconstitutional power by that House, as had already taken place. The question was pregnant with great difficulties, and difficulties which that House ought to provide against. When, in the early part of the present reign, his Majesty was afflicted with that malady which they all now had to deplore, an Act of Regency was passed, securing, in the person of the Prince of Wales, the exercise of the Royal functions; and he could see no reason why a similar precaution should not now be taken, espe-

cially when it was considered that the Princess Charlotte of Wales had now arrived at those years when a Regency might be formed in her person, and ought to be so formed. It was a matter of wonder and surprise to him, and he could not account for it, but by supposing that the House meant to keep the whole government in its hands.——The Honourable Baronet concluded by saying, that in order to shew the radical cause of all the evils he had adverted to in his speech, he should move, "That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and in which Address all those objects would be embraced." He then moved the following Address:—

To the Prince Regent.

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, return our humble thanks to your Royal Highness for having graciously attended to the wishes of this House, expressed in its Vote, intimating the necessity there was of forming a strong and efficient Administration;—We, however, deeply lament that any Privy Counsellors of this realm could accept of commissions to that end, without explicitly laying before your Royal Highness the necessary means of accomplishing the object in view, which could only have been effected by restoring the people to their rights, and so placing your Royal Highness's Government on the virtues and affections of the nation. We lament that your Royal Highness's beneficent intentions and ready endeavours produced no effect advantageous to the country, and only gave occasion to intrigues and cabals, not less odious in their too obvious motives, than injurious to the character of the Government; it being made manifest to all men, that the persons who possess, and those who aspire to the Offices of State, no longer regard themselves as chosen by the Sovereign, but as the Nominees of the Borough Oligarchy, who equally invade the province of the Crown, and the rights of the people, interposing with the one in the choice of its Ministers, and depriving the other of the election of its Representatives. If it were, at this day, necessary to point out the mischievous and disgraceful effects of this unconstitutional and disloyal invasion of the rights of both King and People; if, after all the votes by which the worst sort of tyranny and corruption have been sanctioned; by which Ministers have been screened against a charge of trafficking in seats in this House, and an Attorney General against a charge of oppression and partiality; if after all that we have witnessed in the course of the last twenty years, of outrage upon the rights and liberties of Englishmen, there still wanted proof of the pernicious and degrading influence of the Borough Faction, that proof we must now regard as complete, when we recollect that at the end of several weeks, during which the business in Parliament was suspended, for the professed purpose of affording time to your Royal Highness to form a new Ministry, that same House of Commons who had, by one vote, declared the Ministers to be incompetent, recognized by another vote the competence of these same Ministers, leaving scarcely a possible doubt as to the means by which the conversion had been effected. While we are convinced, that posterity will never believe that a King and people of England were thus made the sport and prey of a Borough Faction, sustained solely by a fraudulent pretence of being the Representatives of the People, we of the present day feel too sorely the reality of the fact, which has been manifested in a long train of useless wars and expeditions; which, while attended with a dreadful waste of treasure and of life, have almost uniformly failed in their professed object, and have only answered the purpose of enriching the Borough Faction and their dependants, as a reward for political corruption. In the rash rejection of the late Overture to treat for peace, made on the part of the Emperor of the French, on the

flimsy pretext of a Treaty of Alliance between His Majesty and Ferdinand the Seventh, when, in truth, no such treaty is, in existence, we cannot but deeply lament, not only the loss of an opportunity to treat for Peace, more favourable than, in all probability, will again occur, but also to see in that rejection the determination of the Oligarchy to engage the nation in interminable war; and that at a moment when, not only by rejection of all offers, Russia was exposed to danger, but this country itself was on the eve of a war with America, which not only threatens to leave your manufacturers out of employment, but also to deprive this country of its only resource of relief, in case of an unfavourable harvest; and at a time when the augmentation of taxes, in the space of the last twenty years only, has swelled a burden of fifteen to a burden of seventy millions a year; and during the same period has so added to the public debt and the paper money, as to leave not the smallest hope of redeeming the one or of restoring the credit of the other. Sinecure offices and grants of public money have been given to an enormous amount — without the sanction of any public service; money voted out of the pockets of the people by those who did not represent them. The galling effects of the system are seen in the harshness, the insolence, the partiality, and tyranny of Tax Commissioners, Commissioners of Excise, and their inferior agents, whose almost diurnal visitations place the purse of every man in a constant state of requisition; unhinging property, dissipating the resources, and exhausting the patience of a loyal and suffering nation. As a melancholy accompaniment of those evils, we behold a rapid increase of paupers, of misery, and of crimes; and in addition, we have the pain of observing a systematic practice in the Court of King's Bench of construing law in a manner hostile to the freedom of the subject; an evident decline in the independence of the Bar, and an unconstitutional use of succedaneum for the hateful Court of Star Chamber, Ex-officio Informations with Special Juries; and, finally, as the means of securing non-resistance from an oppressed people, we are shocked at the establishment of inland fortresses throughout the land, under the name of Barracks, and in the introduction and progressive increase of foreign mercenary troops; by the employment of Foreigners in offices of trust, civil and military, in defiance of the Act of Settlement, the rights of Englishmen, and the Common Law of the Land. In all these things, and in many others, which we forbear to name, we see manifested the influence of that rapacious and insolent Oligarchy, who while they scruple not to enrich themselves with the spoils of the people, invariably speak of them with contempt and opprobrium. We beg leave, therefore, humbly to represent to your Royal Highness our firm conviction, that it is only by promoting a Constitutional Reform, in the Commons' House of Parliament, and thereby obtaining the cordial support of the Nation, against those who are now usurping the Prerogatives of the Crown, by means of the power which they have purloined from the People, that your Royal Highness will be able to form a strong and efficient Government, equal to the perilous state of affairs, or to adopt and put in force such measures as can effectually secure internal tranquillity, National Independence, and, finally, obtain a safe and permanent peace. Amongst the many misfortunes both from within and without, which the Nation has experienced, we account it not amongst the least, that after the odious Borough Oligarchy had for three months actually suspended the Kingly part of the Constitution, and then imposed on your Royal Highness restrictions on the Royal Prerogative as insulting, as unconstitutional and unnecessary, they took care to have the nation exposed

to similar danger, to the same unsettled, hazardous condition, in the event of the demise of your Royal Highness (whom God long preserve); that so in such event they might have a pretence for renewing their factious usurpations, for fabricating new restrictions, and keeping the Crown in a state of pupilage, which ought to be independent. This we esteem peculiarly offensive, when, in the person of the Princess Charlotte, your Royal Highness's daughter and only child, being now of legal age, a Regency might, according to former precedent, with evident propriety, be established, so as to ensure the nation against the uncertainties and dangers to which it is otherwise exposed. We beg leave humbly to represent to your Royal Highness, that those only deceive you who pretend that this country can be restored to safety and content except by redressing the grievances of the people, by strictly applying the public money to public services alone, by extending the benefits of the Constitution to persons of all religious persuasions, without distinction, above all, by restoring to the people their undoubted rights, "claimed, demanded, and insisted on," but unfortunately not established, at the revolution; amongst which the chief and paramount is, the free choice of their representatives in the Commons' House of Parliament; on the restoration of which, we are firmly persuaded, mainly depend the stability of the Throne, the independence of the country, and the liberty of the people.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

France, *and* Russia.——*Correspondence relative to the Dispute of* 1812.

(Continued from page 158.)

departure, would, on the contrary, as appears to me, render it more necessary.——In circumstances so urgent, what advantage could result from written communications, when eight days would be scarcely sufficient for receiving an answer, and which, from their nature, even do not afford any means of correction in sufficient time to avoid the lamentable consequences, all the errors, all the misunderstandings, which may be committed on either side, and which are even nearly inevitable.——The principal object, the maintenance of peace, would never be attained. It is because the Emperor, my master, was thoroughly sensible how injurious delays are on occasions so critical, that he commanded me to proceed to the Emperor Alexander, and your Excellency, in order to clear up all the doubts, and to remove all the difficulties upon important points, with respect to which explanations are not practicable, except in this way, if the hope be to be cherished of an arrangement which has been invariably the object of his wishes. In the new situation in which your Excellency's letter places me, it remains only for me to take the orders of my Court as to my ulterior conduct. I dispatch a courier to solicit instructions.——As to myself in particular, Count, I cannot conceal from your Excellency, that I am deeply affected at a refusal, which I cannot but consider as personal to myself, inasmuch as any person than myself directly sent by my Master, whether a General or an Aid-de-Camp, would, without doubt, have obtained a favour which has been refused to me.——Not having any intelligence direct on the subject of the communications, which your Excellency assures me are suspended between Russia and foreign countries, I cannot reply to that paragraph of your letter.——I have the honour, &c. COUNT DE LAURISTON.

Copy of a Letter from the Minister for Foreign Relations to Count Lauriston.—Thorn, June 12, 1812.

You have seen, Count, by the letter which I had the honour to write to you on the 20th of last month, that the declaration made by Prince Kurakin, on the 30th of April, and the repeated demand of his passports, had appeared to his Majesty such proceedings, so strong, so decisive in the existing circumstances, so contrary to the language which this Ambassador had held till then, that his Majesty found it difficult to believe that he had not taken too much upon him.——We have since learned, that the Russian Government had communicated to different Governments, the condition insisted upon from his Majesty, of the evacuation of the Prussian territory as a precedent stipulation, indispensable to any negociation.——The letter which you have done me the honour to write to me, of the 22d of May, informs me, that this

declaration is known at St. Petersburg, and I find it mentioned at the same time in the English Papers, as you can perceive by reading the accompanying sheet.——No doubt, then, can be longer entertained, Count, but that Prince Kurakin has fully comprehended his instructions, and conformed to them in his declaration of the 30th of April, and when he made and renewed the demand of his passports.——The conduct of Prince Kurakin had determined His Majesty to set out from Paris; the publicity which has been given these transactions, has made him sensible of the necessity of quitting Dresden, and of drawing nearer to his army.——He had hoped, until the last moment, that conferences might still take place; but this hope vanished when he saw that the propositions which were really to be submitted to him, were incompatible with his honour. At Austerlitz, when the Russian army was destroyed; when the Emperor Alexander saw even the safety of his own person endangered; at Tilsit, when there no longer remained to him any means by which to support that struggle in which all the forces of his empire had fallen, His Majesty did not propose to him any condition which would offend his honour.——It is now too certain, Count, that the Government is resolved on war, for which reason it might be convenient that you should remain still longer at St. Petersburg. His Majesty enjoins you to demand your passports, and to repass the frontier. You will make this demand by addressing a note, a minute of which is subjoined to Count Soltikoff. I have the honour, &c. &c.

THE DUKE OF BASSANO.

Copy of a Note of Count Lauriston to Count Soltikoff.

Prince Kurakin, after having made the communications which had been brought to him by the last Courier, which he received from Russia, having demanded his passports, and three times repeated that demand, His Majesty directed that they should be given to him. He commands me to demand mine, my mission being finished, since the demand which Prince Kurakin made of his passports decided the rupture, and since His Majesty the Emperor and King considers himself from this moment in a state of war with Russia.

Copy of a Letter from the Minister for Foreign Relations to Prince Kurakin. Thorn, June 12, 1812.

Mr. Ambassador—By your note of the 30th of April you have declared that an arrangement between our two Courts was impossible, unless His Majesty the Emperor and King should preliminarily accede to the peremptory demand of the entire evacuation of the Prussian States.——When your Excellency first made known to me verbally this proceeding, I did not disguise from you all the consequences of it. After the battle of Austerlitz, when the Russian army was surrounded; after the battle of Friedland, in which it had been defeated, His Majesty showed his esteem for the valour of this army, for the greatness of the Russian nation, and for the character of the Emperor Alexander, in not requiring any thing from him contrary to honour. It was not impossible to suppose that in the existing circumstances of Europe, your Sovereign, who, without doubt, contemned neither the character of the Emperor, nor that of the French nation, so faithful to honour, would have been disposed to dishonour France. His Majesty, the Emperor and King, could not contemplate in the condition of the evacuation of Prussia, as preliminary to any negociation, any thing but a positive refusal to negociate.——You have confirmed this opinion, Mr. Ambassador, by the demand which you have made of your passports on the 7th May, and which you have repeated on the 11th and 24th.——I have, nevertheless, deferred replying to your Excellency, because His Majesty was still willing to believe that you had exceeded your instructions in giving such a note—in establishing that as a formal condition which might be the result of a negociation, and in cutting short all discussion by demanding your passports.——But since the receipt of Count Lauriston's dispatches, reports, which arrive by different channels, and even the publications in the English News-papers, apprize us that your Government has informed its capital and all Europe of the resolution which it has taken not to enter into any negociation until the French troops shall have retired to the Elbe. I have acknowledged, Mr. Ambassador, that I was mistaken, and I ought to render justice to your experience and intelligence, which should have prevented you from resorting to a course so extreme, if your Government had not made it our positive duty.——His Majesty being no longer able to doubt the intentions of your Court, has commanded me to send you your passports, the repetition of the demand for which he considers as a declaration of war. I have the honour to be, &c.

THE DUKE OF BASSANO.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LO-"CAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knap-"sacks* was the ground of the complaint that ex-"cited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons; that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Baxter of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF BRISTOL.

Letter III.

Gentlemen,

Before I resume the subject, upon which I addressed you in my last, give me leave to explain to you what I mean by an *independent elector*. I do not mean a man who has money or land enough to make him independent; for, I well know, that money and land have no such effect; as we see, every day of our lives, very rich men, and men of what is called family too, amongst the meanest and most dirty dependants of the ministry or the court. Independence is in the mind; and I call independent that man, who is, at all times, ready to sacrifice a part, at least, of what he has, and to brave the anger and resentment of those from whom he derives his living, rather than act, in his public capacity, contrary to the dictates of his own mind. This is what I mean by an independent man. The journeyman who carries all his fortune in a silk handkerchief is as likely to be an independent man as is a Lord or a 'Squire; and, indeed, we find him much oftener worthy of the name.

It is to men of this description that I address myself upon the present occasion, and to their attention I now beg leave to recall some of the circumstances of the late election at Bristol, or, rather, the late *contest;* for, according to my notion of the law, there can be *no election* where soldiers are present during any portion of the time from the beginning to the end of the poll.

Of the two candidates, generally, I have spoken before; but, I now wish to draw your attention more particularly to the pledges tendered you, and given you, by Mr. Hunt. He promised and vowed three things: 1st. That he never would, as long as he lived, either directly or indirectly, pocket a single farthing of the *public money*. This, Gentlemen, is, with me, and so, I trust, it is with you, a capital point. Indeed, it always appears to me necessary to the safety of the electors, as far as the fidelity of their member goes. If the man elected can take the public money, is not the temptation too great for most men? In short, what can be more absurd, what can be more revolting to reason, what more shocking to common sense, than the idea of a man's being *a guardian of the public purse*, while, at the same time, he votes, in that capacity, part of the people's money into his own pocket? In all the other situations of life we see the payer and the receiver a check upon each other; but, in the case of a member of parliament who receives part of the public money, there is no such check.

We are often asked, whether we would wish gentlemen of great talents to serve the country as Secretaries of State, Chancellors of the Exchequer, &c. &c. without any pay? To which I, for myself, answer *no*. I would not only have them paid, but *well paid ;* but I would not have them sit in parliament while they received the pay. If we are told, that this is *impracticable*, we point to the experience in its support; for, in the United States of America, there are no paid officers in the Legislature. No man can be a member of either House who is in the receipt of a sixpence of the public money under the Executive; and, what is more, he cannot receive any of the public money, in the shape of salary, during the time for which he has been elected, if the office from which the salary is derived has been created or its income increased since his election. This is the case in America. There are no chancellors of the exchequer, no secretaries of state, or of war, or of the admiralty, in either House of Congress; there is no *Treasury Bench;* there are no ministers and none of those other things of the same kind, and which I will not here name. Yet is America now exceedingly well governed; the people are *happy* and *free;* there are about *eight millions* of them, and there are *no paupers;* in that country poor men do not, to be sure, crawl almost upon their bellies before the rich; but, there are very few murders; I lived eight years in the largest city in the country, and there was no human being *hanged*, or otherwise put to death for a crime while I lived there,

The country, therefore, must be pretty well governed, and yet there is no member of either House of the Legislature who is in any office whatever under the government. The members are *paid for their time*, and paid their expenses to and from the place of sitting. They are appointed by the people and paid by the people; they are the people's representatives, and are not suffered to be the servants of, or to receive pay from, any body else.

Here, then, we have a proof, an experimental proof, of the practicability of conducting a government without giving placemen seats in the Legislature. And, though the *positive pledge* may, in all cases, not be insisted on, the principle ought to be clearly understood; and, where the candidate is not very well known indeed, and has not had *long trial*, I am for insisting upon the positive pledge. This pledge Mr. Hunt has given you; and you must be well assured, that, if he were disposed to break it, he would not dare to do it. For this alone I should prefer him to either of the other candidates, both of whom, all three of whom, you may be assured, have in view either *public money* or *title*, both of which Mr. Hunt disclaims.

The 2d pledge that Mr. Hunt has given you, is, that he will endeavour, if elected, to do away all the sinecure places, and all the pensions not granted for real services. This is a pledge which I deem of great importance. The sum of money expended *annually* in this way has been stated by Sir Francis Burdett at nearly a *million of pounds sterling*, that is to say, a sum sufficient to maintain 125,000 poor people all the year round, supposing them not to labour at all. I, for my part, should deem the abolition of these places and pensions of far greater importance to us than the gaining of a hundred battles, by land or sea.

The 3d pledge of Mr. Hunt is, that he will, if elected, do all that in him lies to procure for the nation a *peace* and a *reform of parliament*. Now, Gentlemen, look back for the last 20 years; reflect on what has passed during that time; and then say, whether you sincerely believe, that this nation can possibly continue in its present course much longer. The finger of wisdom, of common sense, points to peace as the only possible means of rescuing ourselves from our dangers; but, Gentlemen, *how are we to have peace?* The terms offered by the Emperor of France are fair; they are, indeed, such as I never expected to see obtained at the close of a negociation; they would, if accepted of, leave us in possession of all our conquests, of all the Islands in the West Indies; of the exclusive fishery of Newfoundland; of the Cape of Good Hope and the French Settlements in Senegal; of the French and Dutch Settlements in the East Indies; of the Isles of France and Bourbon; in short, they would leave us in possession of about 40 millions of conquered people, while France herself would not possess above 17 or 18 millions of conquered people. And, which is never to be forgotten, they would leave in our hands, the island of Malta itself, which, as you well know, was *the avowed object of the war*.

Why, then, have we not peace? *Because we have not reform*, it being absolutely impossible, in my opinion, for our present internal system to be continued during a peace which should be accompanied with the usual consequences of peace. When the present war began, it was stated by the then Minister, Addington, that *we were at war because we could not be at peace;* and, I suppose, that the same reason would now be given; for, otherwise, it is, I think, impossible to account for the rejection of the late overtures of the Emperor Napoleon, which, as I have, I am persuaded, clearly shown in a former Register, were both honourable and advantageous to England. Not only, therefore, will this country, in my opinion, never regain its former state of freedom and happiness without a reform of parliament; but, I am convinced, that, without such reform, it will never again have peace with France.

This being the case, it must be an inexcusable folly for you to elect any man who is not decidedly for a reform of the parliament: and, amongst all your candidates, Mr. Hunt is the only man who has declared for that reform. The partisans of Sir Samuel Romilly say, that they doubt not that *he will* declare for reform. I differ from them in opinion. I do not think that he ever will; at least, not till such men as Mr. Hunt shall have made it *inconvenient* to be against reform. If Sir Samuel Romilly were for reform, why should he be so loath to make the declaration? He has told you, that those who promise most perform least; but, if this were to be taken as a rule without an exception, there would, at once, be an end of all promises and engagements between man and man. In this case, however, the rule did not apply; for he might have expressed his wish to see reform take place without making

any promise upon the subject. This he did not do: and, during the whole time that he has been a candidate for Bristol, he has not once *mentioned*, in any way, the subject of parliamentary reform..

There is, besides, with regard to Sir Samuel Romilly, a most suspicious circumstance; and that is, that his leading partisans all belong to that corrupt faction, which has been designated under the name of *Whigs*, and which faction is, if possible, more hostile to reform than the followers of Pitt and Perceval themselves. I have frequently asserted, that the two factions cordially unite upon all occasions, where an attack is made upon corruption in general, or where the interests of *party* are concerned. We saw them join hand-in-hand and heart to heart when the late Perceval and Castlereagh were accused by Mr. Madocks, on the 11th of May, 1809, on the anniversary of which day Perceval was shot, at the door of the very place where he had before triumphed. We saw them join in rallying round that same Perceval when Sir Francis Burdett was sent to the Tower under the escort of thousands of soldiers. We saw them join in reprobating the Address to the Prince Regent proposed by Sir Francis Burdett. In short, upon all occasions when something was to be effected hostile, decidedly hostile, to the people, the two factions have cordially joined; they have, for the time, become one. They hate one another; they would destroy one another; but, they love the public money more than they hate one another; and, therefore, when the *system* is in danger, they always unite. They cordially unite also against every man who is hostile to the system. They hate him even more than they hate each other: because he would destroy the very meat that they feed on.

Hence, Gentlemen, the united rancour of the factions against Mr. Hunt, and their united approbation of Mr. Bragge Bathurst. But, of this latter we must take more particular notice. There has appeared in the Bristol news-papers a publication respecting a Meeting for the purpose of uniting in a testimony of gratitude to Bragge Bathurst. At this meeting the following resolutions were passed; but, I beg you to observe, first, the language and sentiments of the resolutions, and next, who were the principal actors in the scene. The whole of the publication was as follows:—— "At a "General Meeting of the Merchants, "Traders, and other Inhabitants of this "City, convened by public advertisement, "for the purpose of uniting in a testimony "of *gratitude* to their late *Representative*, "the Right Hon. Charles Bathurst,— "THOMAS DANIEL, Esq. in the Chair,— "the following Resolutions were moved by "*Michael Castle*, Esq. and seconded by "*John Cave*, Esq. and carried unanimously:—1st, That the conduct of the Right "Hon. Charles Bathurst has been distinguished, during 18 years that he represented this City in Parliament, by a *meritorious attention to its local interest,* "*and an invariable zeal for the individual* "*concerns of its inhabitants*, entirely independent of every consideration of political party.—2d, That in the *retirement* of "the Right Hon. Charles Bathurst from "that elevated situation which he so deservedly held amongst us, we feel desirous of testifying, in this public manner, "*the gratitude we entertain for services* "*that have reflected so much honour upon* "*his abilities and exertions.*—3d, That a "Subscription be now entered into, for the "purpose of presenting the Right Honourable Charles Bathurst with a permanent "Token of our esteem and approbation of "services that have been so frequently "called upon, and attended to with so "much alacrity on his part, and with so "much advantage to the City at large.— "4th, That a Committee be appointed of "those Gentlemen who signed the requisition for the call of this meeting, together "with any of those who may be subscribers, for the purpose of carrying into execution the wishes and intentions of this "meeting.—5th, That the name of Mr. "Robert Bruce be added to the Twenty "Gentlemen who have signed the requisition, for the purpose of forming a Committee, with any other of the Subscribers. "—6th, That Mr. Thomas Hellicar be requested to take upon himself the office of "Treasurer. — THOMAS DANIEL, Chairman."

Now, Gentlemen, you will observe, that here is as decided praise as men can bestow. Mr. Bragge is praised for his *eighteen years' conduct*, though, during that time, he has been doing every thing which the supporters of Sir Samuel Romilly affect to disapprove of. To describe his conduct under three heads, it has been this: he has uniformly supported Pitt and the war; he has uniformly *distinguished* himself as an opponent of Parliamentary Reform, and was one of the foremost in reprobating Mr. Madocks's motion; he has, during the 18 years of war and national misery, been a

great part of the time a placeman, and he is now a placeman in possession of a rich sinecure, with immense patronage attached to it. And, it is for *conduct like this* that these townsmen of yours are about to give a testimony of their *gratitude!*

If, however, this were confined to the friends of Bragge Bathurst, to those who profess his principles, all would be in its place, all would be natural enough. But, you will bear in mind, Gentlemen, that the two factions have united here, and that these resolutions, extolling to the skies a sinecure placeman, a Pittite, and a known and decided enemy of reform of parliament; you will bear in mind that these resolutions were *moved* by Mr. MICHAEL CASTLE, the very man who introduced Sir Samuel Romilly into your city; the very man in whose carriage Sir Samuel Romilly entered your city; the very man who filled the chair at Sir Samuel Romilly's dinner. This was the man selected to MOVE resolutions expressive of the gratitude of the people of Bristol for the conduct of Bragge Bathurst, the sinecure placeman, the supporter of Pitt and the war, and the decided and distinguished enemy of parliamentary reform. This was the man, this Mr. Michael Castle, to tell the world in the most solemn manner, that the friends of Sir Samuel Romilly approved of the conduct of the very man, whom they, when canvassing you for your votes, represented as unfit to be your member.

Gentlemen, can you want any further proof of the political hypocrisy of such men as Mr. Charles Elton, and Mr. Mills, and Mr. Castle? Can you be made to believe that they are sincere when they tell you that they wish for a reform of any sort? The truth is, they wish to put in a member of their own, that they may enjoy the benefit of his patronage; but, in doing this, they must take care not to do any thing hostile *to the system*, for without the existence of that all their prospects are blasted. You see, that they have, in these resolutions, no scruple to declare the vile and abominable principle upon which they act. They here most explicitly avow, that they are grateful to Bragge Bathurst for the zeal he has shown in the *individual concerns* of his constituents. That is to say, in getting *them places under the Government;* or, in other words, in enabling them to live upon the taxes: that is to say, upon the fruit of the people's labour. I told you, in my first letter, that they had no other object than this in view; that one part of them only wanted to put in Sir Samuel Romilly that he might give them more of the taxes than they had been able to get from Bragge Bathurst. Mr. Hunt had told you this before; and now you see the fact openly avowed. The jobbers on both sides plainly tell whoever is to be their candidate, that he must take care of their *individual concerns.*

This, Gentlemen, is the real cause of the hatred, the rancour, the poisonous malice, of both factions towards Mr. Hunt, who makes open war upon the tax-eaters. This is the reason why they hate him. There are other reasons, but this is the great reason of all; and you may be well assured, that you will see both the factions always unite against any man, be he who he may, who is opposed to the system of places and pensions. But, what, then, must be the extent of the hypocrisy of the friends of Sir Samuel Romilly! They pretend that they wish for a reform of parliament, when they must well know, that such a reform would totally destroy the very root whence spring those *individual* benefits for which they express their gratitude to Bragge Bathurst. Sir Samuel Romilly, as I had before the honour to observe to you, has never told you that he is for a reform of the parliament; and, after the publication of these Resolutions, moved by the man who introduced him into your city, there are very few amongst you, I trust, who will not be convinced, that his partisans are well convinced that he will not support such a reform as shall give us a chance of destroying that corruption which is now eating out the very vitals of the country.

Clear as it is, then, that both the factions are your enemies, I hope that you will stand firmly by each other in opposition to so detestable an union. Both factions are hateful; but of the two the Whigs are the worst; because they disguise their hostility to the cause of freedom. Take, however, only a little time to reflect, and you will not be deceived by the cant of Mr. Charles Elton and Mr. Mills, both of whom, I would venture my life, have bespoke places for themselves in case of success to their candidate. They well know that the success of Mr. Hunt would defeat their scheme, and *therefore* they hate him. They do not dislike him for his separation from his wife; they would not give his wife a bit of bread to save her life, if she was a beggar instead of being, as she is, well and liberally provided for; they would see her drop from their door dead in the street, rather

than tender her a helping hand; but, to speak of the separation suits the turn of the hypocrites; by having recourse to it, they can cast calumny on their foe without letting their real motive appear. They would, if they dared, tell him that he is a cruel savage for endeavouring to prevent them from pocketing the public money; but this would not suit their purpose; and they therefore resort to his separation from his wife.

Trusting now, Gentlemen, that you see clearly the motives of the two factions, and that their main object is to get at a share of the public money, I shall not fear, that, at another election, you will *resolutely* endeavour to defeat that vile object. The whole mystery lies here. It is the public money that the factions want to get at. They are not attached to any particular set of men or of means. Whoever or whatever will give them the best chance of getting at the public money is the man or the thing for them; and Sir Samuel Romilly has been brought forward upon the recent occasion, only because there were a set of men, who found that they could not get so much of the public money as they wanted under any of the other candidates. They found the old ground too thickly settled for them; they therefore resolved to get new ground of their own; and they chose Sir Samuel Romilly, because he was at once likely to be a placeman, and was at the same time a man of a good deal of deserved popularity. They, if he were elected, would say as Falstaff did of the moon: "the *chaste* Diana, under whose influence *we steal.*" They mean to make a passage of him through which to get at the people's earnings; and, all this, too, under the guise of *virtue* and *patriotism.* With me there wanted nothing to produce conviction of this fact before; and now, I trust, that there is no man who will affect to doubt it; now when we see them moving and signing resolutions, applauding the conduct of a member of parliament who has become a sinecure placeman, and who is notoriously a most decided enemy of reform of parliament.

With these facts before him, it is not to be believed, that any one man amongst you will give his vote for this hypocritical faction. If Sir Samuel Romilly will declare openly for reform of parliament, you will do well to vote for him and for Mr. Hunt; but, if he will not, it is your duty not only not to vote for him, but to do all that lies in your power to prevent his being elected; for, be you well assured, that, without a reform of parliament, no man living can save this country, or render it any essential service. There is no national evil that we feel, be it small or great, which may not be traced to the want of a parliamentary reform, and such a reform, too, as shall cut up corruption by the roots.

It is with great pleasure that I perceive, that Mr. Hunt has promised you to be a candidate at Bristol at every future election, as long as he has life and health, unless he should be a member when a vacancy takes place for your city. This promise ensures you *an election;* it secures you against being sold like *dumb creatures;* it secures you the *exercise* of your right of voting, and the right of now and then openly reproaching and loading with just maledictions any of the wretches who may betray you. To be a member for Bristol, in future, a man must stand an *election* of some days, at any rate; no one will be able to get in by a mere day's parade; an election at Bristol will not in future be a ceremony like that of choosing a churchwarden; your voices will be heard, and, I hope, they will always carry terror to the hearts of the corrupt. You have only to *persevere.* To keep steadily on. To suffer nothing to turn you aside. Your enemies cannot kill you, nor can they do you harm. *If they collect and publish lists of your names:* you will do well to collect and publish lists of *theirs*, and then stand your chance for the *final effect.* But, above all things, be upon your guard against the fraudulent dealings of the Whigs, who are the worst faction of the two because they are the greatest hypocrites. They make use of the name of Sir Samuel Romilly as the means of deceiving you, and of getting a share of the public money into their own pockets; and of this fact I beg you never to lose sight.

I am, Gentlemen, your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Tuesday,
11th August, 1812.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR.——The progress of this war, as far as we have any account of it, seems to prove the correctness of the opinion of Sir Francis Burdett, given in his admired speech upon the State of the Nation. Napoleon does seem still to be a match for Lord Castlereagh and Lord Palmerston. He seems not to have been totally ignorant of the means of carrying on

war in the country which he was going to attack.——As to the grounds of this war, my readers, who have now all the correspondence before them, must have seen, that it was no other than the refusal of the Czar to exclude the manufactures and trade of England from his dominions. Whether the demand made by Napoleon was reasonable or not must depend upon circumstance; and whether it was wise to refuse it, will very soon, I dare say, be proved. At present I can see, for my part, no sign of any impediment to the French armies, who are, it appears, marching over countries, where the people are *glad to receive them*.——This may seem strange to some persons; but, the cause once known, it will no longer seem strange.——The question with every people, in such a case, is, "shall we be *better* or *worse* off by becoming subjects of Napoleon?" And, if the answer is, that they shall be *worse* off, they assist in opposing him; if the contrary, they do not assist in opposing him.——It is as much in vain for us to abuse the people of Poland or of Russia, as it was for us to abuse the Dutch or the Italians. They do not hear our abuse; and, if they were to hear it, they would only hate us a little more for it. Every nation must feel for itself. It is very amusing to hear people in England execrating the Polanders because they do not fight, because they do not shed their blood, for the Russians who conquered their country, who have held it by force, and who have always considered the people as a conquered people. It is amusing to hear us abuse the Polanders for this, while, in the same breath, we abuse the Emperor Napoleon as an *Usurper*, and while we call upon all his people to shake off his yoke.——To predict any thing as to the result of this war would be absurd; but, it may not be amiss to endeavour to prepare the public mind for the consequences of the success of Napoleon. That success would, it seems to me, be decisive of the fate of the continent of Europe. The whole force of France, a great part of which has been always held in readiness for a Northern War, would then be directed against Spain and Portugal, which latter even would, in that case, probably not be long in our possession. ——It has all along been my opinion, that Napoleon meant to end the continental war in the Southern Peninsula, whither we were and still are sending such immense sums of money, and where employment is found for so large a part of our military force. This opinion is now confirmed; because, if he had been so minded; if he had wished to send a larger force to Spain and Portugal, he could have sent at least a hundred and fifty thousand of those men, whom he is now marching against the Czar. His war against the Czar did not press. It could have waited. Its object was merely to enforce commercial regulations. The North offered no danger, no insult, to the Empire of France. The object to be accomplished by the war could have been accomplished after the war had been ended in the South. It is, therefore, clear, that, though he had the means of sending 150,000 additional troops into the Peninsula, he chose rather to let the war drawl on there as the means of drawing off the blood and treasure of England.——If he now succeed in the North (which is, at least, *possible*), what terms of peace does the reader suppose will be offered to us next time? Does any man imagine, that we shall ever again hear of such terms as those which we have rejected? I, for my part, imagine no such thing; and, I shall, I am pretty confident, hear those lamenting that rejection who are now applauding it to the skies.——The terms were not only good, but the *time* was singularly favourable. Russia ready for war, and a great dearth of bread in France; two circumstances that we can never hope to see unite again. But, such appears to be the aversion to peace, that even these circumstances, so singularly favourable, were wholly overlooked or set at nought.——The people of England have been told very often, that those of France sighed for peace; that the war was unpopular in France; that the people there hated Napoleon because he would not give them peace with England. I have never seen any proof of the truth of this; but, supposing it to be the real state of the fact, would it not have been wise in us to show a *disposition* for peace when the offer was made to us? If any thing were wanted to reconcile the people of France to the continuation of the war, what is so likely to do it as a rejection, on our part, of reasonable terms of peace?——When the circumstances of the war are in our favour, we refuse to treat upon the ground of its being unwise to stop our army in its career of victory; and when the circumstances of the war are unfavourable to, we refuse to treat upon the ground that it would be unwise to appear to be frightened into a treaty. In the former case we treat a proposition for peace as proceeding from

the *fears* of Napoleon; in the latter, a proceeding from his arrogance. So that really, I do not, for my part, see wha case can arise, in which we shall see i wise for us to treat for peace with France ——Nay, I almost fear, that the notion of *re-establishing the Bourbons* has been revived. I have lately seen, what I have never seen before, the whole of the personages belonging to the French Roya Family forming part of a party with the Queen and Prince Regent, which is very little short of being openly received at court and acknowledged in their royal capacities. Whether this was looked upon as a good occasion to revive the claims of that family, or whether the meeting was accidental, I know not, but I think it is the duty of the minister to advise the Prince Regent not to suffer any thing to be done, which may tend to countenance the idea, that that family is again to be put forward by us; for, in that case, a war of extermination will be, in fact, proclaimed.

WESTMINSTER MEETING.——On Wednesday, the 5th instant, there was a Meeting of the Inhabitant House-Holders of the City and Liberties of Westminster, at which the following Resolutions were moved by MAJOR CARTWRIGHT and seconded by MR. HARRIS: "Resolved, 1st. "That the Chancellor of the Exchequer "having taught us to expect, in addition to all the grievous taxes on Income, an early tax on Capital, it is expedient to distinguish between these "modes of taxation.——2d. That to tax "Income, is to take a proportion of the "rents or profits of an estate: to tax Capital, is to take away part of the estate "itself.——3d. That a tax on Capital, "annually repeated, must shortly take "away the whole of the estate.——4th. "That between the effect of taxing Capital, and the effect of confiscation, this "Meeting is not able to distinguish.—— "5th. That although the whole of Men's "Estates may be taken away by arbitrary "Taxation, yet, as neither land, nor its "produce, nor other personal property, is "thereby annihilated, so the real effect of "the system is, to transfer all property, "real and personal, from the right owners "to those who, possessing a power of arbitrary Taxation, can take away that "property at their pleasure.——6th. That "the Oligarchy, which, by usurping a "great majority of the seats in the House "of Commons, are become masters of all "property, and can take it away at their "pleasure, are, by the same means, become masters of the Crown and its Exchequer.——7th. That this Meeting "knows but of one crime meriting punishment by a confiscation of their estate, of "which the People of England have been "guilty, namely, the crime of having too "long submitted to Taxation without Representation—a crime of which they "must speedily repent, or inevitably sink "into a slavery the most abject and the "most hopeless.——8th. That as the "House of Commons exercises the authority of a Court of Judicature, with exclusive jurisdiction over whatever relates "to the Elective and Legislative Rights of "the People, so as no redress of any injury touching the same can be elsewhere "obtained, the Meeting, on behalf of "themselves and the nation at large, will "present to that House a Petition of Right, "claiming Representation co-extensive with "Taxation in Annual Parliaments, according to the Constitution; and demanding that "Justice be neither denied "nor delayed," according to Magna Charta."——These resolutions, which I insert as I find them in the Morning Chronicle and Courier News-papers, contain matter worthy of universal attention. The talk of a *tax upon capital* has given rise to a little alarm even amongst those who have been very well contented under the income tax. But, what is the use of talking of these matters in detail? It is the power of *taxation without representation*; that is the only thing worthy of our attention. It is a maxim, that we *tax ourselves*; and, if this maxim be not acted upon, what signifies any thing else as relating to politics?——A Mr. Martin, of Galway, who, I suppose, has a house in Westminster, and whose speeches in parliament I have sometimes read, spoke at this meeting, and, if a true account be given of his speech, he made a very miserable attempt to oppose the propositions of the venerable Major. He wanted to be *shown* that a reform would *make things better*. Just as if any thing, any argument or any fact were necessary to convince a man, that the doing away of corruption could fail to do good, could fail o make things better. He made use of all he cant of the day against reform; could not see that it would make men better; could not see that it would make men more zealous in the defence of their country; and the like; upon all which points he was answered by Sir Francis Burdett.

There was one point, however, which I shall notice rather more particularly: Mr. Martin said: "Let us fight the *public enemy*, and then, *when we have done our duty to our country*, it will be time to "think of our *private wrongs*." If Mr. Martin, by "public enemy," meant to say *foreign enemy*, and by "private wrongs," *domestic wrongs*, I differ wholly from him in opinion. I think the danger and the disgrace from these wrongs may be much greater than from any efforts of a foreign enemy; and, I am for beginning the work of redress at home, before I pester myself with what is going on abroad. Before men begin to "*fight*," they ought to know pretty well what they are fighting for. In short, I am as ready as Mr. Martin to fight the foreign enemy; but I am for a redress of grievances at home at the same time; because, if my right to redress is to *wait till the war is over*, I may never live to see it.——This is an old and stale device, to turn the attention of the people of a country from their domestic grievances to their foreign dangers; but, this trick can never succeed at a time when the people in general are thoroughly convinced, that their *domestic grievances* are the *cause* of their *foreign dangers*.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 12*th August*, 1812.

THE LUDDITES,

OR HISTORY OF THE SEALED BAG.

Report of the House of Lords, from the Secret Committee appointed to inquire into the late Disturbances.

Your Committee, in pursuing the Inquiry referred to their consideration, have endeavoured to ascertain the origin of the disturbances which have arisen in the different parts of the country, with respect to which they have obtained information, the manner in which those disturbances have been carried on, the objects to which they have been apparently directed, the means used to suppress them, the effects of those means, and the state of those parts of the country within which the disturbances have prevailed.——The disposition to combined and disciplined riot and disturbance which has attracted the attention of Parliament, and excited apprehension of the most dangerous consequences, seems to have been first manifested in the neighbourhood of the town of Nottingham in November last, by the destruction of a great number of newly-invented stocking-frames, by small parties of men, principally stocking-weavers, who assembled in various places round Nottingham.——By degrees the rioters became more numerous and more formidable: many were armed and divided in different parties, disturbed the whole country between Nottingham and Mansfield, destroying frames almost without resistance. This spirit of discontent (amongst other causes to which it has been attributed) was supposed to have been excited or called into action by the use of a new machine, which enabled the manufacturers to employ women in work in which men had been before employed, and by the refusal of the manufacturers to pay the wages at the rate which the weavers demanded; and their discontent was probably heightened by the increased price of provisions, particularly of corn. The men engaged in these disturbances were at first principally those thrown out of employ by the use of the new machinery, or by their refusal to work at the rates offered by the manufacturers, and they particularly sought the destruction of frames owned or worked by those who were willing to work at the lower rates; in consequence of the resistances opposed to the outrages of the rioters, in the course of which one of them was killed, they became still more exasperated and more violent, till the magistrates thought it necessary to require the assistance of a considerable armed force, which was promptly assembled, consisting at first principally of Local Militia and Volunteer Yeomanry, to whom were added above 400 special constables; the rioters were then dispersed, and it was hoped that the disturbances had been by these means suppressed.——Before the end of the month of November, however, the outrages were renewed; they became more serious, were more systematically conducted, and at length the rioters began in several villages, where they destroyed the frames, to levy at the same time contributions for their subsistence, which rapidly increased their numbers, and early in December the outrages were in some degree extended into Derbyshire and Leicestershire, where many frames were broken. ——In the mean time a considerable force both of infantry and cavalry had been sent to Nottingham, and the commanding officer of the district was ordered to repair thither; and in January two of the most experienced police magistrates were dis-

patched to Nottingham, for the purpose of assisting the local authorities in their endeavours to restore tranquillity in the disturbed districts.——The systematic combination, however, with which the outrages were conducted, the terror which they inspired, and the disposition of many of the lower orders to favour rather than oppose them, made it very difficult to discover the offenders, to apprehend them if discovered, or to obtain evidence to convict those who were apprehended of the crimes with which they were charged. Some, however, were afterwards proceeded against at the Spring assizes at Nottingham, and seven persons were convicted of different offences, and sentenced to transportation.——In the mean time acts were passed for establishing a police in the disturbed districts, upon the ancient system of watch and ward, and for applying to the destruction of stocking frames the punishment before applied by law to the destruction of other machinery.——The discontent which had thus first appeared about Nottingham, and had in some degree extended into Derbyshire and Leicestershire, had before this period been communicated to other parts of the country. Subscriptions for the persons taken into custody in Nottinghamshire were solicited in the month of February at Stockport, in Cheshire, where anonymous letters were at the same time circulated, threatening to destroy the machinery used in the manufactures of that place, and in that and the following months attempts were made to set on fire two different manufactories. The spirit of disorder then rapidly spread through the neighbourhood; inflammatory placards, inviting the people to a general rising, were dispersed, illegal oaths were administered, riots were produced in various places, houses were plundered by persons in disguise, and a report was industriously circulated, that a general rising would take place on the first of May, or early in that month.——This spirit of riot and disturbance was extended to many other places, and particularly to Ashton-under-line, Eccles, and Middleton; at the latter place the manufactory of Mr. Burton was attacked on the 20th of April, and although the rioters were then repulsed, and five of their number were killed by the military force assembled to protect the works, a second attack was made on the 22d of April, and Mr. Burton's dwelling-house was burnt before military assistance could be brought to his support. When troops arrived to protect the works, they were fired upon by the rioters, and before the rioters could be dispersed several of them were killed and wounded; according to the accounts received, at least three were killed and about twenty wounded.——On the 14th of April riots again prevailed at Stockport; the house of Mr. Goodwin was set on fire, and his steam-looms were destroyed. In the following night a meeting of rioters on a heath about two miles from the town, for the purpose, as supposed, of being trained for military exercise, was surprised and dispersed; contributions were also levied in the neighbourhood, at the houses of gentlemen and farmers.——About the same time riots also took place at Manchester and in the neighbourhood, of which the general pretence was the high price of provisions. On the 26th and 27th of April the people of Manchester were alarmed by the appearance of some thousands of strangers in their town, the greater part of them, however, disappeared on the 28th; part of the Local Militia had been then called out, and a large military force had arrived, which it was supposed had overawed those who were disposed to disturbance. An apprehension, however, prevailed, of a more general rising in May, and in the neighbourhood of the town many houses were plundered. Nocturnal meetings for the purpose of military exercise were frequent; arms were seized in various places by the disaffected: the house of a farmer near Manchester was plundered, and a labourer coming to his assistance was shot.——The manner in which the disaffected have carried on their proceedings is represented as demonstrating an extraordinary degree of concert, secrecy, and organization. Their signals were well contrived and well established, and any attempt to detect and lay hold of the offenders was generally defeated.——The same spirit of riot and disturbance appeared at Bolton-in-the-Moors. So early as the 6th of April, intelligence was given, that at a meeting of delegates from several places it had been resolved, that the manufactory at West Haughton, in that neighbourhood, should be destroyed, but that at a subsequent meeting it had been determined that the destruction of this manufactory should be postponed. On the 24th of April, however, the destruction of this manufactory was accomplished. Intelligence having been obtained of the intended attack, a military force was sent for its protection, and the assailants dispersed before the arrival of the military, who then returned to

their quarters; the rioters taking advantage of their absence, assailed and forced the manufactory, set it on fire, and again dispersed before the military could be brought again to the spot.——Symptoms of the same spirit appeared at Newcastle-under-Lyne, Wigan, Warrington, and other towns; and the contagion in the mean time had spread to Carlisle and into Yorkshire.——In Huddersfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in the neighbourhood, the destruction of dressing and shearing machines and shears began early in February: fire-arms were seized during the course of March, and a constable was shot at in his own house. In March a great number of machines belonging to Mr. Vicarman were destroyed, and in April the destruction of Bradley Mills, near Huddersfield, was threatened, and afterwards attempted, but the mills were protected by a guard, which defeated the attempt. About the same time the machinery of Mr. Rhode's mill at Tentwhistle, near to Stockport, was utterly destroyed; and Mr. Horsfall, a respectable merchant and mill-owner, in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, was shot about six o'clock in the afternoon, in broad day-light, on the 28th of April, returning from market, and died on the 30th of the same month.—— A reward of £2000. was offered for the discovery of the murderers, but no discovery has yet been made, though it appears that he was shot by four persons, each of whom lodged a ball in his body; that when he fell, the populace surrounded and reviled him, instead of offering assistance, and no attempt was made to secure the assassins, who were seen to retire to an adjoining wood. Some time after, a young woman was attacked in the streets of Leeds, and nearly murdered, her skull being fractured: and the supposed reason for this violence was an apprehension that she had been near the spot when Mr. Horsfall was murdered, and might, therefore, be able to give evidence which might lead to the detection of the murderers.——The town of Leeds had for some time before been much alarmed by information that attacks were intended to be made on places in the town and its neighbourhood, which induced the magistrates to desire a strong military force, and to appoint a great number of respectable inhabitants of the town special constables, by which means the peace of the town was in a great degree preserved.——Early, however, in the morning of the 24th of March, the mills of Messrs. Thompsons, at Rawdon, a large village about eight miles from Leeds, was attacked by a large body of armed men, who proceeded with great regularity and caution, first seizing the watchman at the Mill, and placing guards at every neighbouring cottage, threatening death to any who should attempt to give alarm, and then forcibly entering the mill, they completely destroyed the machinery. In the following night, notwithstanding the precautions adopted, the buildings belonging to Messrs. Dickinsons in Leeds, were forcibly entered, and the whole of the goods there, consisting principally of cloths, were cut to pieces. Many other persons in Leeds were threatened with similar treatment, and the proceedings at this place are represented to have had for their object the destruction of all descriptions of goods prepared otherwise than by manual labour.——At Leversedge, near Hockmondwicke, which is in the neighbourhood of the moors dividing Lancashire and Yorkshire, an attack was made early in the morning of the 12th of April by a body of armed men, represented to have been between two and three hundred in number, on a valuable mill belonging to Mr. Cartwright. The mill was defended with great courage by Mr. Cartwright, the proprietor, with the assistance of three of his men and five soldiers, and the assailants were at length compelled to retire, being unable to force an entrance into the mill, and their ammunition probably failing. Two of the assailants were left on the spot desperately wounded, and were secured, but died of their wounds. Many others are supposed to have been also wounded, and information was afterwards obtained of the death of one of them. When the assailants retired, they declared a determination to take Mr. Cartwright's life by any means. One of the wounded men who was left on the spot was only nineteen years of age, and son of a man in a respectable situation in the neighbourhood; but neither this man nor the other prisoner would make any confession respecting their confederates in this outrage. The neighbouring inhabitants, who assembled about the mill, after the rioters had retired, only expressed their regret that the attempt had failed. A vast concourse of people attended the funeral of the young man before described, who died of his wounds; and there was found written on the walls in many places, "Vengeance for the Blood of the Innocent."——The threats against Mr. Cartwright's life were attempted to be put into execution on the 18th of April, when he was twice shot

at in the road from Huddersfield to Rawfold. About the same time a shot was fired at a special Constable on duty at Leeds, and a ball was fired at night into the house of Mr. Armitage, a Magistrate in the neighbourhood, and lodged in the ceiling of his bed-room; Col. Campbell also, who commanded the troops at Leeds, was shot at in the night of May 8 upon returning to his own house, by two men, who discharged their pieces at him within the distance of twenty yards, and immediately after a third shot was fired, directed towards the room usually occupied by Colonel Campbell and his family.——At Horbury, near Wakefield, valuable mills were attacked on the 9th of April by an armed body, supposed to consist of 300 men. The machinery and considerable property were destroyed. The men who committed the outrage were seen on the road between Wakefield and Horbury, marching in regular sections, preceded by a mounted party with drawn swords, and followed by the same number of mounted men as a rear guard. They were supposed to have assembled from Huddersfield, Duesbury, Hickmondwicke, Guildersome, Morley, Wakefield, and other places.—— In many parts of this District of Country the well-disposed were so much under the influence of terror, that the Magistrates were unable to give protection by putting the Watch and Ward Act in execution, and the lower orders are represented as generally either abettors of or participators in the outrages committed, or so intimidated, that they dared not to interfere.——At Sheffield the storehouse of arms of the Local Militia was surprised in the month of May, a large proportion of the arms were broken by the mob, and many taken away; this disturbance, however, seems to have been followed by no further consequences, and the remainder of the arms were secured.——But during the months of May and June depredations of different kinds, and particularly the seizure of arms, continued to be nightly committed in other parts of Yorkshire; and it is represented that in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield and Birstall the arms of all the peaceable inhabitants had been swept away by bands of armed robbers. In consequence of these outrages the Vice-Lieutenant of the West Riding, the Deputy-Lieutenants, and Magistrates assembled at Wakefield on the 11th of June, and came to a resolution, "That the most alarming consequences were to be apprehended from the nightly depredations which were committed by bodies of armed men." At the same time this remarkable circumstance was stated, that amongst one hundred depositions taken by the Magistrates of the facts of robberies committed, there was only one as to the perpetrator of the crime.——During the latter part of this period, it is represented that nightly robberies of arms, lead and ammunition, were prevalent in the districts bounded by the rivers Air and Calder, and that the patrols which went along both banks of the Calder, found the people in the ill-affected villages up at midnight, and heard the firing of small arms at short distances from them, through the whole night, to a very great extent, which they imagined proceeded from parties at drill. In the corner of Cheshire, touching upon Yorkshire and Lancashire, in the neighbourhood and to the eastward of Ashton, Stockport, and Moultram, nocturnal meetings were more frequent than ever, and the seizure of arms carried on with great perseverance. Peculiar difficulties are stated to exist in this quarter from the want of Magistrates.——Your Committee have not thought it necessary to detail, or even to state all the outrages which have been committed in different parts of the country, but have selected from the great mass of materials before them, such facts only as appeared to them sufficient to mark the extent and nature of those disturbances.—— The causes alleged for these destructive proceedings have been generally the want of employment for the working manufacturers, a want, however, which has been the least felt in some of the places where the disorders have been most prevalent, the application of machinery to supply the place of labour, and the high price of provisions; but it is the opinion of persons, both in civil and military stations, well acquainted with the state of the country, an opinion grounded upon various informations from different quarters now before your Committee, but which, for obvious reasons they do not think proper to detail, that the views of some of the persons engaged in these proceedings have extended to revolutionary measures of the most dangerous description.——Their proceedings manifest a degree of caution and organization which appears to flow from the direction of some persons under whose influence they act; but it is the opinion of a person, whose situation gives him great opportunities of information, that their leaders, although they may possess considerable in-

fluence, are still of the lowest orders; men of desperate fortunes, who have taken advantage of the pressure of the moment, to work upon the inferior class, through the medium of the Associations in the manufacturing parts of the country.——The general persuasion of the persons engaged in these transactions appear, however, to be, that all the societies in the country are directed in their motions by a secret committee, and that this secret committee is therefore the great mover of the whole machine; and it is established by the various information to which the committee has before alluded, that societies are formed in different parts of the country; that these societies are governed by their respective secret committees; that delegates are continually dispatched from one place to another, for the purpose of concerting their plans; and that secret signs are arranged, by which the persons engaged in these conspiracies are known to each other. The form of the oath or engagement administered to those who are inlisted in these societies, also refers expressly to the existence of such secret committees.——The object of this oath is to prevent discovery, by deterring through the fear of assassination those who take it from impeaching others, and by binding them to assassinate those by whom any of the persons engaged may be impeached. These oaths appear to have been administered to a considerable extent; copies of them have been obtained from various quarters, and though slightly differing in terms, they are so nearly the same, as to prove the systematic nature of the concert by which they are administered.——The oath itself is of so atrocious a nature, that your committee have thought it right to insert the form, as it appears in one of those copies:——" I, *A. B.* of my own voluntary will, do declare and solemnly swear, that I never will reveal to any person or persons under the canopy of Heaven the names of the persons who compose this secret committee, their proceedings, meeting, places of abode, dress, features, connexions, or any thing else that might lead to a discovery of the same, either by word or deed, or sign, under the penalty of being sent out of the world by the first brother who shall meet me, and my name and character blotted out of existence, and never to be remembered but with contempt and abhorrence; and I further now do swear, that I will use my best endeavours to punish by death any traitor or traitors, should any rise up amongst us, wherever I can find him or them, and though he should fly to the verge of nature, I will pursue him with increasing vengeance. So help me God, and bless me to keep this my oath inviolable."——The military organization carried on by persons engaged in these societies has also proceeded to an alarming length; they assemble in large numbers, in general by night, upon heaths or commons, which are numerous and extensive in some of the districts where the disturbances have been most serious; so assembled they take the usual military precautions of paroles and countersigns; then muster rolls are called over by numbers not by names; they are directed by leaders sometimes in disguise; they place sentries to give alarm at the approach of any persons whom they may suspect of meaning to interrupt or give information of their proceedings, and they disperse instantly at the firing of a gun, or other signal agreed upon, and so disperse as to avoid detection. They have in some instances used signals by rockets or blue lights, by which they communicate intelligence to their parties.——They have procured a considerable quantity of arms, by the depredations which are daily and nightly continued; they have plundered many places of lead, for the purpose of making musket balls, and have made some seizures of gunpowder.——Their progress in discipline appears from the representation before given of the two attacks upon the mills of Rawdon and Henbury; and the money, which has been in many instances obtained by contribution or plunder, answers the purpose of support, and may serve as an inducement to many persons to engage in these disturbances.——The system of intimidation produced not only by the oaths and engagements before mentioned, or by threats of violence, but by the attack and destruction of houses and factories, by actual assassination in some instances, and attempts at assassination in others, under circumstances which have hitherto generally baffled all endeavours to discover and bring to justice the offenders, all tend to render these proceedings greatly alarming to the country. In many parts the quiet inhabitants consider themselves as enjoying protection only as far as the military force can extend its exertions, and look upon the rest of the country where the disturbances take place as at the mercy of the rioters.——The legal proceedings at Nottingham checked the disposition to disturbance in that quarter, but this effect did not extend to

other parts of the country; and though the proceedings under the special commissions since issued, and the convictions and executions at Lancaster and Chester appeared to make a considerable impression, they have been far from restoring peace and security to the disturbed districts.——A great military force has been assembled; the Local Militia has been in many places called out, and has done good service; the yeomanry corps have been active and highly useful. Many of the magistrates have zealously exerted their powers, some of them at great personal hazard. In many places great numbers of special constables have been appointed from amongst the more respectable inhabitants, and the Watch and Ward Act has been in some places put in force, though attempted without effect in others, or abandoned from circumstances already stated. All these efforts have proved insufficient effectually to put down the spirit of disturbance; and it is, therefore, the decided opinion of your Committee, that some further measures should be immediately adopted by Parliament, for affording more effectual protection to the lives and properties of His Majesty's subjects, and for suppressing a system of turbulence and disorder which has already proved destructive of the tranquillity and highly injurious to the property and welfare of some of the most populous and important districts of the country, and which, unless effectually checked, may lead to consequences still more extensive and dangerous.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN STATES.—*Message of President Madison to the Congress, 1st June, 1812, relative to the dispute with England.*

I communicate to Congress certain documents, being a continuation of those heretofore laid before them, on the subject of our affairs with Great Britain.——Without going beyond the renewal, in 1803, of the war in which Great Britain is engaged, and omitting unrepaired wrongs of inferior magnitude, the conduct of her Government presents a series of acts hostile to the United States as an independent and neutral nation. ——British cruizers have been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of Nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it; not in the exercise of a belligerent right, founded on the law of nations against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects. British jurisdiction is thus extended to neutral vessels in a situation where no laws can operate but the law of nations and the laws of the country to which the vessels belong; and a self redress is assumed, which if British subjects were wrongfully detained and alone concerned, is that substitution of force for a resort to the responsible Sovereign, which falls within the definition of war. Could the seizure of British subjects, in such cases, be regarded as within the exercise of a belligerent right, the acknowledged laws of war, which forbid an article of captured property to be adjudged, without a regular investigation before a competent tribunal, would imperiously demand the fairest trial, where the sacred rights of persons were at issue. In place of such trial, these rights are subjected to the will of every petty Commander.——The practice, hence, is so far from affecting British subjects alone, that under the pretext of searching for these, thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public laws, and of their National flag, have been torn from their country, and from every thing dear to them; have been dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation, and exposed, under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren.——Against this crying enormity, which Great Britain would be so prompt to avenge, if committed against herself, the United States have in vain exhausted remonstrances and expostulations. And that no proof might be wanting of their conciliatory dispositions, and no pretext left for continuance of the practice, the British Government was formally assured of the readiness of the United States to enter into arrangements, such as could not be rejected, if the recovery of the British subjects were the real and the sole object. The communication passed without effect.——British cruizers have been in the practice also of violating the rights, and the peace of our coasts. They hover over and harass our entering and departing commerce. To the most insulting pretensions they have added lawless proceedings in our very harbours, and have wantonly spilt American blood within the sanctuary of our territorial jurisdiction. The principles and rules enforced by that nation, when a neutral nation, against armed vessels of belligerents

hovering near her coasts, and disturbing her commerce, are well known. When called on, nevertheless, by the United States, to punish the greater offences committed by her own vessels, her Government has bestowed on their commanders additional marks of honour and confidence.——Under pretended blockades, without the presence of an adequate force, and sometimes without the practicability of applying one, our commerce has been plundered in every sea; the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets; and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. In aggravation of these predatory measures, they have been considered as in force from the dates of their notification; a retrospective effect being thus added, as has been done in other important cases, to the unlawfulness of the course pursued.—And to render the outrage the more signal, these mock blockades have been reiterated and enforced in the face of official communications from the British Government, declaring, as the true definition of a legal blockade, "that particular ports must be actually invested, and previous warning given to vessels bound to them not to enter." ——Not content with these occasional expedients for laying waste our neutral trade, the Cabinet of Great Britain resorted, at length, to the sweeping system of blockades, under the name of Orders in Council, which has been moulded and managed as might best suit its political views, its commercial jealousies, or the avidity of British cruizers.——To our remonstrances against the complicated and transcendent injustice of this innovation, the first reply was that the orders were reluctantly adopted by Great Britain as a necessary retaliation on decrees of her enemy proclaiming a general blockade of the British Isles, at a time when the naval force of that enemy dared not to issue from his ports. She was reminded without effect, that her own prior blockades, unsupported by an adequate naval force actually applied and continued, were a bar to this plea; that executed edicts against millions of our property could not be retaliation on edicts confessedly impossible to be executed; that retaliation, to be just, should fall on the party setting the guilty example, not on an innocent party, which was not even chargeable with an acquiescence in it.——When deprived of this flimsy veil for a prohibition of our trade with Great Britain, her Cabinet, instead of a corresponding repeal of a practical discontinuance of its orders, formally avowed a determination to persist in them against the United States, until the markets of her enemy should be laid open to British products; thus asserting an obligation on a neutral power to require one belligerent to encourage, by its internal regulations, the trade of another belligerent, contradicting her own practice towards all nations in peace as well as in war; and betraying the insincerity of those professions which inculcated a belief, that, having resorted to her orders with regret, she was anxious to find an occasion for putting an end to them.——Abandoning still more all respect for the neutral rights of the United States, and for its own consistency, the British Government now demands as prerequisites to a repeal of its Orders, as they relate to the United States, that a formality should be observed in the repeal of the French decrees no wise necessary to their termination, nor exemplified by British usage; and that the French repeal, besides including that portion of the decrees which operates within a territorial jurisdiction as well as that which operates on the high seas against the commerce of the United States, should not be a single special repeal in relation to the United States, but should be extended to whatever other neutral nations unconnected with them may be affected by those decrees.——And as an additional insult, they are called on for a formal disavowal of conditions and pretensions advanced by the French Government, for which the United States are so far from having been themselves responsible, that, in official explanations, which have been published to the world, and in a correspondence of the American Minister at London with the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, such a responsibility was explicitly and emphatically disclaimed.

It has become indeed sufficiently certain that the commerce of the United States is to be sacrificed, not as interfering with belligerent rights of Great Britain, not as supplying the wants of their enemies, which she herself supplies, but as interfering with the monopoly which she covets for her own commerce and navigation. She carries on a war against the lawful commerce of a friend, that she may the better carry on a commerce with an enemy, a commerce polluted by the forgeries and perjuries which are for the most part the only passports by which it can succeed.——Anxious to make every experiment short of the last resort of injured nations, the United States

have withheld from Great Britain, under successive modifications, the benefits of a free intercourse with their market, the loss of which could not but outweigh the profits accruing from her restrictions of our commerce with other nations. And to entitle those experiments to the more favourable consideration, they were so framed as to enable her to place her adversary under the exclusive operation of them. To these appeals her government has been equally inflexible, as if willing to make sacrifices of every sort, rather than yield to the claims of justice, or renounce the errors of a false pride. Nay, so far were the attempts carried to overcome the attachment of the British Cabinet to its unjust edicts, that it received every encouragement, within the competency of the executive branch of our government, to expect that a repeal of them would be followed by a war between the United States and France, unless the French edicts should also be repealed. Even this communication, although silencing for ever the plea of a disposition in the United States to acquiesce in those edicts, originally the sole plea for them, received no attention. ——If no other proof existed of a predetermination of the British Government against a repeal of its Orders, it might be found in the correspondence of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at London and the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1810, on the question whether the blockade of May 1806 was considered as in force or as not in force. It had been ascertained that the French Government, which urged this blockade as the ground of its decree, was willing, in the event of its removal, to repeal that decree; which being followed by alternate repeals of the other offensive edicts, might abolish the whole system on both sides. This inviting opportunity for accomplishing an object so important to the United States, and professed so often to be the desire of both the belligerents, was made known to the British Government. As that Government admits that an actual application of an adequate force is necessary to the existence of a legal blockade; and it was notorious, that if such a force had ever been applied, its long discontinuance had annulled the blockade in question, there could be no sufficient objection on the part of Great Britain to a formal revocation of it; and no imaginable objection to a declaration of the fact that the blockade did not exist. The declaration would have been consistent with her avowed principles of blockade, and would have enabled the United States to demand from France the pledged repeal of her decrees; either with success, in which case the way would have been opened for a general repeal of the belligerent edicts; or without success, in which case the United States would have been justified in turning their measures exclusively against France. The British Government would, however, neither rescind the blockade, nor declare its non-existence, nor permit its non-existence to be inferred and affirmed by the American Plenipotentiary. On the contrary, by representing the blockade to be comprehended in the Orders in Council, the United States were compelled so to regard it in their subsequent proceedings.——There was a period when a favourable change in the policy of the British Cabinet was justly considered as established. The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty here proposed an adjustment of the differences more immediately endangering the harmony of the two countries. The proposition was accepted with a promptitude and cordiality corresponding with the invariable professions of this Government. A foundation appeared to be laid for a sincere and lasting reconciliation. The prospect, however, quickly vanished. The whole proceeding was disavowed by the British Government, without any explanation which could at that time repress the belief, that the disavowal proceeded from a spirit of hostility to the commercial rights and prosperity of the United States. And it has since come into proof, that at the very moment when the public Minister was holding the language of friendship, and inspired confidence in the sincerity of the negociation with which he was charged, a secret agent of his government was employed in intrigues, having for their object a subversion of our Government, and a dismemberment of our happy union.——In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain towards the United States, our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the savages on one of our extensive frontiers; a warfare which is known to spare neither age nor sex, and to be distinguished by features peculiarly shocking to humanity. It is difficult to account for the activity and combinations which have for some time been developing themselves among the tribes in constant intercourse with the British traders and garrisons, without connecting their hostility with that influence; and without recollecting the authenticated examples of such in-

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the COURIER:——"The Mutiny amongst the LO-"CAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that ex-"cited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday 'at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and

two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Baxter of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.——Battles are characterized by their results, and as this battle has ended in the capture of 7,000 prisoners, and those prisoners *Frenchmen* too, it may, with truth, be said, that, upon this occasion, we have gained a victory; a *real* victory; something for Englishmen to be proud of; something to make them forget, for a while, at least, the campaigns of *Dunkirk* and the *Helder*, at the latter of which places the Duke of York agreed to surrender many thousands of Frenchmen then in England, as the price of being permitted to embark his own army. Now, however, we have something, at last, on the other side; we have now a victory to sing. Our numbers in the battle were certainly very greatly superior to those of the enemy, and, even according to our own accounts, we had, in many respects, the advantage over him; but, we have gained a victory; our army has beaten a French army in the field; and our commander has beaten a French Marshal, one of those men who have had the subduing of the continent of Europe.——This being the case, there is, on *this* occasion, justifiable cause for firing the Park and Tower guns. There is a fair ground for rejoicings. It is not now a shame to hear people boasting a little. Such boasts are excusable, especially after the fate of so many expeditions against the French.——The details of the victory will be found below in the *Gazette*, which I insert; and details they are very honourable to our army and full of glory to their country. They show (if, indeed, that had been wanted) that Englishmen still inherit the courage, for which their forefathers were renowned; and they show, as Major Cartwright says, that to defend England, *English* arms only are wanted. They show, that we stand in need of no *foreign* aid to protect us against the French.——This, however, was not a point doubtful with me before. I have always scouted the notion, that we have *recently* become a match for the French, man to man. I have always contended, that our army is not now either more brave or more steady than it was under our ancient sovereigns; that, in short, we owe nothing to German discipline or German dress, or to *any person, any thing* German.——As to the *consequences* of this victory, they will not, I am very much afraid, be so beneficial to the nation as many persons seem to expect. The wise way to act would be to take advantage of it for the purpose of *proposing peace*, for which the occasion is now extremely favourable, especially if the news from Sweden and Russia be true. If Napoleon be pressed hard; if he be, as it is said he is, in a perilous situation in the North of Europe; if this be really the case, it seems natural to conclude, that this is the moment to propose to treat, seeing that (as we are told) his armies in Spain cannot long hold their ground. By a treaty, begun at this moment, we might possibly render Spain independent of France, and might also save Russia; but, I am of opinion, that, if we pursue the war in the hope of doing *more* than this; if we pursue the war in the hope of effecting what is still called "the "*deliverance of Europe*," we shall have, by and by, to lament our conduct in the same strain that we lament the letter written by Lord Greaville in answer to that of Napoleon before the Battle of Marengo. It is possible, and I think it probable, that Napoleon will be victorious in the North. I think he will; but, at any rate, it is *possible*; and, at the very least, there is no chance of the Czar's refusing to make peace with him upon terms tolerably good for France. The Czar may love us very dearly; he may be as constant as a dove; but, there is no man will make me believe, that the Czar would not make peace with Napoleon, if he could thereby secure his dominions from that terrible revolution (I mean terrible to the Czar) which seems to have been actually begun in the Russian States.——Peace made with Russia, Napoleon would not be long in retrieving affairs in Spain, even if his armies had evacuated the country; and, therefore, I say, *now* is the time to propose terms of peace. It is, indeed, *possible*, that Napoleon may be defeated in the North; and, in that case, a treaty for peace would come better after-

wards; but, the risk is too great to run; and, therefore, I am for proposing terms of peace now.——There are, I know, persons in this country who never wish to see any peace with Napoleon; and who would rather see the people of England die from misery than see him formally acknowledged as an Emperor and King! I trust, however, that this malignant and foolish way of thinking will not prevail; for, if it does, woe be unto this nation.——When men talk of the "*deliverance of Europe*," they do not, one would suppose, know what they mean. They would begin, I dare say, by the deliverance of France; and, what folly must fill the mind of that man, who supposes, that the people of France would exchange their present, for their former, government! What folly, what profound ignorance, must possess the man who imagines, that the people of France sigh for an opportunity of returning to their *former state;* and, that is the state (I beg the reader to observe) to which the *deliverers* of Europe wish to *restore* them. ——The people of France are not so stupid as to be ignorant of the motives of these Deliverers; the people of France remember, that, before their revolution, when they lived under the house of Bourbon, it was the fashion with English writers, English painters, English Statesmen and Legislators, to treat them as slaves, as acknowledged slaves; that we used to exhibit them as poor fribbles, as meagre, half-starved, ragged, bare-boned wretches; that we used to hold them up to the world as frog-eaters, as lappers of soup meagre; that we used to be continually comparing their abject subjection to their priests with our freedom in religious matters; that we used to represent their ecclesiastics as eating up the produce of the land, while the people eat little more than the reptiles; that we used to reproach them as the basest of slaves, because they submitted to *Lettres de Cachet* and to the horrid cruelties of *the Bastile.* ——All this the people of France remember: and, they remember, too, that the moment they promulgated their resolution no longer to submit to these indignities; the moment they proclaimed to the world their resolution no longer to be robbed of the fruit of their labour, and to feed upon frogs and soup meagre, while their masters fed upon the meat, and bread, and butter, and all the fat of the land; the moment they proclaimed their resolution not to be any longer exposed to arbitrary imprisonment; the moment, in short, they declared their resolution to enjoy, and to enable their children to enjoy, the rights of man; the moment they did this, that very moment did those in this country, who had formerly taken such pains to paint their misery and slavery, begin to tell us, that the French were very well off, and that they were fools or knaves, if not both at once, to attempt to make a *revolution,* which these persons now represented to us as a most horrible thing, though heretofore they had been teaching us to boast of and to commemorate the *revolution in England.* ——All this the people of France remember; and, though I have been here speaking of the acts of *our deceivers,* the people of France can make no distinction; and they do remember, they will remember, they must remember, that, before their revolution, this nation reproached them as being slaves, and that they had scarcely declared that they would no longer be slaves, when this nation joined in a war against them along with those sovereigns whose armies were headed by the Duke of Brunswick. ——These things the people of France can never forget. They must bear them in mind, because they are so notorious, and are in their very nature of so much importance.——Now, then, either what our Clergy and Politicians, that is to say, the Church and the State; either what they taught us to believe about the former misery and slavery of the French people was true or it was not. If the latter, let them account for their conduct; if the former, what is to be said of those who replace the French people in their former situation? Either the speeches of our members of parliament; the writings of our poets, our historians, our moralists, and our divines; the works of our painters and statuaries; either all these are false; either they are all full of lies and calumny against the French nation and the old French government, or, the French were a most miserable and degraded people, and their government an execrable tyranny. Let the "*Deliverers*" choose, therefore; let them acknowledge, that the people of France and the old French government were calumniated for the purpose of cheating the people of England into a belief that they were better off than their neighbours, and also for the purpose of making them despise the French, and be the more ready to enter into wars against them; let the "*Deliverers*" acknowledge this, or, let them find out a justification for the war which England waged against the French revolution.

——At any rate, the "Deliverers" may be well assured, that all this is well understood in France; and, that, therefore, in order to begin the work of delivery, the former opinions and assertions of English writers and orators must be satisfactorily explained.——But, it is said, that there is a *medium:* though the people of France *be not so well off as they were under their old government*, there is no necessity for carrying them back to their *former state.*——I know that assertions like these are made, and, as it is possible, that they may have produced an impression where such an impression might lead to mischievous consequences, I will avail myself of this opportunity, which is a very suitable one, for examining these propositions, and for inquiring into the probability of prevailing upon the people of France to be "*delivered*" from their present state.——The first proposition is, then, *that the people of France are now worse off than they were under their old government.*——This is a proposition so void of truth; it is such a flagrant, such an impudent, falsehood, that one, at first sight, is astonished to hear it advanced; but, when one considers the numerous pens that are employed in England, constantly employed in the work of promulgating notions disadvantageous to all change in government; when one considers the means that are made use of to encourage, support, and circulate the productions of these prostituted pens, one's wonder at the effect is changed into indignation at the cause.——The deceiving of the people of England does not, however, alter the real state of the case; and we will now see how that stands. We will take a few instances of those *blessings*, to the enjoyment of which the "Deliverers" would willingly *restore* the people of France; and, when we have so done, we shall the better be able to judge of the likelihood of the people of France wishing to be delivered. We will not talk about *political* rights and privileges, but will confine ourselves to things touching the *purse* and the *persons* of the people; and see what degree of security either enjoyed under the old government of France.——In treating of the blessings of the old government of France, any man must be at a loss *where to begin.* Those blessings were so numerous as well as so great, and there were so many of them that seemed to vie with each other in magnitude, that, really, the list presents a great difficulty as to giving a preference: however, I will begin with that prime blessing, the *Lettres de Cachet*, which, in English, means literally, *letters under seal*, but which were, in fact, *orders secretly issued by the government for the seizing of any persons, and sending them to a solitary prison, there to be kept during pleasure.* There was no warrant, no magistrate, no oath, no confronting with the accuser; but *any man*, at *any moment*, might be seized and immured for life; might be dragged from the bosom of his family, and thrown into a dungeon to die raving mad, or to pine out a miserable existence. And, there were times when these horrible *lettres de cachet* were to be *purchased* of the government, with blanks for the names of the persons to be imprisoned, to be filled up at the pleasure of the purchaser, who thus, by mere dint of money, became the master of the liberty and life of any one whom he wished to ruin.——Here was a *blessing!* A blessing which the French do not now enjoy, but which they would have enjoyed to this day, if their revolution had not taken place, or, if a counter-revolution had taken place.——But, say the "*Deliverers*," Napoleon's government makes use of *lettres de cachet;* or, at least, of something equally arbitrary. The "Deliverers" do not deal in *proofs.* They do not attempt to produce proof of any thing they assert, and, therefore, we might suffer their assertion in this respect to pass for what it is, in itself, worth. But, I take upon me to deny it. I say it is false; and I say that no person can be sent to prison in France without an oath made against him before sworn magistrates, and without *proof of guilt* sufficient to satisfy the mind of at least *five magistrates.* And I say, that, beyond the space of *three months*, no man can be kept imprisoned without *a trial;* and that no man can be imprisoned, for any cause, without being brought to trial within the space of three months.——If I am asked how I know this, my answer is, that I know it in the same way that I know our own laws. I know it by reading the laws of France; I know it by reading the Criminal Code of Napoleon, which has been promulgated through all France and all Europe. This is the way I know it; and, knowing it, I am not easily to be persuaded, that the people of France feel very eager to be *delivered* from this Code, in order to be restored to that of the blessings of *lettres de cachet* and the Bastile.——The next blessing that I shall mention was the *Gabelle*, or tax upon salt. All the taxes were oppressive in their mode of collection; and the insolence

and tyranny of the tax-officers were intolerable; but the Gabelle was the most famous tax. In the first place, every family was compelled to buy a certain quantity of salt per head, in the course of the year, whether they wanted it or not, under the pain of various fines according to the nature of the case. Salt being made very dear by the tax, and being almost a necessary of life, became, of course, an object of smuggling. For this offence various penalties were inflicted, all of them horribly severe. In many cases *death;* in some six years hard labour in the *galleys* or hulks. *Women* and *Children* were punished in a cruel manner. Women, married and single, for the first offence, a fine of 100 liv. Second, 500 liv. Third, *flogged* and banished the kingdom for life. Husbands responsible for their wives both in *fine* and *body*. Children the same as women. *Fathers and mothers responsible*, and for defect of payment, *flogged*. It is calculated by Mons. le Baron de Cormeré in the 3d vol. of his Researches, page 187, that there were *annually* taken up and sent to prison or the galleys, on account of the *Gabelle*, 2,340 men, 896 women, 201 children. Total 3,137.——This blessing no longer exists in France. There is no law of Gabelle under Napoleon. I will leave the reader to judge, whether the people of France can be extremely desirous of being *delivered* from the *want of a Gabelle*.——The government not only took from the mass of the people every penny that went beyond the means of barely supporting themselves, but, it was as *partial* as it was greedy; for, from the most burdensome of the taxes all the *Nobility* and the *Clergy* were exempted, while the common people were pressed down to the earth by the hand of the tax-gatherers, who were sent into the different provinces armed with such dreadful powers, that no man's property, or even life, was safe, if he had the misfortune to offend them or any one having influence with them. They could exempt, change, add, or diminish at their pleasure. The detail of the oppressions committed by these officers makes one shudder as one reads, and makes it impossible to restrain one's indignation against those who have the impudence, the unfeeling effrontery, to talk of *delivering* a people from the want of such execrable tyranny; for, in the taxes of Napoleon, there are *no exceptions;* all property of all persons pays alike towards the expenses of the government.——Another blessing of the old government was the *Corvées*, or the labour of keeping the public roads in repair. This was a most cruel oppression on the common people, who were compelled to make and keep in repair most grand and beautiful roads without any payment for their labour, while the Nobility and Clergy, who *used* the roads and owned the lands, contributed not a farthing.——Under Napoleon there are no *Corvées;* he supports the roads out of the taxes raised upon the whole of the people. And does the reader believe, that the people of France are over anxious to have the *Corvées* restored? Does he believe, that the people of France sigh to be *delivered* from the want of Corvées?——The next blessing that I shall mention was that of the *dixmes*, or, in English, the *Tithes*. These amounted to about 8 or 9,000,000 of pounds sterling annually, in a country where provisions and all the necessaries of life were low in nominal value compared to what they were in England. These Tithes maintained about 3 or 400,000 Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Priests, Monks, Friars, Nuns; the far greater part of whom, being the sons and daughters of the nobility, lived only for the purpose of devouring the produce of the people's labour.——This blessing no longer exists. THERE ARE NO TITHES IN FRANCE. Those who wish to have a priest, pay the said priest, and the Bishops have a moderate salary from the government. Every one is free to follow that mode of worship that he likes best. There are no religious tests in France. The Code Napoleon knows nothing at all of *religious distinctions*. All Frenchmen have the same rights, immunities and privileges. ——Does the reader believe, then, that the people of France wish to be restored to the enjoyment of paying tithes? Does he believe, that they wish to be *delivered* from laws which leave every man to do as he likes as to matters of religion? Does the reader imagine, that the French farmer longs for the time to return when he shall again be called upon to give a tenth of his crops to the fat monks of some neighbouring convent? Yet, this is what the reader must believe before he can believe, that the people of France wish to be delivered from the sway of Napoleon and to be restored to that of the House of Bourbon. ——The *Game Laws* was another blessing, to which, I suppose, the "Deliverers" would fain restore the people of France. When we speak of *Game*, under the old

government of France, we must figure to ourselves whole droves of *wild boars*, and *herds of deer*, not confined by any wall or paling, but rambling at will over the whole country, to the destruction of the crops in the fields and gardens. To touch any of these, or any other sort of game, was, to the offender, a punishment *little short of death*. To such an extent was the tyranny of the government carried in this respect, that, in certain districts, called *Capitaineries*, the farmer, though he might be the owner of the land, did not dare to weed or hoe his corn, nor to cut his upland hay or his stubble before obtaining permission, lest he should thereby disturb the partridges' nests. He did not dare steep his seed lest it should injure the game; nor did he dare to manure his land with night soil, lest the flavour of the birds should be injured by their feeding on the corn produced by such manure.——What will the "Deliverers" say to the people of France, when they propose to them deliverance from the laws which have abolished such insolent tyranny as this? The Jacobins abolished all the Game laws, and made the game the property of whomsoever occupied the land. They made any man liable to a fine for trespass if he went on another man's ground, without his leave, to seek for, or to pursue, game; but, they abolished all the exclusive rights of killing or of eating game; and, as they left the law so Napoleon found it, and so he has wisely kept it.——Now, I ask the reader, whether he believes it to be possible, that the people of France should wish to be *delivered* from the game laws, as they now stand under Napoleon. I ask him whether he can possibly suppose, that the people of France have any desire to be restored to their former blessed state with respect to wild boars, deer, and other game. Thousands of the people of France were annually dragged to the galleys for offences against these execrable game laws. And does the reader believe, that they wish to be restored to the blessing of being sent to the galleys for scarcely looking into a partridge's nest?——Great, however, as were the blessings which the people of France derived immediately from the government, they were, if possible, exceeded by those, which flowed to them from their feudal lords, who, living amongst them, in the several parishes, or villages, ground them to the very earth. These lords, besides numerous exactions, such as compelling the people to grind their corn at the lord's mill, bake their bread at his oven, press their grapes at his wine-press, and pay a tax in all cases for so doing; besides endless *duties* and *fines* which they imposed upon the people; besides these grievances, which the people experienced at the hands of the feudal lords, the latter held *courts of justice* in their several manors. In these courts litigation, for the sake of lucre to the lord, was endless, every species of chicanery was favoured, the parties were frequently ruined not only by enormous expenses but by loss of time. In short, one is at a loss to say, under which the people suffered most, the royal, or the clerical, or the feudal, tyranny: but, this one may easily believe, that, all put together amounted to a state of suffering which no human being ought to endure, and which no human being will endure a moment longer than the sword of power is held to his throat.——The Jacobins; aye, reader, the abused Jacobins; the *abused*, the calumniated, Jacobins; they swept away, they tore up by the roots, and scattered in the winds, this feudal tyranny in France. Napoleon found it abolished by law; and that law he has carefully preserved and maintained. *There is now no feudal tyranny* in France. *There are even no feudal rights* or tenures. There are no *fines*, no *heriots*, no exactions of the sort. The holders or occupiers of real property know now of no superior authority but the government. All real property is *freehold* and *tithe free*. ——And is it from a state like this that it is proposed to *deliver* the land-owner and the land-occupier? Does the reader believe, that such persons will be very eager to be delivered back into the hands of the lords of manors and their courts of justice? Does the reader believe, that the people of France are such decided beasts as to prefer their former to their present state?——Mr. Arthur Young (from whose Travels principally I have taken my facts) in speaking of the outcry that was raised against the country people in France on account of their violences at the outset of the French Revolution, has the following passage: "It is impossible to justify the excesses of the people on their taking up arms; *they were certainly guilty of cruelties; it is idle to deny the facts, for they have been proved too clearly to admit of a doubt.* But is it really the people to whom we are to impute the whole? Or to their oppressors, who had kept them so long in a state of bondage? He who chooses to be served by slaves, and by ill treated slaves,

must know that he holds both his property and life by a tenure far different from those who prefer the service of well-treated freemen; and he who dines to the music of groaning sufferers, must not, in the moment of insurrection, complain that his daughters are ravished and then destroyed, and that his sons' throats are cut. When such evils happen, they surely are more imputable to the tyranny of the master, than to the cruelty of the servant. The analogy holds with the French peasants: The murder of a seigneur, or a chateau in flames, is recorded in every news-paper: the rank of the person who suffers attracts notice; but where do we find the register of that seigneur's oppressions of his peasantry, and his exactions of feudal services, from those whose children were dying around them for want of bread? Where do we find the minutes that assigned these starving wretches to some vile petty-fogger, to be fleeced by impositions and a mockery of justice, in the seigneural courts? Who gives us the awards of the intendant and his sub-delegués, which took off the taxes of a man of fashion, and laid them with accumulated weight, on the poor, who were so unfortunate as to be his neighbours? Who has dwelt sufficiently upon explaining all the ramifications of despotism, regal, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical, pervading the whole mass of the people; reaching, like a circulating fluid, the most distant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedness?"——This is a picture drawn by the hand of a master; and, let it be observed, too, that the man, who drew it, had spent three summers, not only in travelling over, but in making an *œconomical survey* of, the kingdom of France. He had minutely examined into every thing relating to the government and to the state of the people. The army, the navy, the church, the taxes, finances, arts, manufactures, commerce, agriculture, soil, climate, amusements, manners; nothing had escaped him, and the result was, this description. Does the reader believe, then, that the people of France wish to be *restored* to the blessed state here described? Does he believe, that the people of France are ready to bless the hour when our good, kind *deliverers* will set about their promised work?——The credulity of the people of England is very great, to be sure, but one would imagine that it was not sufficient to make them swallow the assertion, that the people of France are worse off under the government of Napoleon than they were under that of the Bourbons.——But, might not the government of Napoleon be destroyed *without restoring the old government?* Certainly it might. It is certainly *possible*, though not probable; but, if the government of Napoleon be destroyed, it will give way to the restoration, not of the Bourbons, but of the *Republic;* and that would, I suppose, by no means suit the purpose of the "*deliverers.*" The truth is, that France is a *republic*, except merely in name. There are *no Nobility* and *no Clergy* any more than there are in the United States of America; that is to say, the persons having titles and filling religious offices, have *no privileges* distinct from those of the people. They have no *estates* either. They have no hold upon the soil; and, of course, have no real power, or influence. The revolution has made a new distribution of property. It has distributed the great estates amongst numerous small proprietors. It has created, *totally created*, a middle class in society; and, though one man has the executive government in his hands, the *society is essentially republican*, and all its manners are, and will be, those of a republic. To "*deliver*" France would, in fact, be to *deliver this society of its property*. It is, therefore, an absurdity to talk of it; and, unless France be "delivered," it is quite in vain to attempt the "deliverance" of the rest of the continent.——Having given my reasons for believing, that the "deliverance of Europe" is a project that must have been engendered in the head of a madman, I now return to my former subject, and beg those who have the powers of negociation in their hands, to reflect well before they throw away this most favourable occasion of offering terms of peace. If we are to get no nearer to the *end of the war* by this victory, what is the *use* of the victory? If, as it is asserted to be, this be the greatest victory we ever gained, what a prospect have we, if it be to yield us no chance of peace?——There is, too, another reason for offering terms of peace at this time. Such a step might, at once, make America decide for peace, if she be hesitating at the time when the news of such a proposition shall reach her shores. She will rather be disposed for war in consequence of our success in Spain; because, as I have before observed, she will not suffer us to be masters of Spanish America, if she can possibly avoid it. She will view our success in Spain with great apprehensions. She will see very clearly, that if we expel the French from Spain, we shall, in reality, be the masters

of that country, and shall dispose of all its means at our will. I am, therefore, of opinion, that, as nothing could more dispose America to continue the war than the successes of Talavera, so it would be good policy to make those successes the grounds of treating, or of offering to treat, for peace. If America see us treating, or offering to treat, with France, the former will the more readily listen to terms of peace; and thus may this victory be the means of putting a stop to the bloodshed and misery of this long and terrible war, begun, on our part, avowedly for the island of Malta, but which has changed the face of the whole civilized world.——If the victory is to have this effect, it will be a great blessing to the country; but, if it only serve to urge our government on in a continuation of the war, with a view of finally oversetting Napoleon, I am convinced it will prove to have been one of the greatest misfortunes that could possibly have befallen us.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 19th August, 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

War Department.——Downing-Street, August 16, 1812.

Lord Clinton, Aid-de-Camp to the Earl of Wellington, arrived this morning at the War Department with Dispatches addressed by his Lordship to Earl Bathurst, dated the 21st, 24th, and 28th ultimo, of which the following are extracts:

Cabrerizos, near Salamanca, July 21st, 1812.

In the course of the 15th and 16th, the enemy moved all their troops to the right of their position on the Douro, and their army was concentrated between Toro and San Roman.——A considerable body passed the Douro at Toro on the evening of the 16th, and I moved the allied army to their left on that night, with an intention to concentrate on the Guarena.——It was totally out of my power to prevent the enemy from passing the Douro at any point at which he might think it expedient, as he had in his possession all the bridges over that river, and many of the fords; but he recrossed that river at Toro, in the night of the 16th, moved his whole army to Tordesillas, where he again crossed the Douro on the morning of the 17th; and assembled his army on that day at La Nava del Rey, having marched not less than ten leagues in the course of the 17th.——The 4th and light divisions of infantry, and Major-General Anson's brigades of cavalry, had marched to Castrejon on the night of the 16th, with a view to the assembly of the army on the Guarena, and were at Castrejon under the orders of Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, on the 17th, not having been ordered to proceed further, in consequence of my knowledge that the enemy had not passed the Douro at Toro; and there was not time to call them in between the hour at which I received the intelligence of the whole of the enemy's army being at La Nava, and daylight of the morning of the 18th. I therefore took measures to provide for their retreat and junction, by moving the 5th division to Tordesillas de la Orden, and Major-General Le Marchant's, Major-General Alten's, and Major-General Bock's brigades of cavalry to Alaejos.——The enemy attacked the troops at Castrejon, at the dawn of day of the 18th, and Sir Stapleton Cotton maintained the post, without suffering any loss, till the cavalry had joined him. Nearly about the same time the enemy turned by Alaejos the left flank of our position at Castrejon.——The troops retired in admirable order to Tordesillas de la Orden, having the enemy's whole army on their flank or in their rear; and thence to the Guarena, which river they passed under the same circumstances, and effected their junction with the army.——The Guarena, which runs into the Douro, is formed by four streams, which unite about a league below Canizal, and the enemy took a strong position on the heights on the right of that river, and I placed the 5th, 4th, and light divisions, on the opposite heights, and had directed the remainder of the army to cross the Upper Guarena at Vallesa, in consequence of the appearance of the enemy's intention to turn our right.——Shortly after his arrival, however, the enemy crossed the Guarena at Carteillo, below the junction of the streams, and manifested an intention to press upon our left, and to enter the valley of Canizal. Major-General Alten's brigade of cavalry, supported by the 3d dragoons, were already engaged with the enemy's cavalry, and had taken, among other prisoners, the French General Carrier; and I desired the Honourable Lieutenant-General Cole to attack, with Major-General William An-

son's and Brigadier-General Harvey's brigades of infantry (the latter under the command of Colonel Stubbs), the enemy's infantry, which were supporting their cavalry. He immediately attacked and defeated them with the 27th and 40th regiments, which advanced to the charge with bayonets, Colonel Stubbs' Portuguese brigade supporting, and the enemy gave way; many were killed and wounded; and Major-General Alten's brigade of cavalry having pursued the fugitives, two hundred and forty prisoners were taken.——In these affairs Lieutenant-General the Hon. G. L. Cole, Major-General V. Alten, Major-General William Anson, Lieutenant-Colonel Arentschildt of the 1st hussars, and Hervey, of the 14th light dragoons, Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, of the 27th, and Major Archdall of the 40th, Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, commanding the 11th, and Major de Azeredo, commanding the 23d Portuguese regiment, distinguished themselves.——The enemy did not make any further attempt on our left; but having reinforced their troops on that side, and withdrawn those which had moved to their left, I brought back ours from Vallesa.——On the 19th in the afternoon the enemy withdrew all the troops from their right, and marched to their left by Tarragona, apparently with an intention of turning our right. I crossed the Upper Guarena at Vallesa and El Olmo with the whole of the allied army in the course of that evening and night; and every preparation was made for the action, which was expected on the plain of Vallesa on the morning of the 20th.——But shortly after day-light the enemy made another movement in several columns to his left; along the heights of the Guarena, which river he crossed below Canta la Piedra, and encamped last night at Babilafuente and Villamela; and the allied army made a correspondent movement to its right by Cantalpino, and encamped last night at Cabesa Vellosa, the 6th division, and Major-General Alten's brigade of cavalry being upon the Tormes at Aldea Lengua.——During these movements there have been occasional cannonades, but without loss on our side.——I have this morning moved the left the army to the Tormes, where the whole are now concentrated; and I observe that the enemy have also moved towards the same river, near Huerta.——The enemy's object hitherto has been, to cut off my communication with Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo.——The enemy abandoned and destroyed the fort of Mirabete, on the Tagus, on the 11th instant; and the garrison marched to Madrid, to form part of the army of the centre. They were reduced to five days provisions.——I enclose a return of the killed and wounded on the 18th instant.

Flores de Avila, July 24, 1812.

My Aid-de-Camp, Captain Lord Clinton, will present to your Lordship this account of a victory which the allied troops under my command gained in a general action fought near Salamanca on the evening of the 22d inst., which I have been under the necessity of delaying to send till now, having been engaged ever since the action in the pursuit of the enemy's flying troops.——In letter of the 21st I informed your Lordship, that both armies were near the Tormes; and the enemy crossed that river with the greatest part of his troops in the afternoon by the fords between Alba de Tormes and Huerta, and moved by their left towards the roads leading to Ciudad Rodrigo.——The allied army, with the exception of the 3d division and General D'Urban's cavalry, likewise crossed the Tormes in the evening by the bridge of Salamanca, and the fords in the neighbourhood; and I placed the troops in a position of which the right was upon one of the two heights called Dos Arapiles, and the left on the Tormes below the ford of Santa Martha.——The 3d division and Brigadier-General D'Urban's cavalry were left at Cabrerizos, on the right of the Tormes, as the enemy had still a large corps on the heights above Babilafuente, on the same side of the river; and I considered it not improbable, that, finding our army prepared for them in the morning, on the left of the Tormes, they would alter their plan, and manoeuvre by the other bank.——In the course of the night of the 21st I received intelligence, of the truth of which I could not doubt, that General Chauvel had arrived at Pollos on the 20th, with the cavalry and horse artillery of the army of the north, to join Marshal Marmont; and I was quite certain that these troops would join him on the 22d or 23d at the latest.——During the night of the 21st the enemy had taken possession of the village of Calvarasa de Ariba, and of the height near it called Nuestra Senora de la Pena, our cavalry being in possession of Calvarosa de Abaxo; and shortly after daylight detachments from both armies attempted to obtain pos-

session of the more distant from our right of the two hills called Dos Arapiles.——The enemy however succeeded, their detachment being the strongest, and having been concealed in the woods nearer the hill than we were, by which success they strengthened materially their own position, and had in their power increased means of annoying ours.——In the morning, the light troops of the 7th division, and the 4th Caçadores belonging to General Pack's brigade, were engaged with the enemy on the height called Nuestra Senora de la Pena; on which height they maintained themselves with the enemy throughout the day. The possession, by the enemy, however, of the more distant of the Arapiles, rendered it necessary for me to extend the right of the army in Potence to the heights behind the village of Arapiles, and to occupy that village with light infantry; and here I placed the 4th division, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-General Cole; and although, from the variety of the enemy's movements, it was difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of his intentions, I considered that, upon the whole, his objects were upon the left of the Tormes. I therefore ordered the Honourable Major-General Pakenham, who commanded the 3d division, in the absence of Lieutenant-General Picton, on account of ill health, to move across the Tormes with the troops under his command, including Brigadier-General D'Urban's cavalry, and to place himself behind Aldea Tejada, Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry and Don Carlos D'Espana's infantry, having been moved up likewise to the neighbourhood of Las Torres, between the 3d and 4th divisions.——After a variety of evolutions and movements, the enemy appears to have determined upon his plan about two in the afternoon; and under cover of a very heavy cannonade, which however did us but very little damage, he extended his left and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace, by the position of his troops, and by his fire, our post on that of the two Arapiles which we possessed, and from thence to attack and break our line; or at all events to render difficult any movement of ours to our right.——The extension of his line to his left however, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops still occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him, for which I had long been anxious. I reinforced our right with the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Leith, which I placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the 4th division; and with the 6th and 7th divisions in reserve; and as soon as these troops had taken their stations, I ordered the Hon. Major-General Pakenham to move forward with the 3d division, and General D'Urban's cavalry, and two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hervey, in four columns, to turn the enemy's left on the heights, while Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade, the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Leith, the 4th division, under the Hon. Lieutenant-General Cole, and the cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, the 7th division, under Major-General Hope, and Don Carlos D'Espana's Spanish division, and Brigadier-General Pack should support the left of the 4th division, by attacking that of the Dos Arapiles, which the enemy held. The 1st and light divisions occupied the ground on the left, and were in reserve.——The attack upon the enemy's left was made in the manner above described, and completely succeeded. Major-General the Hon. Edward Pakenham formed the third division across the enemy's flank, and overthrew every thing opposed to him. These troops were supported in the most gallant style by the Portuguese cavalry under Brigadier-General D'Urban, and Lieutenant-Col. Hervey's squadrons of the 14th, who successfully defeated every attempt made by the enemy on the flank of the third division.——Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade, the 5th and 4th divisions, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, attacked the enemy in front, and drove his troops before them, from one height to another, bringing forward their right, so as to acquire strength upon the enemy's flank, in proportion to the advance. Brigadier-General Pack made a very gallant attack upon the Arapiles, in which, however, he did not succeed, excepting in diverting the attention of the enemy's corps placed upon it, from the troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Cole, in his advance.——The cavalry under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton made a most gallant and successful charge against a body of the enemy's infantry, which they overthrew and cut to pieces. In this charge Major-Gene-

ral Le Marchant was killed at the head of his brigade; and I have to regret the loss of a most able officer.——After the crest of the height was carried, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the 4th division, which, after a severe contest, was obliged to give way, in consequence of the enemy having thrown some troops on the left of the 4th division, after the failure of Brigadier-General Pack's attack upon the Arapiles, and the Honourable Lieutenant-General Cole having been wounded.——Marshal Sir William Beresford, who happened to be on the spot, directed Brigadier General Spry's brigade of the fifth division, which was in the second line, to change its front, and to bring its fire on the flank of the enemy's division; and, I am sorry to add, that while engaged in this service, he received a wound, which, I am apprehensive, will deprive me of the benefit of his counsel and assistance for some time. Nearly about the same time Lieutenant-General Leith received a wound, which unfortunately obliged him to quit the field. I ordered up the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, to relieve the 4th, and the battle was soon restored to its former success.——The enemy's right, however, reinforced by the troops which had fled from his left, and by those which had now retired from the Arapiles, still continued to resist; and I ordered the 1st and light divisions, and Colonel Stubbs's Portuguese brigade of the 4th division, which was re-formed, and Major-General William Anson's brigade, likewise of the 4th division, to turn the right, while the 6th division, supported by the 3d and 5th, attacked the front. It was dark before this point was carried by the 6th division, and the enemy fled through the woods towards the Tormes. I pursued them with the 1st and light divisions, and Major-General William Anson's brigade of the 4th division, and some squadrons of cavalry under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, as long as we could find any of them together, directing our march upon Huerta and the fords of the Tormes, by which the enemy had passed on their advance; but the darkness of the night was highly advantageous to the enemy, many of whom escaped under its cover, who must otherwise have been in our hands.——I am sorry to report, that owing to this same cause, Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton was unfortunately wounded by one of our own sentries after he had halted. ——We renewed the pursuit at break of day in the morning with the same troops, and Major-General Bock's and Major-General Anson's brigades of cavalry, which joined during the night, and having crossed the Tormes, we came up with the enemy's rear-guard of cavalry and infantry, near La Serna: they were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons; and the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. I have never witnessed a more gallant charge than was made on the enemy's infantry by the heavy brigade of the King's German Legion, under Major-General Bock, which was completely successful, and the whole body of infantry, consisting of three battalions of the enemy's first division, were made prisoners.——The pursuit was afterwards continued as far as Penaranda last night; and our troops are still following the flying enemy. Their head-quarters were in this town, not less than ten leagues from the field of battle, for a few hours last night; and they are now considerably advanced on the road towards Valladolid by Arevalo. They were joined yesterday on their retreat by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the North, which have arrived at too late a period, it is to be hoped, to be of much use to them.——It is impossible to form a conjecture of the amount of the enemy's loss in this action; but from all reports it is very considerable. We have taken from them eleven pieces of cannon,* several ammunition waggons, two eagles, and six colours; and one general, three colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, 130 officers of inferior rank, and between six and seven thousand soldiers are prisoners;† and our detachments are sending in more every moment. The number of dead on the field is very large.——I am informed that Marshal Marmont is badly wounded, and has lost one of his arms; and that four general officers have been killed, and several wounded.——Such an advantage could not have been acquired without material loss on our side; but it certainly has not been of a magnitude to distress the army, or to cripple its operations.——I have great pleasure in reporting to your Lordship, that, throughout this trying day, of which

* The official returns only account for eleven pieces of cannon; but it is believed that twenty have fallen into our hands.

† The prisoners are supposed to amount to seven thousand; but it has not been possible to ascertain their numbers exactly, from the advance of the army immediately after the action was over.

I have related the events, I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the general officers and troops.——The relation which I have written of its events will give a general idea of the share which each individual had in them; and I cannot say too much in praise of the conduct of every individual in his station.——I am much indebted to Marshal Sir William Beresford for his friendly counsel and assistance, both previous to, and during the action; to Lieutenant-Generals Sir Stapleton Cotton, Leith, and Cole, and Major-Generals Clinton, and the Honourable Edward Pakenham, for the manner in which they led the divisions of cavalry and infantry under their command respectively; to Major-General Hulse, commanding a brigade in the 6th division; Major-General G. Anson, commanding a brigade of cavalry; Colonel Hinde, Colonel the Honourable William Ponsonby, commanding Major General Le Marchant's brigade, after the fall of that officer; to Major-General William Anson, commanding a brigade in the 4th division; Major-General Pringle, commanding a brigade in the 5th division, and the division after Lieutenant-General Leith was wounded; Brigadier-General Bradford; Brigadier-General Spry, Colonel Stubbs, and Brigadier-General Power, of the Portuguese service; likewise to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the 94th, commanding a brigade in the 3d division; Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, of the 60th foot; Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, of the 88th, commanding a brigade in the 3d division; Lieutenant-Colonel Ellis, of the 23d, commanding General the Hon. Edward Pakenham's brigade in the 4th division, during his absence in the command of the 3d division; the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Greville, of the 38th regiment, commanding Major-General Hay's brigade in the 5th division, during his absence on leave; Brigadier-General Pack; Brigadier-General the Conde de Rezendi, of the Portuguese service; Colonel Douglas, of the 8th Portuguese regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel the Conde de Ficalho, of the same regiment; and Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham, of the 53d regiment; likewise to Brigadier General d'Urban, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hervey, of the 14th Light Dragoons; Colonel Lord Edward Somerset, commanding the 4th Dragoons; and Lieut.-Colonel the Honourable Frederick Ponsonby, commanding the 12th Light Dragoons. ——I must also mention Lieutenant-Col. Woodford, commanding the light battalion of the brigade of Guards, who, supported by two companies of the Fusileers, under the command of Captain Crowder, maintained the village of Arapiles against all the efforts of the enemy, previous to the attack upon their position by our troops.——In a case in which the conduct of all has been conspicuously good, I regret that the necessary limits of a dispatch prevents me from drawing your Lordship's notice to the conduct of a larger number of individuals; but I can assure your Lordship, that there was no Officer of Corps engaged in this action, who did not perform his duty by his Sovereign and his Country.——The royal and German artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Framingham, distinguished themselves by the accuracy of their fire, wherever it was possible to use them; and they advanced to the attack of the enemy's position with the same gallantry as the other troops.——I am particularly indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel De Lancy, the Deputy Quarter-Master-General, the head of the department present in the absence of the Quarter-Master-General, and to the officers of that department, and of the staff corps, for the assistance I received from them, particularly the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sturgeon of the latter, and Major Scovell of the former; and to Lieutenant-Colonel Waters, at present at the head of the Adjutant General's department at head-quarters, and to the officers of that department, as well at head-quarters as with the several divisions of the army; and Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and the officers of my personal staff. Among the latter I particularly request your Lordship to draw the attention of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to His Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange, whose conduct in the field, as well as upon every other occasion, entitles him to my highest commendation, and has acquired for him the respect and regard of the whole army.——I have had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Mariscal del Campo Don Carlos d'Espagna, and of Brigadier Don Julion Sanchez, and with that of the troops under their command respectively; and with that of the Mariscal del Campo Don Miguel Alava, and of Brigadier Don Joseph O'Lawlor, employed with this army by the Spanish government, from whom, and from the Spanish authorities, and people in general, I received every assistance I could expect.——It is but justice likewise to draw your Lordship's attention, upon this occa- to the merits of the officers of the

civil departments of the army. Notwithstanding the increased distance of our operations from our magazines, and that the country is completely exhausted, we have hitherto wanted nothing, owing to the diligence and attention of Commissary General Mr. Bisset, and the officers of the department under his direction.——I have likewise to mention, that by the attention and ability of Doctor Mac Gregor, and of the officers of the department under his charge, our wounded, as well as those of the enemy left in our hands, have been well taken care of; and I hope that many of these valuable men will be saved to the service. ——Captain Lord Clinton will have the honour of laying at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the eagles and colours taken from the enemy in this action. ——I enclose a return of the killed and wounded.

Olmedo, July 28, 1812.

The army have continued their march in pursuit of the enemy since I addressed you on the 21th inst., and we have continued to take many prisoners. A part of the enemy's army crossed the Douro yesterday near Puente de Douro, and the remainder, their left wing, were in march towards the bridge of Tudela this morning at nine o'clock, when I last heard from our advanced posts.——The main body of the allied army is this day on the Adaja and Zapardiel rivers in this neighbourhood; the light cavalry being in front, in pursuit of the enemy.——It appears that Joseph Buonaparte left Madrid on the 21st, with the army of the centre, supposed to consist of from ten to twelve thousand infantry and from two to three thousand cavalry, and he directed his march by the Escoriel, upon Alba de Tormes. He arrived at Blasco Sancho, between Avila and Arevalo on the 25th, where he heard of the defeat of Marshal Marmont, and he retired in the evening, and between that time and the evening of the 26th, he marched through Villa Castin to Espinar. A non-commissioned officer's patrol of the 14th Light Dragoons and the 1st Hussars, from Arevalo, took in Blascho Sancho on the evening of the 25th, shortly after Joseph Buonaparte had left the place, two officers and twenty-seven men of his own cavalry, who had been left there to follow his rear-guard.——I have reason to believe that Joseph Buonaparte had no regular account of the action of the 22d, till he passed the Puerte de Guadarrama yesterday, but he then returned, and was directing his march upon Segovia. I have not yet heard how far he had advanced. All accounts concur with regard to the great loss sustained by the army of Portugal.——By accounts from Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill to the 24th instant, it appears, that the enemy had in some degree reinforced the troops in Estramadura. The Lieutenant-General had removed to Zafra.——It is reported, that General Ballasteros had marched on another expedition towards Malaga, and that he was opposed by a division of the Army of the South, under General Labal.——I have not received detailed accounts of Commodore Sir Home Popham's operations on the coast since the capture of Sequetio, but I understand that he has taken Castro Urdiales.

Names of Officers killed and wounded, July 18, 1812.

KILLED.—27th Foot, Lieutenant Radcliffe, Adjutant Davidson.

WOUNDED.—Royal Horse Artillery, Lieutenant Belson, severely.—3d Dragoons, Lieutenant Bramfield, slightly.—11th Light Dragoons, Lieutenant Bontein, slightly, Cornet Williams, severely.—12th Light Dragoons, Adjutant Gettrick, severely.—14th Foot, Major Brotherton, Lieutenants Gwynne, Fowke, slightly.—16th Foot, Lieutenant Baker, slightly.—1st Hussar King's German Legion, Barrack-Master Kraukenberg, Captain Muller, slightly; Captain Aly, severely; Lieutenant Wisch, slightly.—7th Royal Fusileers, Lieutenant Nantes, slightly.—27th Foot, Captain Mair, slightly.—40th Foot, Lieutenant Kelly, slightly.

Names of the Officers killed, wounded, and missing of the Allied Army, under the Command of His Excellency General the Earl of Wellington, in the Battle near Salamanca, on the 22d July, 1812.

Head-Quarters, Flores de Avilas, July 25, 1812.

KILLED.—Major-Gen. Le Marchant.—5th Dragoon Guards, Capt. Osborn.—3d Dragoons, Lieutenant Selby.—12th Light Dragoons, Captain Dickens.—2d or Queen's, Ensign Denwoody.—7th Fusileers, Captain Prescott.—11th Foot, 1st Batt. Ensign Scott.—23d Welch Fusileers, Major Offley.—32d Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant Seymour, Ensign Newton.—36th Foot, 1st Batt. Captains Tullok and Middleton, Lieutenants Parker and Barton.—38th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Taylor, Lieutenant Broomfield.—44th Foot, 2d Batt. Captain Berwick, Ensign Standley.—61st Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant-Colonel Barlow, Captains Horton and Stubbs, Lieutenants Chauner and Parker.—68th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant Finucane.—88th Foot, 1st Batt. Brevet Major Murphy, Captain Hogan.—94th Foot, Lieutenant Innes.—2d Light Batt. King's German Legion, Lieutenant Fincke.

WOUNDED.—Lieutenant-General Sir S. Cotton, severely; Lieutenant-General Leith, severely, not dangerously; Lieutenant-General Honourable G. L. Cole, severely, not dangerously; Major-General Victor Alten, severely, not danger-

ously.—Royal Horse Guards Blue, Lieutenant-Colonel Elley, A. A. G. slightly.—88th Foot, Captain Tryon, D. A. A. G. severely.—13th Light Dragoons, Captain White, D. A. Q. M. G. severely, since dead.—29th Foot, Lieutenant Hay, Aid-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Leith, slightly.—6th Dragoons, Captain Dawson, extra A. D. C. to Lieutenant-General Leith, severely. 5th Dragoons, Captain Aiken, severely; Lieutenant Christie, severely.—4th Dragoons, Lieutenant Norcliffe, severely.—1st Hussars, King's German Legion, Captains Muller and Decken, slightly; Lieutenant Fueto, severely; Lieutenant Cordemann, slightly; Cornet Behrends, slightly.—Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. Ensign Hotham, slightly.—3d Guards, 1st Batt. Captain White, severely.—1st Foot, or Royal Scots, Lieutenant-Colonel Barnes, severely; Captain Logan, slightly; Lieutenants Kellett, O'Neil, and Falk, severely; Lieutenant M'Killigan, slightly; Lieutenant Clarke, severely; Ensign Stoyte, severely.—2d Foot, or Queen's, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Kingsbury, severely; Major Graham, severely; Captain Scott, severely; Lieutenant Gordon, severely; Lieutenant Williams, slightly; Lieutenant Hudson, severely.—4th Foot, 1st Batt. Major O'Halloran, slightly. —5th Foot, 1st Batt. Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Bird, slightly; Captain Simcocks, severely; Lieutenants Macpherson and Gunn, severely; Ensign Hamilton, slightly; Ensign Pratt, severely.—5th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieutenant O'Dell, severely; Lieutenant Hilliard, slightly.—7th Royal Fusileers, Captain Hammerton, slightly; Lieutenants Hutchinson and Hartley, severely; Lieutenants Wallace, Nantes, Johnson, Knowles, Henry, and Hannam, slightly: Adjutant Hay, severely.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant Ackland, slightly.—11th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler, Major M'Gregor, Captains Porter, Hamilton, and Gualy, severely; Lieutenant Donovan, slightly; Lieutenants Rynd, Williams, and Stephens, severely; Lieutenant Daniel, slightly; Lieutenants Walker and Smith, severely; Lieutenant Stewart, slightly; Lieutenants Gethen and Read, severely.—23d Royal Welch Fusileers, Lieutenant-Colonel Ellis, Major Dalmer, Lieutenants Enoch, Fryer, Cloyde, severely; Lieutenant Macdonald, slightly.—27th Foot, 3d Batt. Lieutenant Philip Gordon, slightly.—30th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieutenant Garvey, slightly.—32d Foot, 1st Batt. Captains Roslewen, Toole, slightly; Lieutenants Greaves, Eason, severely; Lieutenant R. Robinson, slightly; Lieutenants Bowes, Butterworth, Ensign Newton (2d) severely; Ensign Blood, slightly.—36th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Fox, slightly; Lieutenants Price, Hewart, Ensign Bouchier, severely.—38th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant-Colonel Miles, severely; Captains Wilshire, Gallie, slightly; Captain Fullarton, severely; Lieutenant Ince, slightly; Lieutenant Peddie, right arm amputated; Lieutenant Laws, Ensign Wheatley, severely; Ensigns Magie, Wilcocks, slightly; Ensign Byam, severely; Ensign Freer, slightly.—38th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieut. M'Pherson, Ensign Anderson, severely.—40th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenants Gray, Hudson, severely; Lieutenants Brown, Turton, slightly; Adjutant Bethel, severely.—43d Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant Ridout, slightly.—45th Foot, 1st Batt. Major Greenwell, severely; Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes, Captain Lightfoot, Lieutenant Coghlan, slightly; Ensign Rey, severely.—48th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Thwaites, Lieutenant Stroud, slightly; Lieutenants Leroux, Vincent, Marshall, severely; Lieutenant Armstrong, slightly; Lieutenant Johnson, severely; Ensigns Thatcher, Warton, slightly; Ensign Le Mesurier, right arm amputated.—53d Foot, 2d Batt. Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham, Brigadier Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain Robinson, Captain Fehrsen, severely; Captain Poppleton, slightly; Captains Fernandez, Blackall, M'Dougal, Lieutenants Hunter, Nicholson, severely; Ensign Bunworth, Adjutant Carss, slightly.—60th Foot, 5th Batt. Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, slightly; Major Galiffe, Ensign Lucke, severely.—61st Foot, 1st Batt. Major Downing, Captains Oke, M'Leod, Green, severely; Captain Faville, severely (since dead); Lieutenant Falkener, severely; Lieutenant Daniel, slightly; Lieutenant Chapman, severely, Lieutenant Chipchase, slightly; Lieutenant Furnace, severely; Lieutenant Gloster, slightly; Lieutenant Collis, severely; Lieutenant Wolfe, slightly; Lieutenants Brackenburg, Royal, Toole, Ensigns Whyte, Beere, Singleton, severely.—68th Foot, Captain and Brevet Major Millar, severely; Captain North, slightly.—74th Foot, Captain and Brevet Major Thompson, Lieutenant Ewing, severely.—83d Foot, 2d Batt. Lieutenant Gascoigne, severely; Lieutenant Evans, slightly.—88th Foot, 2d Batt. Captain Adair, Lieutenants Nichols, Meade, severely; Lieutenant Kingsmill, slightly.—94th Foot, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Captain Cooke, Lieutenant Griffiths, severely.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion, Captain Hulseman, Lieutenant Hartwig, severely.—2d Light Batt. Ditto, Captain Haassman, slightly.—2d Line Batt. Ditto, Captain Scharnhorst, Lieutenant Repke, severely.—5th Ditto, Ditto, Captain Langresher, severely.—Brunswick Oels, Captain Lueder, severely; Lieutenant Griesham, slightly.—1st Royal Scots, Volunteer M'Alpin, severely.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. Volunteer Perry, severely.—53d Foot, 2d Batt. Volunteer Mortshell, severely.

(Signed) JOHN WATERS,
Lieut. Col. and A. A. G.

Names of the Officers killed and wounded on the 23d of July, 1812.

KILLED.—1st Dragoons, King's German Legion, Lieutenants Voss and Heugell.—2d ditto, ditto, Captain Usslar.

WOUNDED.—Royal Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel May, A. A. G. severely.—1st Dragoons, King's German Legion, Captain Decken, Cornet Tappe, severely.—2d ditto, ditto, Lieutenant Fumette, slightly.

Abstract of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of the Earl of Wellington, near Castrajon, on the 18th July, 1812.

	Kille[d]		
British .	61	297	27
Portuguese	34		
Total		593	

Abstract of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Allied Army, under the Command of General the Earl of Wellington, in the Battle fought near Salamanca, on the 22d Day of July, 1812.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
British .	388	2714	74
Portuguese	304	1552	182
Spanish .	2	4	—
Total	694	4270	256

Abstract of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Allied Army, under the Command of Lord Wellington, in an Affair with the Enemy's Rear-Guard near La Serna, on the 23d July, 1812.

Killed 51 . Wounded 60 . Missing 6

Return of Ordnance, &c. taken at the Castle of Salamanca, July 22, 1812.

6 French eight-pounders, 1 French four-pounder, 3 Spanish four-pounders, 1 French six-inch howitzer.—Total 11.

5 tumbrils with ammunition.

The exact quantity of ammunition carried on each tumbril not yet ascertained.

(Signed) HOYLET FRAMINGHAM.
Lieut. Col. Royal Artillery.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN STATES.—*Message of President Madison to the Congress, 1st June, 1812, relative to the dispute with England.*

(Continued from page 222.)

terpositions heretofore furnished by the officers and agents of that Government.——Such is the spectacle of injuries and indignities which have been heaped on our country; and such the crisis which its unexampled forbearance and conciliatory efforts have not been able to avert. It might at least have been expected, that an enlightened nation, if less urged by moral obligations, or invited by friendly dispositions on the part of the United States, would have found in its true interests alone a sufficient motive to respect their rights and their tranquillity on the high seas; that an enlarged policy would have favoured the free and general circulation of commerce, in which the British nation is at all times interested, and which in times of war is the best alleviation of its calamities to herself, as well as the other belligerents; and more especially that the British Cabinet would not, for the sake of a precarious and surreptitious intercourse with hostile markets, have persevered in a course of measures which necessarily put at hazard the invaluable market of a great and growing country, disposed to cultivate the mutual advantages of an active commerce.——Other councils have prevailed. Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance, and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence committed on the great and common highway of nations, even within sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations, confiscated by prize courts no longer the organs of public law, but the instruments of arbitrary edicts; and their unfortunate crews dispersed and lost, or forced or inveigled in British ports into British fleets; whilst arguments are employed in support of these aggressions, which have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever.——We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States; and, on the side of the United States, a state of peace towards Great Britain.——Whether the United States shall continue passive under these progressive usurpations, and these accumulating wrongs; or, opposing force to force, in defence of their natural rights, shall commit a just cause into the hands of the Almighty Disposer of events; avoiding all connexions which might entangle it in the contests or views of other powers, and preserving a constant readiness to concur in an honourable re-establishment of peace and friendship, is a solemn question, which the constitution wisely confides to the Legislative Department of the Government. In recommending it to their early deliberations, I am happy in the assurance that the decision will be worthy the enlightened and patriotic councils of a virtuous, a free, and a powerful nation.——Having presented this view of the relations of the United States with Great Britain, and of the solemn alternative growing out of them, I proceed to remark that the communications last made to Congress on the subject of our relations with France will have shown, that since the revocation of her decrees as they violated the neutral rights of the United States, her Government has authorized illegal captures by its privateers and public ships, and that other outrages have been practised on our vessels and our citizens. It will have been seen also, that no indemnity had been provided, or satisfactorily pledged, for the extensive spoliations committed under the violent and retrospective order of the French Government against the property of our Citizens seized within the jurisdiction of France.——I abstain at this time from recommending to the consideration of Congress definitive measures with respect to that nation, in the expectation, that the result of unclosed discussions between our Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris and the French Government, will speedily

enable Congress to decide with greater advantage, on the course due to the rights, the interests, the honour of our country.

Act of Congress, declaring War against England.

An Act, declaring War between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dependencies thereof, and the United States of America, and their Territories.

Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That War be and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dependencies thereof, and the United States of America, and their Territories; and that the President of the United States be, and he i hereby authorized to use the whole Land and Naval Forces of the United States to carry the same into effect; and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, Commissions or Letters of Marque and General Reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the Seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the Government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Subjects thereof.

June 18, 1812.—Approved,

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, June 18, 4 *o'clock, p. m.*

Stoppage of American Vessels in England.

At the Court at Carlton House, the 31st of July, 1812, present his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in Council:—It is this day ordered, by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, and by and with the advice of His Majesty's Privy Council, that no ship or vessel belonging to any of His Majesty's subjects, be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports within the territories of the United States of America, until further order; and his Royal Highness is further pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, and by and with the advice aforesaid, to order, that a general embargo or stop be made of all ships and vessels whatsoever, belonging to the citizens of the United States of America, now within, or which shall hereafter come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads, within any part of His Majesty's dominions, together with all persons and effects on board all such ships and vessels; and that the Commanders of His Majesty's ships of war and privateers do detain and bring into port all ships and vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States of America, or bearing the flag of the said United States, except such as may be furnished with British licenses, which vessels are allowed to proceed according to the tenor of the said licenses; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships or vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained; and the Commanders of His Majesty's ships of war and privateers are hereby instructed to detain and bring into port every such ship and vessel accordingly, except such as are above excepted: and the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain. CHETWYND.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

Whereas by an Act, passed in the 43d year of the reign of His present Majesty, for the better protection of the trade of the United Kingdom during the present hostilities with France, a power is vested in us to grant license to sail without convoy; and we have, in pursuance of the said Act, granted sundry licenses accordingly: and whereas we see fit to revoke certain of these licenses, as hereinafter specified, we do hereby revoke, and declare null and void, and of no effect, all licenses granted by us to any ship or vessel to sail without convoy to any port or place of North America, Newfoundland, the West Indies, or the Gulph of Mexico, which ship or vessel shall not have cleared out before this revocation shall be known to the Collector or other officer of the Customs of the port at which such ship or vessel shall be. Given under our hands, and the seal of the office of Admiralty, the 31st of July, 1812.

MELVILLE.
WM. DOMETT.
GEO. J. HOPE.

To all whom it may concern.

By command of their Lordships,
J. W. CROKER.

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and *sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings, that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register: that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally, that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey, and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Baxter of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf, that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England, that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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N. B.--The Indexes and Tables to Volume XXI of the Register are published, as usual, and to be had, of course, through the same channels that the Register is had.

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.——The rejoicings, on account of the result of this battle, though very loud and long immediately under the eye of the government, do not appear to have reached very widely over the country, for which I can, however, see no reason, except that of a conviction in the people's minds, that the victory only tended to prolong the war; for, in point of glory, it is certainly the greatest victory that has been gained by England in our day, and, indeed, since the reign of Queen Anne. By *sea* we have been accustomed to beat every body. Battles at sea are much more matters of *skill* than of personal valour. The men engaged scarcely *see* their enemy. The danger may be as great, but it is not *seen*. Men in a ship are like men in a fortified place. A battle at sea is an affair of ropes and sails and rudders. The victory depends, in a great measure, upon the *dexterity* of the parties engaged. But, in a *land* battle, the result generally depends upon the degrees of *personal courage* possessed by the parties engaged. In a *sea* battle no man can skulk from his post if he would. The greatest coward is as efficient, generally speaking, as the bravest man. But, in a *land* battle, men may generally skulk if they will. There are so many opportunities of avoiding bodily danger, that a coward will seldom fail to avail himself of some one or other of them. From a ship there is no *desertion* during a battle; from an army there may be much.——For these reasons I am always inclined to be more proud of victories (I mean real ones) gained by land, than of victories gained by sea, though in the sea service it often happens that there are occasions for performing prodigious feats of valour.——Nevertheless, it is certain, that, throughout the country, the news of the victory of Salamanca has been very *coldly* received. It does not appear to have excited half so much joy as was excited by the *death* (not the *killing*) of the late prime minister Perceval; at which I rather wonder, because, as I have before observed, the victory is something for us to be proud of, whatever it may lead to; and it is the more worthy of our applause, as it forms such a contrast with the events of the campaigns on the continent, which ended at *Dunkirk* and the *Helder*. Our army has here beaten a French army. We were, it may be said, greatly superior in numbers. I do not mind that; for we were not so much superior in numbers as to prevent a French Marshal from giving us battle. Our army has beaten a French army, and our General has beaten a French Marshal. We have, too, taken 7,000 men prisoners of war, with a due proportion of officers. This is, therefore, a victory, and, in a military point of view, something to be proud of; but, while I *think* the country has received the victory rather coldly, I must say, that the hired news-papers have been as indiscreet on the other side. To hear them, one would think that England never won a victory before; that this was her first-born in the way of victories; and that, in short, she was beside her senses with joy upon the occasion.——Reflection should make them more moderate; for, after all, Marshal the Duke of Albufera has sent to France at least six times as many prisoners as all our generals put together have taken during the whole war. The boastings, therefore, should have some bounds; for, if we are thus to boast at the taking of 7,000 prisoners, what would the French be justified in doing at the taking of more than 100,000 prisoners in this same war of the Peninsula? And what would they be justified in doing at the taking of the more, perhaps, than *two* millions of prisoners, whom they have taken since the commencement of their revolution? Our hired writers should think of these things in the midst of their excessive joy, or, rather, their affectation of that joy; for, as to any *feeling* upon the subject, they have no more than the table upon which I am writing.—— There was one transaction, relating to the London rejoicings, which I

must not omit to notice in a particular manner. There were, it appears, numerous acts of violence committed against persons who did not choose to illuminate their houses; and this is quite decisive as to the *real cause* of the *generality* of the illumination. When we are told, that those who did *not* illuminate, had their houses demolished, in whole or in part, we need not be told what was the general motive of those who *did* illuminate. In the country, where there was *no smashing of houses*, there were *no illuminations*. Here are cause and effect as clear as day-light; and all the efforts of all the hired writers in London will not remove them from the mind of any rational man. ——But, the transaction, to which I particularly allude, is of another sort: it relates to the Marquis Wellesley, and it is well worthy of the reader's attention. I copy the account from the Courier news-paper of the 19th of August, in the following words: —— "*Lord Wellesley* "went out on Monday night *in a plain* "*carriage* to *view the illuminations*, and "near the Admiralty was *recognized* by "*the people*, who proposed to *draw his* "*carriage*, which he *endeavoured to dis-* "*suade them from carrying into effect*, ex- "cusing himself with many expressions of "thanks. They suffered him to proceed "towards Whitehall, but on his return to "Charing-cross they took off his horses, "and *drew his carriage along the Strand,* "*Fleet-street, &c.* to *St. Paul's, and the* "*Mansion-house, and back again by the* "*way of Pall Mall, St. James's-street, and* "*Piccadilly, to Apsley-house.* The carri- "age was followed by an immense crowd, "who halted frequently for the purpose of "cheering the name of Lord Wellington "and of haranguing Lord Wellesley in "language of warm congratulation. His "Lordship *repeatedly addressed the multi-* "*tude.* He stated shortly, but with great force, the eminent services of his gallant brother in India, as well as in Europe and the prominent features of his charac- "ter, which had obtained for him the una- "nimous esteem and love of his army, "and the applause which his countrymen "were then bestowing upon him. They "might applaud him, he said, for his at- "tention to the comforts and wants of his "men—HIS CARE OF HIS WOUND- "ED—his attention to the sufferings of our "allies—and his humanity to the enemy "when subdued or captured. His Lord- "ship was interrupted with cheers that "rent the skies between each instance of "the merits of Lord Wellington's charac- "ter. Upon these occasions, the carriage "was stopped at St. Paul's, the Mansion- "house, and in the square of Somerset- "house. At the Mansion-house Lord "Wellesley apprized the crowd that the "Lord Mayor was a warm friend of Lord "Wellington, and, with the chief Officers "of the City, had often expressed appro- "bation of his services, upon which they "cheered the Lord Mayor loudly. The "crowd halted at Carlton-house, and "cheered the Prince Regent most cordially. "At St. James's they stopped, and *cheered* "*his Majesty;* and Lord Wellesley having "proposed *the Duke of York and the Army*, "*his Royal Highness was loudly cheered.* "On arriving at Apsley-house, Lord Wel- "lesley took leave by returning thanks for "the gratifying marks of attention he had "received; assuring them at the same time, "that he had NOT THE VANITY to apply them in the smallest degree TO HIMSELF personally. Upon which they shouted, "we mean them for YOU TOO." "*I receive them, then,*" said Lord W. "as the *most unequivocal* "*proofs of public spirit*—of zealous *attach-* "*ment for your Prince*—of *loyalty to your* "*King*—and of *love for the true interests* "*of your country.* I receive them as a "most gratifying proof of your opinion, "that the services of Lord Wellington, of "*myself*, and of *my family*, have *always* "*been directed to maintain the honour and* "*dignity of the Crown, and to the promo-* "*tion of your best interests.*" ——Now, in the first place, it was an odd sort of curiosity that must have taken Lord Wellesley out at such a time. To "*view illumi-* "*nations!*" I suppose he has a taste in that way. Aye; but he went out in a *plain* carriage. But, why go in any carriage at all, and especially *alone;* for nothing is said of any one being with him: he seems to have had all the cheering to himself. Then, what an odd whim it was in "*the* "*people*" (for they were here *the people*) to draw him first *away from his home* and then *to his home!* What should they draw him into the city for? Why should they *suppose*, that such a jaunt would be *agreeable* to him? The reader, however, will want nothing more than the publication itself to make him understand the whole of the transaction, from first to last. It is, indeed, too plain to need any thing more than the bare publication of the account. ——Since writing the above, I have, through the news-papers, received the

French account of the Battle of Salamanca, from which it appears, that the Duke of Ragusa was wounded before the Battle began. We have not, therefore, beaten a French *Marshal;* but, we have beaten his army under a *French General*, and that is quite glory enough.——The French *cover* the disaster as well as they can; but they *confess a defeat*, a thing that is *never* done by our ministerial papers. The word defeat, as applied to us, is an useless part of our language. This confession of a defeat entitles the French accounts to the more credit; and, indeed, their Bulletins have all along proved, in the end, to have been fatally true.——The French papers also inform us, that, in the East of Spain, the Spaniards have suffered a severe defeat, and the object of our expedition from Sicily has been frustrated.——In a military point of view, therefore, the consequences of the victory of Salamanca do not promise to be great. Our army is not strong enough to remain long in the heart of Spain unsupported by any other force; and, I am, for once, inclined to believe the Times news-paper, which confesses, that that army is "*surrounded by enemies*, except in its "rear," from which it has swept them. ——The passage (in the Times of Aug. 25) in which this observation is made, is very curious, and worthy of note at this moment:——"We cannot close this account "without speaking more on the affairs connected with this quarter of the Peninsula. "General Maitland has, we hear, returned "from Port Mahon to Sicily, in consequence of orders conveyed to him by "General Donkin. All our expectations, "therefore, of an efficient diversion on the "eastern coast of Spain, must, we fear, be "relinquished; and *without such diversion*, "*what can our gallant little army, with its* "*heroic Chief, perform in the heart of the* "*country, surrounded every where by enemies except in its rear*, from whence it "has itself wiped them away? With that "diversion, so much hoped for, and so confidently expected, Lord Wellington would "have had the power of either pursuing "the remains of Marmont's army to Burgos, or of marching directly to Madrid. "Without it, *he can do neither;* for, unhappily, there is no efficient army organized in Gallicia, as there ought to have "been, to assist his Lordship in clearing "the north of Spain; and as to our marching to Madrid, Suchet is now disengaged "to advance thither, and join Joseph "Buonaparte."——This sounds very much like what the drummers call *a ruffle;* that is to say, a little play upon the head of the drum, preparatory to some regular beat; and, I should not wonder if the hireling who wrote this was in expectation of being called upon to beat the *retreat* in a short time. If this should be the case, and it is very far indeed from being impossible, what shall we have got for our 3,561 English soldiers, killed, wounded, and *missing?* If our army should be compelled to retreat, what will have been *gained?* Really nothing; but, a great deal will have been *lost.* The army will have been greatly weakened; it will have got farther from its resources; it will have encumbered itself even with its prisoners; it may meet with great disasters, and it will be sure to suffer very much from fatigue.——I repeat it, that if this battle be followed by a speedy retreat, it will have been an event most disastrous to the war in the peninsula.——The accounts from France may, however, not be true, or, at least, not to the extent mentioned in our news-papers. Yet, as the Times now confesses, it is, I believe, but too true, that "our gallant little army "is *surrounded every where by enemies* "except in its rear, from whence it has "itself wiped them away;" which, if it mean any thing; if it really have a meaning, means, that the whole country is inhabited by enemies to our army and its cause; a meaning that is very clear indeed, but that gives the lie direct to all the past assertions of this same print, relative to the disposition of the people of Spain, whom it has represented as holding the French and their cause in the utmost abhorrence; as hating them and loving us; as ready to perish to the last man rather than submit to French sway.——The present is an awkward time to make this new discovery; but, reader, it indicates a *retreat;* be assured, that he who wrote this paragraph for the Times news-paper, has reason, or thinks he has reason, to believe, that the Battle of Salamanca will be speedily followed by a retreat.——How often have I called upon the hired writers to get out of the dilemma in which they were placed by their assertions relative to the disposition of the people of Spain? I have said to them: 'You tell us, that the people of 'Spain are unanimous in their detestation 'of the French; that the people of Spain are 'brave; that the people of Spain are hearty 'in our cause, which they know to be the 'cause of freedom; and that they are 'ready to perish in that cause.' Now, if

these things be not true, you are guilty of promulgating falsehoods; and if these things be true, what an army, what generals, what soldiers, must Napoleon have in Spain; seeing that, in spite of all the efforts of eleven millions of brave people, fired with hatred against the French, and prodigal of life in their hostility, and in spite also of all the assistance given to those eleven millions of people by an English army and an English fleet, the French still keep possession of the Capital of Spain, and of the far greater part of the provinces!—They never have answered me. They have never attempted to get out of this dilemma. But now, the Times newspaper confesses, that our army, in the heart of Spain, is *surrounded with enemies.*——Wonderful as this fact may seem to some persons, I believe it most fully. Sir John Moore found enemies in Spain; and, I have never yet heard any one of our generals say, in any official paper, that he found many friends there. *We* wonder, or, at least, most of us do, that there should be found upon the whole earth, any human creature not to abhor the French, and particularly the Emperor Napoleon. Some in this country hate him because they fear that his power may finally overset, degrade and ruin them; while others, having no means of judging themselves, believe what they are told respecting him, and, of course, look upon him as a being somewhat like the Devil, and not to hate whom would be immoral in the highest degree. ——But, the people of other countries have other grounds whereon to form their judgment, and their consequent liking or disliking of Napoleon. We *feel* nothing of him. We judge from mere report. Some of them feel, and they judge and act upon that feeling.——The people of Spain, for instance, have *felt* and are *feeling* the consequences of Napoleon's taking possession and assuming the sovereignty of their country. Amongst those consequences has been the abolition of the *Inquisition*, a thing which we, from the cradle, have been taught to hold in utter detestation. The people of Spain have also been freed from the burden of maintaining innumerable swarms of *monks* and their like, much more destructive to the country than the locusts ever are to any of the countries they visit with their depredations. Many of the great landholders have fled, and of necessity their lands fall to the lot of men who before possessed little, or none, of the soil. The estates of the monasteries, forming, perhaps, a good third part of the country, must have been divided and sold. The *tithes* are no longer paid, or yielded in kind; and, in short, the fruit of the earth, which was before taken in so great a part for the use of those who did not labour, now necessarily finds its way into the mouths or the pockets of those who do labour.——Whether this change be right: whether it ought to have been made; whether the people be or be not guilty of sin in liking such a change, and in being glad at getting rid of various other burdens; whether they ought to like the French for being the cause of this change, or ought to hate them for it: these questions I do not pretend to answer; but, I humbly beg leave to think, that they *do not* dislike the French for having produced this change, and that the real cause of our army being surrounded by enemies in Spain, is, that the people of Spain look upon us as hostile to the change that has taken place.—— We say, and, perhaps, with some little reason, that if Napoleon get safe and quiet possession of Spain, he will have in his hands the means of doing us mortal mischief; that Ireland will then be exposed to his attacks; and that, in short, our independence will be in jeopardy. This is a very good reason for *our* wishing to drive Napoleon out of Spain; but, with all submission to the dust of Mr. Perceval, it is no reason whatever for *the people of Spain* to wish to drive him out. We wish to drive him out, because his being in would be *injurious to us*; and, as soon as we can convince the people of Spain that they are now *worse off* than they were before, they too will wish to drive him out; but, until such conviction be produced in their minds, we may be well assured, that they will not be very zealous in our cause; or in the cause of any body whose object it is to effect a counter-revolution.——It is not, as I have often said; it is not the *sword* which will decide the fate of Europe. It is a *moral* cause that is at work. There is a change in the mind of man. He will no longer be what he has been. Spain will never submit to her old government, or to any thing nearly resembling it; while her colonies are openly employed in forming governments for themselves, founded on the very principles upon which the Americans and French made their revolutions, and which principles, indeed, were of English origin; the principles of *representative government*, which run through the whole of our ancient laws, written and

unwritten.——When, therefore, I hear men talk, when I hear the half-witted souls, who write our hired news-papers, talk of *a battle* deciding the fate of Spain, or of Portugal, or of Poland, or of Sicily, &c., it really sounds to me like the babble of little children talking of the business of manhood. Not fifty of their battles of Salamanca would arrest the progress of the human mind for a single month. The marchings and other operations of Napoleon's armies are the effects, not the causes, of the revolutions that are going on in Europe; and, it is owing to our regarding them as causes and not effects, that we and all our royal allies have failed in our endeavours to impede their progress. When we shall perceive our error time alone can tell.

PEACE WITH FRANCE.——As to the *political* consequences of the battle of Salamanca, the more I reflect on the subject, the more firm is my conviction, that, if negociations for peace, or, at least, an offer on our part to treat, be not the consequence of the victory, no good whatever, but much harm, will arise from it.——I see it announced, that the *Duke D'Angouleme* has obtained our Regent's permission to serve as a volunteer in our army in the Peninsula, a circumstance which corroborates my apprehension of a design to revive the claim of the Bourbons in France; design, which, if seriously entertained, would be, in my opinion, well calculated to excite alarm in the people of this country.——There are persons, I know, and I know it because I see their sentiments expressed in the corrupt news-papers; there are persons, who believe that it will NEVER be safe for the government of this country, as now constituted, to make peace with Napoleon. These persons think, and they say so, that, if he be left Emperor of France and King of Italy at a peace, no old government can long stand. Coming more closely to the point, they say, in substance, that it is as well for this government to perish in an endeavour to overset Napoleon as to make peace with him; because certain destruction to it follows the latter.——The war against republican France had a similar foundation. It was then said, that, to be sure, aristocracy and monarchy and ecclesiastical power might be defeated in the war against republicanism; but, that that was no argument against the war; because, they were *sure* to be overset by peace with the republic of France.——Whether this way of reasoning was then right or wrong I will leave the history of the last twenty years to say; but, it is odd enough, that there should be persons to use the same sort of arguments now, and as applied to what they call "*a military despotism*" in France. They were, in 1792, afraid of the *example* of the French; they were afraid of the example of, "*republicans* and *levellers;*" they were afraid of the *contagion of anarchy;* and, they are now afraid of they know not what; for it is impossible, quite impossible, that they should be afraid that the existence of "a *military despotism*" in France should prove an incitement to the people of England to pursue the French example. This is impossible. There is, therefore, now no *contagion* to be apprehended, unless it be the contagion of that "military despotism," which, we are told, exists in France, and which example it is always in the power of our government not to follow. We are continually told by the hired writers, that the government of Napoleon is a cruel despotism; that the people abhor (as people ought to abhor) the despotism and the despot; that they would fain revolt against him, put him down, and restore their old government. If this be so, then, what have our establishments to fear from an intercourse and communication between the people of the two countries? If this be really so, our government and all its establishments must gain solidity by a peace; because peace could not fail to produce a great intercourse between the two nations. The French, by being able to come hither, would have opportunities of witnessing our state of blessedness, and of comparing it with that state of misery in which we are told they are; and the English, by being able to go to France, would have like opportunities of witnessing the state of the people there, compared with our own state. In short, proof of the facts would supplant hearsay. The people of both countries would soon know the truth; and, therefore, if the facts be as we are told; if the government of France be a despotism and the people in the deepest misery, I repeat, that peace, so far from being big with danger to our government and establishments, is the very thing of all others to render them secure for ever.——For these reasons, it is to me astonishing, that any one person should be found in England, who calls himself the friend of the government, and who, at the same time, expresses his disinclination

to a peace with France. It seems to me, that, if what we are told, relative to the state of France, be true, that the friends of our government ought to be the most strenuous advocates for peace with Napoleon; but, it is very certain that they are not; so that we are constrained to believe, that these gentlemen are not quite sincere, and that they do not believe France to be in so bad a state as they say she is; or, that they are not, at bottom, the friends of our government.——The intelligence which is now given us from the North of Europe places Napoleon in a state of *defeat* and of *danger*. This, therefore, is the time for us to offer him terms of peace. Indeed, it is so obviously the time, that if the offer be not *now* made, I shall, for my part, never expect to see peace made with him by our government. If this be not the proper time to make the offer, I do not see, and I cannot imagine the combination of circumstances that would render an offer of the kind proper. He is, or, at least, *so we are told*, beaten in the North, his armies are beaten in Spain, his people are ready to rise against him, and his army desert from him by tens of thousands at a time. All this is asserted, and asserted in the most positive manner, in our news-papers; and, if it be true, when can we expect such another occasion for offering him terms of peace? If it be *false*, indeed, that alters the case; but, this is what I say: either the people of England are told most atrocious falsehoods respecting the war and the situation of the Emperor Napoleon, or this is the time for our government to offer him terms of peace.

American States.——At last, then, we have a war with these States, in due form. The documents, which I subjoin to this Summary, will show, that Letters of Marque have been issued, and that every other measure is now taken to cause the state of war between the two countries to be complete. Whether those, who so long disbelieved in war with America, will now believe in it, I shall not pretend to say. I question if they will till they hear of the capture of Canada; and even then they will, perhaps, say it "is *mere bluster*."——War there now is, however, and war, unless we yield the point of impressing people out of American ships at sea, there will be; or, at least, that is my decided opinion. I do not say, that a *pause*, in the shape of an armistice, might not take place, in order to give time to discuss the remaining points of difference: but, my judgment greatly deceives me, unless that point be insisted upon. America knows our situation well. She is well acquainted with our commercial distresses. She knows how necessary her food is to Portugal, Spain, and our armies; and she will make sure of accomplishing her object in a short space of time.——I am, besides, of opinion, that it is impossible for her government to view with indifference our ascendency in the Councils of Old Spain, supposing the Napoleons to be driven out of that country. With our naval power, and with the Spanish colonies under our control, America must be in continual uneasiness. She will not, and she cannot, leave this matter out of her views of the necessity of war. I should, therefore, if I were the minister of this country, be prepared for a frank declaration upon the subject of Spanish affairs. I would disavow any intention to hold the colonies to the mother country. I would, at once, acknowledge the independence of the Caraccas, as Napoleon will, we may be well assured. It must be of the greatest importance to the American States to see her neighbours freed from European authority. Such an event would contribute not less to her safety than her riches. Indeed, she manifestly takes great interest in the changes going on in South America; and, now that she has arms in her hands, she will not, I dare say, fail to endeavour to give effect to her desires.——Our hireling news-papers, which, sometime back, were so bold upon the subject of America, have marvellously changed their tone. They now talk of nothing but peace and friendship with that Mr. Madison, who, only nine months, nay, six months, ago, was the object of their most contemptuous sneers. They have now found out, that freemen, though they do not rush headlong into war, will, in some cases, take up arms and use them too.

Canada.——In the mean while the preparations for the defence of Canada do not seem to be making with any very great degree of zeal, on the part of the people. Indeed, it seems that just the contrary is the case; and that riots and insurrections are made against those who attempt to force the people to take up arms in defence of the province. I do not choose to state this without inserting, from the Courier news-paper of the 25th of August instant, the account of the disturbance that I more

particularly allude to. The account, as the reader will see, is dated at *Montreal*, and Montreal is the Capital of Upper Canada, *bordering upon the American States*, and the inhabitants of which province are not nearly so much French as those of the province of Lower Canada.——"*Montreal, July* 4. This city has been for a "few days past in a state of agitation occasioned by an event which has taken "place at Pointe Claire: and as this matter will be clothed, no doubt, in all the "dress of misrepresentation by our neighbouring enemies, from the information "they may receive of it, we consider it a "duty we owe to the community at large in this country, to state the circumstances as they occurred in *a fair, open*, "and *candid manner*.——By the late Militia Law, 2,000 young men are to be "drafted from the *general Militia* of the "province for three months, to be properly "trained, and of course, a certain proportion of this number is to be furnished "by each particular district. Some of "those drafted from the parish of Pointe "Claire *refused to march* to Laprairie, for "the purpose of joining the division stationed there; in consequence of which, "Major Leprohon, belonging to this particular battalion, was sent on Tuesday "last, with 22 attendants, to apprehend "these refractory persons *as deserters*.——"They apprehended four with some opposition; and on their way to town with "them, they were followed by a considerable number of persons, who rescued "one prisoner, and threatened that they "would next day proceed to the depot at Laprairie, and bring away by force from "thence the young men of that parish "who were there on duty. Accordingly, "on Wednesday, a large body of these "people assembled at La Chine, with the "intention of carrying their threats into "execution——Thos. M'Cord, Esq. one "of the Police Magistrates, about four "o'clock in the afternoon, left town, "accompanied by the light infantry of "the 49th regiment, and a detachment "of the Royal Artillery, with two field-pieces, under the command of Major "Plenderleath, and took post on a point "opposite to the insurgents (consisting of about 400 persons, 80 of whom "appeared to be armed) and at the distance of about two acres. Mr. M'Cord, "with some other respectable citizens, "pointed out the impropriety of their conduct, and the fate that would unfortunately await their perseverance: urging "them by every persuasion to disperse and "return peaceably to their homes and obey "the law.——They replied, that they did "not consider the Militia Bill as fully "passed—that they were informed it had "not received the Royal sanction; and that "although it might have passed the House "of Assembly, where it originated, it had "not obtained the approbation of the other "branches of the Legislature; that the law, "if really enacted, had not been promulgated amongst them, and that they were "not properly made acquainted with it; as "such, they could not pay obedience to it. "——Under this false and unfortunate "impression, these deluded people persisted; but at the same time declared, "with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, that if the "Government wanted their services at any "time, they were ready, one and all, to "come forward with their lives in the defence of their country, and that they "would prove themselves in the hour of "danger to be faithful subjects of a Government to which they were firmly attached by every principle.——Finding, "however, that they still persisted in their "determination on this particular object, "Mr. M'Cord, in his magisterial capacity, "read the Riot Act to them, and ordered "them to disperse: which not being complied with, a round of shot was fired by "the artillery, but elevated above injury, "which was returned by the insurgents in "a spirited fire with ball, deserving of a "better cause. The troops then fired a "volley with ball and grape, but still too much elevated to do any harm, which "was also returned by another discharge "from the mob, upon which a few direct- " shots were fired at them (it being "nearly dark) by the military, which made "them disperse, and one man was found "killed and another wounded, it is feared "mortally.——A straggling fire continued "for a few minutes; and under cover of "the night and the woods, they retreated. "Three prisoners were sent to town in the "evening, in charge of some citizens who "volunteered for the purpose. The troops "lay upon their arms all night, and none "of the insurgents were to be found the "next morning.——Much praise is due to "Major Plenderleath, Captain Williams, "and the officers and men of their detachment, for their cool and determined, "but humane conduct, in sparing the "lives of their deluded fellow-subjects on "this occasion; and many of these unfor-

"tunate men acknowledge the humane forbearance evinced by the military, that otherwise would have been fatal to most of them.——On Thursday morning strong detachments from the three town battalions of Militia, *forming about 450 men*, marched to La Chine, and from thence, accompanied by the military, proceeded to the village of Pointe Claire, where they halted that night, and in the morning marched from thence, in the rear of the island, and through St. Laurent, and yesterday arrived in town about four o'clock in the afternoon, bringing with them *twenty-four prisoners*, who with ten sent to town on Thursday, and the three already mentioned, of the preceding evening, make in all thirty-seven. These misguided men are now undergoing their examination before several of the town Magistrates at the Court-house. *Many more prisoners* might have been brought to town as strongly suspected, but were released on their promise to come and implore the pardon of his Excellency the Governor, who is now here, and which they did this morning to *the number of three or four hundred*. His Excellency expostulated with them as a father, and pointed out to them the danger of their situation in a style truly honourable to his own feelings, assuring them of his forgiveness on delivering up those who had been the promoters of the insurrection, if to be found, and the Militia deserters of their district, which they most cheerfully agreed to.——D. B. VIGOR, *attorney*, and PAPINEAU, jun. *attorney*, both of Montreal, and *Members of the House of Assembly* (it is said) were the chief promoters and instigators in these lawless proceedings."——Now mind, this account sets out with promising a *fair*, *open*, and *candid* avowal of all that took place: and it calls these two gentlemen "*Attorneys*." but it should have added, that, in all the States and Provinces in North America, the same persons are, at once, *attorneys* and *barristers*; that there is no distinction between the two professions; and that, all the Judges, Chancellors, and every one who has ever practised *the law*, in those countries, may, in this manner, be called *attorneys*. Mr. John Adams, who was President of the United States, may, in the same way, be called *an Attorney*. At any rate, it appears, that the two chief promoters, or, rather, two of the chief promoters of the disaffection to the service, were *Members of the House of Assembly*; that is to say, legislators, or *law makers*: and, therefore, the matter is not so slight as it is attempted to make us believe. If a man or two had refused to join, and had been compelled to do so, it might have afforded little to talk of; but, we here see hundreds of the armed inhabitants assembled to defend certain persons from being *forced into the militia!* We see the regular army called out and marched against the people, to compel them to take up arms in defence of their country. These facts speak a clear language, and they are not to be *silenced*. There is no hiding these facts even from the people of England. Much is hidden from them, but facts like these, and so near to the seat of *a press really free*, are not to be hidden They come too *disfigured*; they are not the same that they were at Montreal; they are disguised, but they cannot be wholly kept from view; and, to know the whole extent of them, we have only to [illegible] single glimpse. The Americans, however, have them with all their circumstances; and, in considering them, they will not forget the Envoy Extraordinary of Sir James Craig; they will not forget *Captain Henry!* —This is a piece of intelligence of much greater importance than the recent intelligence from Salamanca; though not a word, not a single word, is said about it in the London newspapers. It is published, indeed; but the editors bestow not a word upon it. They are still too much engaged with the victory of Salamanca, and with cutting jokes upon the poor fallen Buonaparté.——They forget, that if Canada were lost, what a sensation it would produce, and that twenty battles of Salamanca would not wipe away the disgrace. They forget, too, that the intelligence is nothing short of *that of a great body of the people assembling, armed, to prevent young men from being forced into the militia*. Have they heard of any thing of this sort in France, or in any of the dominions of Napoleon? If they were to hear of such a thing, would they not pronounce him lost?

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 26th August, 1812.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND.

Report of the Diet.—Warsaw, July 1.

Our country begins at last to emerge from its ruins. Poland is re-established.

A General Diet has been assembled at Warsaw, and in the Sitting of the 23d of June, a Committee made the following Report:

Gentlemen,—If ever there existed among men an important commission, or if ever there was an honourable task assigned them, it is, without doubt, that which we have received from you. If ever a work directed to the mind and to the heart, all that is calculated to rouse the one or influence the other, it is certainly that to which you have directed our attention.——Placed, by a concourse of prodigies, at the close of the drama, in which our country perished, between the yet recent cradle of one part of that same country, and the tomb still open of the other—the picture which we have to present to you, the accents in which we should address you, to be faithful, ought to participate in the awful mixture of Life and Death. They ought, at the same time, to convey hope and consolation to the hearts of the victims, and terror to those of their oppressors. But that is not enough; it is fit that there should be placed in your hand, the thread which is to conduct you towards the issue of the labyrinth of misfortune, into which you have been made to wander during half a century. Your footsteps must be firmly placed in the new path, which circumstances lay open before you. ——Such is the extent of the relations, under which your Committee has viewed the labour you have committed to its charge. The Committee has felt, that they had to appear before Europe, as well as before you; before ages to come, as well as before the present generation: before nations, as well as before Sovereigns: they have said to themselves, above all, that they spoke before the greatest of Sovereigns, and before their own great Nation. They have felt all the sanctity of your cause, the magnitude of its results; and more sustained than terrified by those powerful motives, they come to lay at the feet of this Senate, a work, of which they wish to make an offering to the Country, in the persons of those, in whom it has placed its confidence and its hope.——For a long time there had existed in the centre of Europe a celebrated nation, mistress of an extensive and fertile territory, renowned for the double fame of arts and arms, defending for ages the barriers of Europe with an unwearied arm against the barbarians who raged round its borders, and by a feature of character as honourable as peculiar, never using its military greatness to attempt against its neighbours those acts which violence has often coloured with the pretext of right. A numerous population flourished on this soil: the liberality of nature answered to their labours. The Monarchs of the land had often taken their place in history, beside those who have most honoured the Supreme Rank; the dignity of sitting on her throne was solicited on all sides; and, if casual dissensions broke forth in her own bosom, the clouds obscured only her own horizon, and did not go forth to spread the storm afar. Gentlemen, this land was Poland; this people was yourselves; and what now are you? In vain our eyes look round on that assemblage whose reunion was once the source of our glory. Alas! those whom we now see only remind us of those whom we ought to see; and the feeble good which we have been permitted to enjoy, only impresses too strongly on us the loss which we have sustained. But how has this dissevering of our country been wrought? How was this great family, which even in all its divisions never separated,—which retained its union even through ages of dissensions, how has this powerful family looked on, and suffered itself to be torn asunder? What have been its crimes? What its Judges? What the right by which it has been attacked, invaded, blotted out from the list of states and people? Whence have come its oppressors and its chains? The indignant universe will answer you for us. Every state, every people, will tell you, that it thought it saw its tomb opening beside that of Poland. In the daring profanation of those laws on which all forms of society equally depend, in the insolent contempt with which they were trampled on to ruin us, the world might well think that it was to be given up to the sole empire of interests, and that those were to be its only masters for the time to come. Europe, terrified, and threatened, pointed out above all to your just resentment that power which, in crushing you, only prepared to press upon her with a new impetus. We must not doubt it: it is Russia which has been the author of all our evils. Not content with the possession of a quarter of the globe, the world itself would scarcely have been large enough for her thirst of dominion. For a century she had been advancing with the stride of a giant towards countries that had scarcely heard her very name. With Peter the 1st the veil was raised, behind which an immense empire was forming, and where every thing excited the inhabitants to renew on Europe the devas-

tating incursions of their forefathers. This new display ought to have frozen Europe with terror, and made her seek, in her strongest precaution, the means of meeting this new danger: she ought to have shut her ports against the ambitious Prince who came to initiate himself in all the secrets of her arts, only, with them, to arm her against the hands of his ferocious and slavish people; and when Pultowa seemed only to have decided between Charles and Peter, Europe was conquered almost at the same moment with Sweden. Poland instantly felt the effects of this aggrandizement of the Russian power. Placed on the borders of its territory, she felt its first as she has felt its last blows. Who can enumerate them from 1717, when she tried her first influence by tampering with the Polish army? From that era what moment has been exempt from her influence and her outrages? In the first instance she interfered with that liberty of choice which had always fixed the Sovereigns of our country, she practised against the rights, of which the Nation had always exhibited the keenest jealousy. In a short time our richest inheritances were the reward of the favourites of our Sovereigns; our children, dragged into her armies, were forced to shed the blood which none but Russians should have poured; our harvests were gathered for her soldiers; every new war saw the Russian standards floating over the plains of Poland; it was by trampling the Polish soil that the Russian power approached gradually the body of Europe, over which it aspired to have the sole dominion.——If this crafty power ever united itself with Poland, it was to impose on her as in 1764, that fatal guarantee, which connected the integrity of our frontier with the perpetual existence of anarchy, to make of that anarchy an instrument of its ambition. The world know what their conduct has been since that fatal era. It is since that time that from division to division, Poland has at length totally disappeared, without guilt as without revenge. It is since that time that the Poles have heard with inward indignation the insulting language of the Repnins, of the Sivers, whom they have seen laying an audacious hand on the reins of Government. It is since that time that an hundred times the Russian soldier has been bathed in the blood of their countrymen, as a prelude to that day, for ever accursed, (do we require to have it brought to our memories?) when in the midst of the boastings of an absurd conqueror, Warsaw heard the cry of the population of Praga, which was at last extinguished in blood and flames. Men of Poland—for the time is come to make that name ring in your ears: a name which is your own, which you ought never to have given up, see here the detestable means by which Russia has arrived at the possession of your finest provinces; see here the titles, the only titles, which she can assert over you. Force has chained you; force can break the chains which it has forged, and they shall be broken. What! can you doubt it when you look at what is passing on every side of you? Look! see if, of all that caused your ruin, a single feature remains! In the immense change which draws the world in its current, what do you find to remind you of the ancient dangers of your country? Instead of the jealousy of the great powers which nurtured in Europe an anarchy like that which tore your own bosom, a single spirit seems to animate the entire, your plains are covered with standards astonished at their new fraternity. Instead of neighbours eager for your spoils and accomplices in your ruin, all have united their arms to your's—instead of those shadows of armies which the entire of your early territory once scarcely furnished, numerous legions springing up as if by enchantment, from a corner of the same soil, glittering in the splendour of recent victory, formed in the school of the greatest of all Captains, by the example of the greatest of all armies, threaten your spoilers with their sabres of steel, raised from the same soil from which themselves have risen, and burn to hear the hour of vengeance strike. Instead of the feeble help which France once gave to the necessities of Poland, she now gives her whole vigour. France and Poland have always been friends—love has always been returned by love. The first complete use which Poland made of her liberty of election was, to call a Prince of the blood of France to the Throne. It was to France that Casimir looked for consolation in his sufferings on the Polish throne, —it was in France that Stanislaus realized the benevolent projects which he had destined for Poland. It is with nations as with men, the sympathies of interest form the most indissoluble bonds. But those ties were strongest between France and Poland. Those powers were necessary to each other. What do we say? Poland was necessary to Europe. She was necessary as a barrier against those hordes of half-refined barbarians who had always the strongest temptation to lay waste and to conquer the softer

climates of the South. Their attempts and invasions were becoming worthy of combined European policy to defeat. Within the last fifty years, Russia had deluged the South of Europe with her armies. The Turkish crescent was half broken; Frederick himself cannot defend his capital. In those later times, Italy has received them with horror among her smiling plains, and in vain invoked a new Marius. Who could believe it, the cries of the Scythian Savage were heard round the tomb of the Mantuan Swan? In their daring imprudence, thousands of those slaves, mowed down by the sabres of Frenchmen, came to fatten with their blood the free soil of Switzerland. It required the arm of an Hero to stop at Austerlitz the progress of their battalions; at a still more recent time, the arm of the same Hero was required to throw them back into their native forests. Those dangers have at length taught the nature and the necessity of their remedy; and that Prince, whose calculations embrace the future with as much facility as the present—the founder of a vast empire—has not been wanting to give it solidity. He knows that there must be a barrier, eternal and impenetrable, against the invasions of ignorance and barbarism. He knows that there must be a frontier, which will separate policied nations from savage: that it must be fenced with iron and the sword. He knows that the people, placed in the advanced guard of Europe, must have all the strength adequate to secure its repose. Thus, if once all things conspired our ruin, all things now unite for our restoration. Poland shall exist at last. At last! she exists now, or rather she has never ceased to exist. What have the perfidy, the plots, the outrages under which she sunk, to do with her rights? Yes, we are Poland, and we are so by all the rights which we have from nature, from the laws of society, from our forefathers, from all those consecrated titles which the human race have established. And not we only, but those vast countries which look up to us for their liberation. Our country, like a fond parent, always holds open her arms for the return of her children, and all its Members have at all times the right to return to the family from which they were torn. Polanders, you shall not be long withheld from the joyful acclamation, that the kingdom of Poland, and the existence of the body of the Polish territory, is re-established. But to give this movement an irresistible force, let us interrogate the history of our ancestors,—let us inquire what the ardent love of their country suggested,—let us only avoid the dangers which have deprived so many confederations of the effects which they ought to have produced. Their experience must not be lost upon us. We must impress on our Confederation a character of the strictest union,—we must make it a central point, round which to gather without confusion, or without requiring more than to know what is to be done when we have assembled. Then what force of man can stop the unanimous movement of a great people,—the forward spring of a people recovering its ancient existence, and which, to secure it more fully, forgets all its past sufferings, and offers itself to fly from sacrifices to sacrifices? Oh! happiest of days, day of triumph and rejoicing; before thee disappear all the days which ought to be blotted from our history, and the memory of man. Among all days, this day shall be renowned.—The descendants of the Piasts and the Jagellons may yet bear the name before which the tyrants that oppressed them have grown pale. Now Sigismonds and new Sobieskis will arise: and the world shall learn, that to produce the fruit of all the nobler virtues, the soil of Poland has only to be tilled by the hands of freemen. And you, venerable citizen (the Count Czartoriski appointed Grand Marshal of the Diet), who for near a century of virtue have yielded to the wishes of your fellow-citizens to preside over the most surprising scene of their history, how tender and touching a lesson does the reward of your integrity this day offer; placed, if we may use the expression, at the two extremes of the life of your country, you will have assisted at the twilight of its first life, and the dawn of its second; you will have seen it sink into the tomb, and rise in the purity of resurrection. It is to accomplish the generous resolution for the liberty of Poland, that your Committee has the honour of presenting the Act of the following Confederation:—

Act of the General Confederation of Poland.

We, the undersigned, composing the General Diet, assembled at Warsaw, feel the moment that in which every thing around excites our admiration, and pervades our hearts with ardent patriotism. We feel our nation called upon to make the most energetic exertions, that the eyes of the world are fixed upon us, and that posterity, in judging of our conduct, will either bless or execrate our memories. Being desirous

riously contemplating our actual relations, we have appointed a Committee to consider of, and report to us those relations: thus wishing to profit by all those means Heaven has dispensed to us, in order to arrive at the object of our desires. Our effort is completed; in the Report of our Committees are portrayed those sentiments which animate us, and at the same time, the line of conduct is pointed out which we should follow. And according to these important representations, we have resolved to unite, and form a general Confederation. In order to evince the purity of our motives and our objects, we declare, in the face of Heaven and Earth, and of the Polish Nation, that we have no other view than the restoration of our country, hitherto dismembered by unprincipled violence, and to regenerate its pristine prosperity and independence, that we unite in general confederation, with consent, and under the authority of our gracious Sovereign, Frederic Augustus, Grand Duke of Warsaw, and King of Saxony, having at our head the Prince Adam Czartoriski, Staroste, General of Padolia, Nunceo (Nonce) of Warsaw, a citizen respectable by his age and virtues —that we continue faithful to the religion of our fathers, the Catholic and Apostolic, at the same time we dispense a perfect tolerance to all other faiths, following thus the example of our ancestors in times when all Europe was afflicted with sanguinary religious wars—that we respect the authorities of the throne, the laws of the nation, and that we cherish in all its purity that national spirit, which for ages has been the distinguishing characteristic of the Polonese. ——Guided by similar considerations, we are unwilling to arrive by any but the most legal means, at our glorious object. And well recollecting the disastrous events which have passed, we solemnly declare that the general confederation will never aberrate from the path it has prescribed, nor tolerate abuses, which must end but in the ruin of the country. In consequence the administration of justice will vest in the legal authorities: while the consideration shall exercise in full plenitude, those powers which appertain to a general assembly of the nation, labouring in the grand work of restoring the country, and propagating with all its energies a national enthusiasm.—— In order to confer on the Confederation, composed of the Members of the Diet, the whole Public National Authorities, &c. the means of proceeding with activity, we delegate the power with which it is invested, to a Council General, which shall be assisted by the Marshal, and shall hold its sittings at Warsaw; and as an enterprise originating in motives so virtuous justly merits it, we have sent a deputation to his Majesty, the King of Saxony, to honour it with his formal approbation.——The cause of suffering innocence cannot be regarded but as that of God; so brilliant a procedure must extend its influence throughout Europe. This renovation, which will afford to the world an example of what should be done for oppressed humanity, which will restore Poland to its ancient prosperity, will present to the first Empire in the world an Ally, equally faithful and worthy. An Ally which, from its geographical situation and national character, it will have nothing to apprehend from, but every thing to hope; and therefore we must fondly conclude, that such an Empire will not refuse to our virtuous undertaking its powerful assistance. We shall lay at the feet of that Throne the assurance of our confidence and devotion, and implore that its creating word may complete that existence which we have incipiently received from it. But in order to render ourselves worthy of this glorious protection, we most solemnly aver, that no possible event shall chill that patriotic ardour which unites us, that we shall persevere in our glorious career, until we have re-united to our bosoms all those members of our common family, those brothers of our love, which the hand of tyranny has separated from us.—Polanders! You whom we thus call again to our bosom, judge of our feelings by your own. We implore you in the name of our common mother to unite mutually all your powers, and to fly to her support. Let her again press you to her heart; she presents to your exertions the equal road to virtue and to glory. Let us join in brotherly union, and the Divine Justice will not withhold our deserved recompense. We shall again see the arms of Lithuania grace our escutcheons, and hear the fertile fields of Volhinia, as well as the vast plains of Podolia, and the Ukraine resound with the joyous shouts — Live Poland! — live our Country!——It is therefore decreed as follows:—Art. 1. The Diet constitutes itself a General Confederation of Poland.—2. The General Confederation of Poland, exercising in all their fullness the powers which belong to the General Association of the Nation, declares, that the Kingdom of Poland, and the Body of the Polish Nation, are re-established.—3. All the Dietines of

the Duchy shall be convoked, and shall adhere to the Confederation. They shall transmit the Acts to the Council General of the Confederation.—4. All the Poles are invited, and authorized to join the Confederation, whether collectively or individually, and to communicate as speedily as possible their adhesion to the Council General.—5. All the portions of the Polish territory are invited to join the Confederation, in proportion as the enemy's removal shall enable them to do so. They are invited forthwith to form Dietines which shall send Deputies to convey their acts of adherence to the Council General. These shall become Members of the Diet of the General Confederation.—6. All officers, soldiers, civil and military agents, Poles by birth and inhabiting the Polish territory, unjustly retained by the Russians, are summoned to abandon the service of that power.—7. All the military men shall be replaced under the colours of Poland; and all the civil agents may be replaced, each in a corresponding department of the Polish Administration.——8. All the ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities shall each in his department make known the existence, the spirit, and the object of the Confederation. For this purpose the Bishops shall issue their charges; the Prefects, Subprefects, and Mayors shall publish to those under their jurisdiction all the acts relative to this Confederation, and calculated to enlighten or support the spirit of the districts confided to their care. All the Commanders and Chiefs of corps in the army shall do the same to those under their orders.—9. All those Members of the Confederated Diet, who do not form part of the General Council, are authorized to return to their homes, till invited anew; and the Confederation expects from the zeal and patriotism of which they have just given proof, that they will employ that interval in increasing, each in his sphere, the patriotic dispositions of their fellow-citizens.—10. The Confederation, during its recess, delegates all the powers with which it is invested to the Council General selected from itself, residing at Warsaw, and composed of the following Members —Stanislas Count Zamoyski, Senator Palatine; John Golaszewski, Bishop of Wigry; Alexander Linowski, Counsellor of State; Martin Badeni, Counsellor of State; Antony Ostrowski, Nuncio of the district of Brzeziny; Frederick Count Skorzewski, Nuncio of the district of Bromberg; Joachim Owidzki, Nuncio of the district of Lublin; Francis Wezyk, Nuncio of the district of Biala; Francis Count Lubientski, Deputy of the district of Skamierz and Hebdow; Charles Skorkowski, Deputy of the city of Cracow; Cajetan Kozmian, Secretary of the General Confederation.—11. The number requisite to form a deliberation, shall be five.—12. The Secretary-General shall have a deliberative voice.—13. All the administrative, judicial, and military authorities shall continue the exercise of their functions.—14. A deputation shall be sent to his Majesty the King of Saxony, Duke of Warsaw, to request of him to accede to the General Confederation of Poland.—15. A deputation shall also be sent to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, King of Italy, to present to him the Acts of the Confederation, and to beg of him to encircle the cradle of reviving Poland with his powerful protection.—16. The Confederation, in the face of Heaven and earth, in the name of all the Poles, comes under a solemn obligation to prosecute to the end, and by all the means in their power, the accomplishment of the great work which is this day commenced. —17. The Confederation declares, that, under circumstances in which all its labours, all its wishes, tend only to the re-establishment of the country, and to the union of all its parts, it cannot regard as a true Pole, as a good citizen, whosoever shall dare to search into the past for motives of division, or accusation: in one word, whosoever shall resort to any measure calculated to plant the germe of discord in the bosom of a family, which every thing conducts towards union.—18. The Ministers are charged, each in his own department, to make known, through the medium of the journals or otherwise, all the Acts which have emanated from the Confederation, or which shall be in future addressed to it.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

(Continued from page 254.)

AMERICAN STATES.——*Correspondence on the Orders in Council.——Mr. Foster to Mr. Monroe.—Washington, June 4, 1812.*

Sir,—Since I had the honour of seeing you at your office yesterday, I have perceived an article in the public prints, stated to be extracted from an English news-paper, and purporting to be an official declaration of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that the Orders in Council will be, and are,

absolutely revoked, from the period when the Berlin and Milan Decrees shall, by some authentic act of the French Government, publicly promulgated, be expressly and unconditionally repealed. A considerable time has elapsed since, by order of my Government, I had the honour of urging to you the expediency of procuring such an authentic act from the French Government; and in all probability the above declaration may have been issued in the confident expectation, that the Government of the United States would have been able to produce it ere this.——At all events, Sir, considering the important nature of the above-mentioned article, and the probability that I shall have soon to be the organ of some official communication to the American Government in relation to it, I cannot but trust, that no measure will, meanwhile, be adopted by the Congress, which would defeat the endeavour of procuring a complete reconciliation between our two countries.——Should any embarrassments arise in consequence of the declaration on the subject of the proposed revocation of the Orders in Council above alluded to resting at present upon a mere statement in the news-papers, it will no doubt occur to your recollection, that on the enactment of those Orders a measure was taken by Congress for the purpose of meeting them, when they were as yet known but through the public prints. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

A. J. FOSTER.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Monroe.—Washington, June 4, 1812.

Sir,—I must rely upon your candour to feel for the embarrassment into which your note of this day has thrown me. Willing to comply with the request contained in it, I yet cannot but be sensible that in making any portion of a dispatch from His Majesty's Secretary of State to me the subject of a correspondence between us, I should not be justified to my own Government. I believe there is no example of a correspondence of such a nature, and I should be very loath to establish the precedent. When I had the honour to make the communication of Lord Castlereagh's dispatch to you in consequence of its being left to my own discretion to do so, I did it because I had reason to think, from the number of my letters which there remained unanswered at your office, such a communication, if made through a note, might have shared the fate of the rest. You will recollect, that it was at your own request that I acceded to the dispatch being communicated to the President; and that it was also at your instance, as being the only regular way in which the subject could come before the American Government, that I determined to write to you a note founded upon it. You were aware, at the latter end of last week, that such was my determination, which I repeated to you through Mr. Graham, who called upon me the 30th ult. to ask me when I contemplated sending it to your office. The notice must have reached you, and been read, before any message could have been sent from the Executive to Congress.——I cannot, Sir, consider my note as liable to the charge of ambiguity, which you now impute to it. The abandonment of our most important maritime rights is more extensively than ever connected by France with a demand of the repeal of our Orders in Council; and while you are entirely silent as to how far America concurs with her on this point of vital interest to Great Britain, without even a prospect of a reply from you to our just complaints, as expressed in my note on the coincidence of the attitude taken by America with the hostile system of France, I cannot but be aware of the difficulties to which I should expose myself in entering into an explanation on any insulated passage in it. I might, perhaps, by continued silence on your part, never afterwards have an opportunity of making further explanation; and you are well aware how frequently points taken unconnected with what precedes or follows them, are liable to misconstruction. But, Sir, as a reason paramount to every other for my not committing myself to an explanation on any single topic without the discussions between us were to be continued, is the publication of the highly important declaration of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to which I had the honour to allude in my note to you of this morning. You will there find stated, in as explicit and authentic a manner as language can convey, the grounds upon which His Majesty's Orders in Council will be revoked. I cannot, it is true, as yet, refer you officially to this document; but I may now be in the expectation of receiving it, in a formal state, within a few days, and together with it, every explanation possible which you may require.

A. J. FOSTER.

Mr. Monroe to Mr. Foster.—Department of State, June 6, 1812.

Sir, I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 4th inst. The receipt of that of May 30th has already been acknowledged.——As these letters relate to the same subject, the Orders in Council, I shall take both into my view in this reply.——I am not disposed to make any unnecessary difficulty on account of the informality of the document alluded to in the last letter. If the declaration of the Prince Regent was such as to afford the satisfaction required, it would be received in any form entitled to credit, with great interest, as a token of just and friendly sentiments in your Government towards the United States; but nothing is seen in that act of the character which you impute to it. Without removing a single objection to the principle on which the Orders in Council were issued, and have been maintained, it affords a complete justification of the demand heretofore made on your Government for their repeal.——The British Government has complained that the United States demanded the repeal of the Orders in Council in a conditional repeal of the French Decrees, although the French condition required nothing of Great Britain which she ought not to have consented to, and was, moreover, a condition subsequent, and not precedent; and it now proposes to repeal the Orders in Council conditionally also, with this difference, that the condition on which their repeal is to be made is a condition precedent, and not subsequent, and is likewise one which Great Britain has no right to claim.——This condition requires that the French Decrees shall be absolutely and unconditionally repealed; that is, that they shall be repealed according to explanations given, not only as they related to the United States, but as to all other neutral nations, and all who prohibited a commerce in British manufactures with the enemies of Great Britain.——So far as the French Decrees violated the neutral commerce of the United States, we had a right to demand the repeal, and obtained it. The repeal was declared by an authentic and formal act of the French Government, and communicated to this Government by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, and to the British Government by their Minister Plenipotentiary at London; and has, moreover, been officially published within the United States. The authenticity of the repeal was placed beyond all controversy, and the official manner in which it was communicated to your Government ought to have been satisfactory to it. A general repeal of the French Decrees in favour of all neutral nations, and of such parts of them as prohibited a trade with France, and the countries under her control, in British manufactures, the United States have not demanded, because they had no right to demand it.——It is farther made a condition of the proposed repeal of the declaration of the Prince Regent, that it shall take effect at a future uncertain day; and that the Orders in Council should be again in force, on a contingency of which the British Government is to be the sole judge. If this were a ground on which the United States could call upon France to repeal her Decrees in case they were still in force as to them, surely the French repeal, to take effect on a future specified day, and whose revival was not provided for on any contingency whatever, was a ground on which their call on Great Britain to repeal her Orders in Council, in respect to the United States, ought not to have been resisted.——In reply to your insinuation, that the demand made on your Government to repeal its edicts, which violate the neutral rights of the United States, is made in concert with France, *to obtain from Great Britain an abandonment of her maritime rights*; it is sufficient to refer you to documents which have been long before the public, and particularly to the letter of Mr. Pinckney to the Marquis Wellesley, of January 14, 1811, protesting in the most solemn manner against looking to any other source for the opinions and principles of the United States, than to the United States themselves. Let me repeat, with respect to the Orders in Council, that all we demand is, that they cease to violate the neutral rights of the United States, which they have violated, and still violate on the high sea: should they be continued as to France in any form which may not violate those rights, or as to any other neutral nation to which they may be applicable, it would be for such nation, and not for the United States, to contend against them.——The report of the French Minister, on which this declaration of your Government is founded, affords no proof that the French Government intended by it to violate its engagement to the United States, as to the repeal of the Decrees. It evidently refers to the Continental system, by the means relied on to enforce it. The armies of France

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:—— "The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and *sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects, that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England, that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Besides, it is to be recollected, that these foreign officers are in our army only for A LIMITED TIME, whereas the Irish Catholics, if in the army, would be there for life."——MR. PERCEVAL'S speech in defence of the employing of German Troops.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

GERMAN TROOPS.——The public have seen, and, I hope, they have *attended* to, the recent measure of giving (or attempting to give) *permanent rank* in our army to the Officers of the German Troops. This, which is one of the greatest strides that have been made, even in the present reign, I now propose to take into consideration, and to discuss. My opinion is, that it is a measure contrary to the constitutional laws of England; and, indeed, that it is a measure, which must, of itself, become nugatory, unless a *law* be made to repeal a part of the Act of Settlement, and to sanction this new measure.——I shall, first of all, insert the instrument by which this measure has been put into life. It is as follows:——"*War Office, Aug.* 18, 1812—*Memorandum.*—In consideration of the King's "German Legion having *so frequently distinguished themselves against the enemy,* "and particularly upon the occasion of the "recent victory obtained near Salamanca, "his Royal Highness the *Prince Regent* is "pleased, in the name and on the behalf of "His Majesty, to command, that the Officers who are now serving with *temporary rank* in the several regiments of that "corps, shall have *permanent rank in the* "*British army from the date of their respective commissions.*——The nature of this measure is evident: its effect will be to make promotion slower amongst the native officers; but, this is of little consequence compared to the effect in a constitutional point of view.——The base hireling, who conducts the Courier news-paper, and who discovers a soul beneath that of a subject of Algiers, seems to have thought that this measure would not pass without something being said upon it; and, therefore, he, in the same paper in which he inserts the instrument, thus endeavours to stigmatize any animadversion upon it.——"There is, perhaps, but ONE man in "the Empire, who will not regard *with* "*pleasure* the arrangement notified by "command of the Prince Regent in the "Gazette of last night, conferring permanent rank in the British Army upon the "Officers of the German Legion, who have "hitherto served against the enemy with "temporary rank. The CONSTANT "and CONSPICUOUS merits of those "brave men on every occasion of their "being employed, have *fully entitled them* "*to their rank* in that army, *whose* "*glory they have so effectually contributed* "*to maintain.*"——So that we are here to be told, that these mercenary troops have effectually contributed *to maintain the glory of our army;* and are, indeed, given to understand, that the recent victory was, in a *conspicuous* degree, *owing to the bravery of these Germans!*——I remember, that, in the case of the capture of the "*Invincible Standard*" in Egypt, I was most furiously assailed only because I endeavoured to do *justice,* bare justice, to the foreigner who really took that Standard, while the honour of the act was claimed by another. I caused *proof* to be given *upon oath;* in short, I made it as clear as the sun, that the Standard was not taken by the Scotchman, who, it was asserted, had taken it; and that it was taken by a foreigner in our service. For this I was most grossly abused. I was reviled with as much acrimony as if I had attempted to rip out the bowels of the whole Highland Regiment (the 42d), one of whom was said to have taken the Standard. It was *proved,* that the foreigner had taken the Standard, and, at last, a paltry sum of 20*l.* a year was given him in the shape of a pension. Little as the reward was, however, for so gallant an act, it was a full confirmation of the *truth* of what I had asserted. Yet I was abused as much as ever; and, I was even told, that if it was the *truth,* that circumstance did not alter the case; for, it was, I was told, a sign of *want of feeling for the honour of my country,* to endeavour to take from it so fair a flower, and to convey it into the cap of a foreigner.——How are things changed since that time! There are, we see, wri-

ters who now dare, nay, who are apparently proud of giving a large share, if not the greatest share, of the glory of our army to the German Troops! How are we changed since this war began! Aye, but not so much, perhaps, as we shall be *before this war be ended?*——It is true, that, the foreigner who took the "*Invincible Standard*" was a FRENCHMAN. I allow that there is so much of difference in the two cases. It was proved, that the man, who took the Invincible Standard from the French, was a FRENCHMAN; and it was quite ridiculous to see the faces and hear the remarks of the boasters, when this fact was *proved;* but, what is the difference in reality? It is no more a dishonour to us to have our victories won by *Frenchmen* than it is to have them won by *Germans.* One are just as much our countrymen as the other. We are no more of the High Dutch breed than we are of the French breed; and, I am quite sure, that it is less dishonour to us to be surpassed in valour by the French than by the Germans, the whole of whom have been so recently beaten and pummelled and conquered by those same French. I do not wish to hear it said, or insinuated, that *any* foreigners surpass in valour our native troops; I do not wish to see the glory of our army attributed to any body but natives; but, if such is to be the case, I must confess that I should feel less shame at seeing the glory carried off by the French who are in our service, than by Germans, let them come from what part of Germany they will; because all the Germans have recently been beaten by the French, and have, indeed, been conquered by them, and, particularly in Hanover, without any attempt to resist.——But, to proceed, the slave of the Courier was mistaken in his calculations; for there were more than "*one man*" in the kingdom, to disapprove of this measure. He did *me* the honour to make sure that it would not escape *my* animadversion; but, he does not seem to have anticipated any such thing on the part of the Morning Chronicle. Mr. Perry, howeve could not so far sacrifice to party as to suffer this to pass unnoticed; and, accordingly, in his paper of the 27th of August, he published the following article:——"We cannot avoid *expressing our regret* that the 'services of the German troops in the memorable battle of Salamanca, were not '*rewarded in some other way* than by incorporating all the officers with the British, and giving them permanent rank in our army. This is a species of reward "which operates to the serious injury of "the officers of the British army, because "it places, by a simple paragraph in the "Gazette, *twelve hundred foreign officers* "*above several thousands of British in* "*rank,* and consequently bars them to that "extent from promotion.—British officers "would have rejoiced in the most honourable mark of distinction being conferred "on each individual of the German Legion "who signalized himself on that day. But "to take them all in the lump and put them "on permanent rank, by which many of "them, *with only two or three years of* "*service, will get the rank of Colonel, over* "*the heads of gallant Englishmen who have* "*served many years* (and who have bought "their commissions as well as served) does "seem to us an ungracious course towards "the native army of rewarding the Germans.——We are far from questioning "their merits; but at the same time let it "not be forgotten, that *one single English* "*regiment on that day lost more officers* "*and men than the whole German Legion* "*put together.*——It is, however, in a constitutional point of view that this is objectionable, since by a summary sweep "*the German Legion is naturalized.* From "a thousand to twelve hundred foreign "officers are incorporated with our own, "and thus the nationality of our army is "affected. These gentlemen will have to "mix with British officers in every regiment (be in the way of Englishmen on "every vacancy), and, *without the same* "*standing, will be before thousands of our* "*own gallant countrymen in the road to* "*promotion.*—This is called a new æra in "our history! It is, indeed, a new æra, "when, by a stroke of the pen, *such a* "*body of Germans can be made English!* "What Cassius observes of the old Romans not bearing a Cæsar, may well be "applied to the ancient Britons not bearing "a German army within the island. "Every one has lamented the preferences "that have been lately shewn to the whiskered Barons in our own Hussar regiments; but now, as we shall have so "many foreign candidates for commissions "in all our regiments, the prepossession in "their favour will be a source of severe "mortification to our own countrymen. "We are sure, that if Parliament had "been sitting, the measure would not have "passed *without remonstrance.*"——The slave of the Courier seems to have been very vigilant and sharp-sighted upon this occasion; for, in his paper of the evening

of the *same day*, he replies in these words:——"The Opposition express their "regret that the services of the German "troops in the memorable battle of Salamanca, were not rewarded in some other way than by incorporating all the officers with the British, and giving them permanent rank in the army." That the Opposition feel regret we do not doubt; it is perfectly natural to them. But may it be permitted to us who have a different feeling, to ask in what *other way the officers could be rewarded* than by attaching them permanently to a service for "which they had fought and bled? Had "this honour been conferred upon them in "the outset, before they had been tried "and proved, there might have been cause "of complaint. But the German troops "have been from the beginning employed "in the most active and severe service, and "their steadiness and valour have been "*conspicuous in every battle.* Were we "at the end of the war to say to them, "'your rank was only temporary, and as "your services are at an end, your rank is "at an end also? *Bon Soir.*' If this is "the scale and system of recompence "which the Opposition would have acted "upon, we have more and more occasion "to rejoice that they are not in power; "but we do assure them, they will find "themselves mistaken, if they think that "they can sow jealousy or ill will between "the Officers of the British army and the "Officers of the German troops. They "have fought in the same cause, and the "*manliness and liberality* of the former "will never repine at any distinction that "may be conferred upon the valour, good "conduct, and loyalty of the latter."——As to whether the English *Officers* will *repine*, upon this occasion, or not, I pretend not to know. What feelings they may have I cannot tell; nor, indeed, is that of so much importance, in my view of the matter, as are the feelings of the *people* upon the occasion.——To hear the Courier, one would really imagine, that almost the whole of the glory was won by the Germans, not only at Salamanca, but every where else. Their valour, we are told, "has been CONSPICUOUS in EVERY battle." Now, this has been said of *none* of our own *native corps*. To be sure, the Courier does but repeat, in substance, nearly what is said in the Memorandum from the Horse Guards, whereby it is proclaimed to the nation and to the world, that the Germans are to be thus rewarded, because they have frequently *distinguished* themselves against the enemy; whence it must be inferred, that they have *gone* farther, or *done more*, than our native troops in general; for, without this they could not DISTINGUISH themselves. To *distinguish* oneself means to make oneself appear, to show oneself, *in a light different from those by whom one is surrounded.* To distinguish, in its most general sense, means, to show, or to point out, or to discover, the *difference* in things, or in persons; and, when it is applied to the distinction in the actions of men, as being more or less honourable, it means, to *make known*, or to *make eminent;* and, when applied in the reflected sense, that is to say, where the action returns upon the agent, it means, to make oneself *eminent*, to show that there is a *difference between oneself and others.* Therefore, if the German Troops have, as the Memorandum from the War-Office says they have, "FREQUENTLY DISTINGUISHED "themselves against the enemy," they must frequently have shown a *difference between themselves and others;* they must frequently have made themselves *eminent*, that is to say, *exalted*, amongst the rest of the army; they must, in short, have GONE FARTHER, or DONE MORE, *than our native troops in general;* for, if they had gone no farther, or had done no more, and had, in no respect, behaved *differently* from the army in general, they could not, with truth, be said to have DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES. It follows, then, that it was the opinion of the Prince Regent, that these Germans had behaved *differently* from the army in general; and, he, of course, concluded that that *difference* was *honourable to the Germans*, because he makes their conduct, that very conduct by which they had distinguished themselves, the ground for a very great boon to their officers; the ground, indeed, of a measure, which, if the statement of the Morning Chronicle be correct, puts many of these officers permanently over the heads of as many officers of native growth; and which does, in fact, embody them in the English army, putting men, officers, corps, regiments, brigades, divisions, armies, and the country itself, by possibility, as far as relates to military authority, under their command!——I do not say, that the Germans have *not so distinguished* themselves: I do not say, that there has not been a *visible difference* between their conduct and that of our native officers and men in general: I do not say,

that the whole of the Germans have not shown themselves in an *eminent* or *exalted* point of view compared with the general mass of our native officers and men: I do not say, that the Germans do not merit the *distinction*: I do not say, that any corps of English or Irish or Scotch have DISTINGUISHED themselves so much as these Germans have distinguished themselves in a mass: I do not pretend to decide the point of fact here. The Morning Chronicle does, indeed, say, that one single English regiment lost more officers and men in the battle of Salamanca than were lost by the whole of the German Legion put together, which, I believe, is very true; but, still, it is possible, that even that regiment might not be so *meritorious* as the German Legion. It is *possible*, I say; and, as it has been officially declared and promulgated by order of the Prince Regent (in the name and behalf of our good old King), that the Germans have DISTINGUISHED themselves, not only in the recent battle, but on *frequent* former occasions; as this fact has been so solemnly declared by the Prince; as he has commanded the interesting fact to be published and made known to us and to all Europe, through the channel of the Gazette, I must give the fact full credence; and, I must consider it, too, as a fact well known in, and recognized by, our army.——It would, I must confess, be more grateful to my feelings to be able, with truth, to call the fact in question, and even to deny it. I do not hear without some little chagrin, that a parcel of Germans, employed in our army, have *all* so *distinguished* themselves as to merit particular notice. But, justice forbids me to complain, that they are praised for what has so *distinguished* them. The old proverb of *giving the Devil his due* I would apply to these Germans. If they have *distinguished* themselves in Spain and Portugal; if they have, and *frequently* too, shown that there is a *difference* between them and the rest of the army; if they have made themselves *eminent*, if they have *exalted* themselves, in the army; if they have gone farther, or done more, against the enemy than the corps of the army in general, and if this conduct has marked *all* the German corps, I must say, that they ought to be *particularly* noticed: distinguished merit calls for distinguished reward.——Nor, in a mere military point of view, do I quarrel with the effect of the reward that has been bestowed; if the Germans have *distinguished* themselves so often; if they have shown, frequently, that there is *a difference* between them and the rest of the army, I see no reason why they should not be raised over the heads of other officers. The Morning Chronicle complains, that the measure will bar our own officers in the way of promotion. Well, and what of that? They will stand, the Morning Chronicle says, "before thousands of our "own *gallant countrymen* in the way of "promotion." And what then? Our own "gallant countrymen" did not, surely, enter the army for "*base lucre*." What is it to them who fill the superior ranks, so that they are filled to the advantage of the country? Our officers entered the army, of course, with the view of fighting, and losing their lives, if necessary, in defence of their beloved Sovereign and their country; and, that being the case, is it not to be presumed, that they will be pleased to see men placed over them, who have *distinguished* themselves in our army by their deeds against the enemy? As to the mere *pay*; the paltry pence, that the rank brings with it, they can be no object to engage the serious attention of a man who has made a sacrifice of his life, when called for, merely to preserve the English Constitution! What! A few pennies be an object of contest with those sons of glory, who bear commissions in His Majesty's service, and who have the honour to be under the command of his gallant son! Perish the grovelling idea!——Here I think the Morning Chronicle wrong. The objection which it has taken is inconsistent with that disinterestedness and that devotion to their country, which have so often been ascribed to the officers of our army. A love of glory, such as that which may be supposed to animate their bosoms, is wholly inconsistent with the existence of a desire to possess a larger portion of Tokens or of Pennies. The love of *promotion* is out of the question; and, the Commander in Chief and the Prince Regent having perceived that the German Legion have so frequently *distinguished* themselves in the army; that is to say, have so frequently shown, that there is *a difference* between them and the native troops; the Commander in Chief and the Prince having discovered this and having declared it, we are not to suppose that any of our native officers will *grumble*, but, on the contrary, that they will rejoice, that persons of *distinguished* conduct are to have permanent rank in the army, and are, in

many cases, to be promoted above themselves. But, it is not in this *military* point of view that I take the matter. In the military point of view I have, indeed, little to do with it. If the Germans have *distinguished* themselves; if they have shown *the difference* between themselves and those by whom they have been surrounded; if this be the case, as it is expressly stated, why, really, though an Englishman may lament that the native troops have been surpassed; though he may lament that the glory, gained by our army, and of which so much has been said and sung, belongs, in so large a portion, to foreigners, still he will be too just to want to disguise the fact. He will applaud the conduct of the Commander in Chief and the Prince Regent in proclaiming that fact to the world; but, if he duly considers the matter, he will not, nevertheless approve of this measure; *because it is a measure contrary to the constitutional laws of England;* an assertion which I shall now proceed to make good by proof.——I say, then, plainly, that the giving of these Germans permanent rank in our army is what cannot be done legally, unless a new law be passed to enable the King or Regent to do so, or, at least, unless a law be passed to enable some body to do it.——The Act of Settlement, which wa passed to provide against the contingency of the House of Hanover coming to the throne of England, expressly says, that *no foreigner* shall, in case that House succeed to the throne, hold any *office or place of trust*, civil or *military*, in this kingdom. And, another act was afterwards passed, when the Hanoverian family had come to the throne, expressly providing, that in every future naturalization bill, there should be a clause prohibiting the party to be naturalized from *ever* holding any place of trust civil or military in this kingdom. So that, as long as the Act of Settlement and the Act of George I. remain unrepealed, it is impossible, that any foreigner should *legally* hold any office or place of trust, civil or military, in this kingdom; and, of course, no foreigner can legally hold a commission in our army.——But, to a certain extent, the Act of Settlement was repealed; aye, this law, made by our ancestors for the *limiting of the Crown*, and the *better preserving of the rights and liberties of the people;* this act was repealed, to a certain extent, by the Act, brought in by Pitt and passed by the parliament, for the raising and employing of these very German Corps. That Act, as I showed in my last volume, page 360, allowed of the giving of commissions to *foreign* officers; and *for what?* because they understood the *language* and *manners* of the men to be raised better than our native officers could be supposed to understand them. This was, in my opinion, a very poor reason; but it was *a reason.* What, then, could be said in answer to Lord Folkestone, when he complained, that foreign Officers had been put into *English regiments*, and had had the command of English districts given to them! Nothing was said in answer to him; or, at least, nothing but bare assertions were made, unsupported by either fact or argument.——Amongst other things, however, which were advanced in answer to his observations upon the danger of employing foreigners in this way, Perceval made the remark contained in my Motto, and insisted, that, as the German Officers had only *temporary* rank, there could be no danger arising from them, even if they were Roman Catholics. He had been touched upon this point. He had been asked what danger there was in the Irish Catholics any more than in his German Catholics, and this was his answer.——But if he were to rise from his grave (mercy on us!), what would he say *now?* However, say what he would; equivocate, shuffle, riggle and twist as long as he liked, he could not rub out the last clause of the Act by which these German Corps were tolerated; and, unless he could do that, he could not make it lawful to give the German Officers *permanent rank*, even though they were all *naturalized* first.——The Morning Chronicle says, that this measure, by "one sweep *naturalizes* the "whole German Legion." This is a mistake. Nothing can naturalize them, or any one of them, but an act of parliament; and, even an act of parliament, if it has naturalized them, cannot give them permanent rank in our army, unless it first *further* repeals the Act of Settlement.——It is true, that the Act of 1804, which authorized the raising of these German Corps, did so far repeal the Act of Settlement as to authorize the King to grant commissions to foreigners *in those corps;* but, it went *no further;* it did not authorize him to grant them commissions in our native corps; it did not authorize him to employ them in any way other than in the way there pointed out; it admitted, for the sake of *language* and *manners*, that the

officers should be foreigners as well as the men; but here it stopped. It was, however, asserted by Perceval, that it allowed of foreign officers being employed all through the army; though, I believe, that this assertion even, if the occasion had offered, would not have been repeated. ——Be this as it may, however, there is one clause in the act, which no one can torture from its meaning, and that clause is complete as to the impossibility of giving *permanent rank* to the German Officers, without the aid of *another Act of Parliament.* That clause provides expressly, that the Corps and the Commissions of the Officers shall *cease in twelve months after the signing of a treaty of peace with France.* At that time, if it ever come, the rank of these men must cease, for *their commissions must cease.* They can only hold commissions in virtue of the Act of 1804; that act says, that it shall itself die in twelve months after the peace; and, of course, in twelve months after the peace, it will be unlawful for any one of these Germans to hold a commission in our army; or any place of trust in this kingdom, civil or military. To give them *permanent rank* is, therefore, impossible without another act of parliament; and, whoever was the adviser of the measure will find, that, clever as he may have thought it, he will have to discover some other measure to supply its place.——The Morning Chronicle says, that, *if parliament had been sitting*, the measure would not have passed without remonstrance. Well, then, we shall now see the part which his friends, the Whigs, will act, when the measure comes to be discussed in parliament; for, discussed it surely will be before a law be passed to allow of these Germans becoming officers of permanent rank in our army. Whether it is meant, that they shall be capable of having commissions in the *militia* I know not; but, I must suppose that it is, for if there be a regulation permitting officers of the regular army, without any qualification of real property, t go into the militia, the Germans may, o course, come into the militia from the regular army as well as native officers; and thus it is possible for us to see a very pretty concern of it all taken together.——O, yes! The Morning Chronicle need not be uneasy. The question will be discussed in parliament. The subject for anxiety with the Chronicle ought to be: how its friends will behave in the case of such discussion. ——I cannot dismiss this article without observing on the *great importance of the subject.* Let the reader consider, that, if permanent rank were given to these Germans, and if they were to be enabled to pass through the ranks of our army generally, they might hold all the principal commands. They might have all the regiments; they might command in all the counties; they might form *the whole* of the military officers in the kingdom; they might command in the Engineers and Artillery, and might be the governors of all the fortresses and garrisons.——Really it is time that the subject were discussed, and especially as such persons as the editor of the Morning Chronicle seem to think that the measure which has been adopted is decisive, and requires the sanction of no other authority to make it valid.——I shall subjoin to this article, one, with little alteration, that I wrote in March last, in order to show what was the *law* upon the subject. The reader will here find the Act of 1804 entire, and the rest of the law more fully stated. The battle of Salamanca will, in all likelihood, have several *consequences;* but, the reader may be assured that this step with regard to the Germans, if it finally have effect, is the most important of all those consequences. The more it is considered the more its magnitude will become evident. In the mean while, I beg the reader to peruse with care the article which I hereunto subjoin.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 2d September, 1812.

GERMAN TROOPS.

Upon this subject, which I am glad to see has been, at last, noticed in the House of Lords, I left two points untouched in my last Number; namely, the justification built upon *the necessity of the case*; and the justification built on *the Act of Parliament.* We will take the last of these first, for, if what is done be *lawful*, all that will remain to do will be to show the *necessity of the law.*——First, then, there is a law, which forbids, and that, too, in the clearest and strongest terms, the suffering of any *foreigner* to hold any place of trust, *civil* or *military*, under the Crown of this kingdom. And, *what law* is this? Why, it is one of the fundamental laws of the realm. It is that very law, by which, and by which alone, the present Royal Family became entitled to reign here, or to have any authority whatever in this country; it is, in

short, that very law by which the Crown of this kingdom was bestowed upon them.——The occasion was this. JAMES II had been driven from the throne on account of his tyranny; his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, who had married his eldest daughter, was invited over to fill his place, and he with his wife Mary were crowned king and queen of England, Ireland, and Scotland, under the title of William and Mary; his queen died, leaving no children; and the Princess ANNE, afterwards QUEEN ANNE (a younger daughter of James II.) having lost her son by death, and there being no likelihood of either her or the king having any more children, it became necessary to provide against the contingency of their deaths. James II. had left a *son*, who, according to lineal descent, was the undoubted heir to the throne; but, the nation resolved not to have him, and to exclude that branch of the family for ever, notwithstanding its heirship to the throne. They then sought out another branch, who were Protestants, and who they thought would do better than the old branch.——James II. was the son of Charles the first, who was the son of James I. That same James I. had a daughter *Elizabeth*, who became by marriage Queen of Bohemia; this queen of Bohemia had a daughter named *Sophia*, who, by marriage, became *Electress of Hanover*. She, therefore, next after King William, and the Princess Anne, became heiress to the throne, if the son of James II. was set aside, as he at this time was. Now this Sophia, mind, was the mother of GEORGE I. who became Elector of Hanover, and who afterwards became our King.——In the year 1700, called the 12th and 13th year of WILLIAM III. when, as was before observed, there was no longer any prospect of immediate heirs to William himself or the Princess Anne, an Act was passed, to *settle* the crown, in case of their dying without heirs, on the head of the Princess SOPHIA, the Electress of Hanover, or her heirs. This Act, which for this reason, is generally called the ACT OF SETTLEMENT, is entitled, "*An Act for the* "*further Limitation of the Crown, and bet-* "*ter securing the rights and liberty of the* "*subject.*" It was not an Act for merely conferring the Crown; it was not an Act for merely declaring who should be kings and who should not; but, also, for *securing the rights and liberties of the people.*——In this Act, therefore, as a *foreign family* were about to be raised to the throne, and especially as that family would continue to have *foreign dominions and subjects*, it became necessary to provide, that, after any of that family came to the throne, *no foreigner should have any power of governing in this country;* because, if this provision was not made, it was easy to foresee, that the Hanoverians would soon have a considerable part of the power in their hands, and the people of this kingdom would have the mortification to see themselves domineered over by favourites from the Electorate.——Therefore it was enacted: "That after the said "Limitation shall take effect as aforesaid" (that is to say, after the family of Hanover should come to the throne) "no person "born out of the kingdoms of England, "Scotland, or Ireland, or the Dominions "thereunto belonging (although he be na- "turalized or made a Denizen, except "such as are born of English parents) "shall be capable to be of the Privy Coun- 'cil, or a member of either House of 'Parliament, or to enjoy any Office or 'Place of Trust, either Civil or Military, 'or to have any grant of Lands, Tene- 'ments, or Hereditaments from the Crown, 'to himself or to any other or others in 'Trust for him."——Such was the provision made, in this respect, *for the better securing of the rights and liberties of the subject.* And, very necessary this provision was; for, though the King would, in course of time, as it really happened, be *born in England*, still he would, it was well known, have dominions and subjects in Hanover, and it was not for men who had read human nature to suppose, that he would not have a very great regard for the country of his ancestors, and that he would not have a strong liking for those of his subjects, who, from the very nature of their government, would be much more subservient to his wishes than his English subjects would be. Add to this the inevitable partialities arising from matrimonial connexions, running in the same direction, and you will see how necessary this provision of the Act was, and how necessary it always must have been.——But, whatever was the reason on which it was founded, such was the law. And, now, let us see whether this law has been *changed*, and, if it has, to *what extent*.——We are, at present, speaking of the law only in as far as it relates to the *Foreign Troops;* and, it is evident, that, according to the Act of Settlement, no foreigner can be employed as an officer in the army, that being a place of

military trust, in which the Act so expressly forbids foreigners to be placed. Well, then, has this Act been repealed? No; but, amongst the other good things, which this nation inherits from PITT and his wars against "*republicans* and *levellers*," is an Act passed in 1804 to indemnify PITT and his associates for having advised the King *to violate the above-mentioned law!* The case was this. Hanover, dear Hanover, had been taken possession of by the French; and, great numbers of the Hanoverian army, who had not defended Hanover against the French, but who had laid down their arms and given up their native country without a blow; great numbers of this army found their way to England, and it was judged by Pitt and his set, that these were very fit persons *to defend England* against those same French; or, at any rate, it was judged proper (for whatever reason) to take these Hanoverians into our PAY! Therefore, the parliament not being assembled at the time, and the affairs of these generous foreigners being very pressing, PITT took them into pay *against law*, gave commissions to Officers, and inlisted men; and, what is more, made no scruple to take Roman Catholic Officers, though it is well known, that our own Roman Catholic countrymen cannot become Officers, nor enjoy any place of military trust.——When the parliament met he came and proposed *a Bill of Indemnity* for what he had done; that is to say, having advised the King to violate the law of the land, he comes and proposes to the parliament *to pass a law to screen him from the punishment due to such a crime;* and, without any hesitation the parliament did it, as they did in the case of the forty thousand pounds, which it was discovered the same Pitt had lent to Boyd and Benfield.——Here, then, the minister got a protection for having advised the violation of this great constitutional Act; but, that was not all; for the same parliament authorized, by the same Act which screened Pitt, the *raising of* 10,000 *foreign troops*, and the putting of them under the command of *foreign officers*.——Here is the legal origin of the King's German Legion and the other German Corps that we have in our pay, and the Officers of which have had, and yet have, so much authority in this kingdom.——The Act of Settlement is, then, in part done away by this Act of 1804. This we all know; we know, that it is lawful to employ foreigners in places of military trust; but, the difference is this: while I see, and see it with sorrow and shame, that Germans may now hold places of military trust in this kingdom, I say that it is *not lawful* for them to hold such places in any but in *Corps composed of foreigners*, and that to give them commissions in our own native Corps, or upon the Staff, in this kingdom, *is a violation of law*.——Lord FOLKESTONE and Sir JOHN NEWPORT insisted upon this, in the debate, the remainder of which will be found below. Lord GROSVENOR has since, in the House of Lords, maintained the same, and has said that he is ready so to do against the Lord Chancellor himself.——Lord PALMERSTON, the Secretary at War, and Mr. PERCEVAL, asserted, that the Act of 1804 *authorized* what had been done, namely, *the giving Germans commissions in English regiments and posts upon the Staff*.——Here, then, the parties are at issue; and, in order to enable the public to judge between Lord Folkestone and Mr. Perceval, I shall here insert the whole of the Act of 1804, which was passed on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile!——This Act, as the reader will see, was intended to authorize the King to inlist foreigners and to *form them into Corps;* and, as the preamble expressly states, he was to be authorized to put foreign officers into those corps, because they were *best acquainted with the language and manners of the men*. How, then, in the name of sincerity, can it be said, that this Act justifies the putting of such officers into our *native* corps? Will it be pretended, that they are *best acquainted with the language and manners* of our men too?——But, here is the Act itself, which, as the reader will see, speaks, from one end to the other, of nothing but *Foreign Corps*, and leaves not the smallest room for the interpretation, which would extend it to our native regiments, or to the Staff in this country.

An Act for enabling Subjects of Foreign States to inlist as Soldiers in His Majesty's Service, and for enabling His Majesty to grant Commissions to Subjects of Foreign States to serve as Officers or as Engineers, under certain Restrictions; and to indemnify all Persons who may have advised His Majesty to inlist any such Soldiers, or grant any such Commissions as aforesaid.—Passed July 14, 1804.

Whereas it hath been deemed expe-'dient by His Majesty, in order to provide 'in the speediest manner for the better Defence and greater Security of the United Kingdom, in the present important

'Juncture of Affairs, to permit certain 'Foreigners, now in *Great Britain*, to inlist 'as Soldiers into His Majesty's service, and 'for the better disciplining of such Sol-'diers, TO FORM THEM INTO REGI-'MENTS, BATTALIONS, OR CORPS, 'and to grant Commissions or Letters of 'Service THEREIN, to certain Foreign 'Officers acquainted with their MAN-'NERS AND LANGUAGE; and it may 'be expedient, during the Continuance of 'the present War, to augment such Regi-'ments, Battalions, or Corps, and to 'form other Regiments, Battalions, or 'Corps, and to inlist as Soldiers to serve 'THEREIN respectively such other Fo-'reigners as shall be willing to inlist 'themselves into His Majesty's Service; and 'also to enable His Majesty to grant Com-'missions or Letters of Service to Foreign 'Officers THEREIN; and it is proper that 'all persons who shall or may have ad-'vised His Majesty to inlist such Soldiers, 'and to grant such Commissions or Letters 'of Service aforesaid, should be indemni-'fied; and it is necessary that Quarters 'should be provided for such Regiments, 'Battalions, or Corps, during their conti-'nuance in any part of the United King-'dom:' Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That all such Foreign Soldiers as have been already inlisted into His Majesty's service, and formed into Regiments, Battalions, or Corps, as aforesaid, shall be deemed and taken to have been and to be legally and effectually inlisted and formed; and all such Commissions, or Letters of Service as have been already granted by His Majesty to any Foreign Officers in such Regiments, Battalions, or Corps, shall be deemed and taken to have been and to be legally and effectually granted, and shall remain and continue in force in like manner in all respects as if such Soldiers had been inlisted and formed, and such Commissions or Letters of Service had been granted, after the passing and under the Provisions of this Act; and all and every Person or Persons who shall or may have advised His Majesty to inlist such Soldiers, and to grant such Commissions or Letters of Service as aforesaid, shall be, and they and he are or is hereby fully and effectually indemnified; any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, from Time to Time, to augment such Regiments, Battalions, or Corps, so already formed as aforesaid, and to form any other Regiments, Battalions, or Corps, and to that End to inlist as Soldiers to serve in any such Regiments, Battalions, or Corps, any Foreigners who shall voluntarily enter themselves as Soldiers to serve THEREIN: Provided always, that there shall not be, within any Part of the United Kingdom, more in the whole than ten thousand men serving in such Regiments, Battalions, or Corps, at any one Time.

III. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for any such Persons, Subjects of any Foreign States as shall be willing to serve His Majesty, to inlist as Soldiers, and to accept Commissions or Letters of Service, to serve as Officers or Engineers, from His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, or from any Persons duly authorized by His Majesty to grant such Commissions or Letters of Service (which Commissions and Letters of Service it shall be lawful for His Majesty, or for any Persons duly authorized in that behalf as aforesaid, to grant:) Provided always, that no such Officer, when he shall be reduced, shall be entitled to receive Half-Pay: Provided nevertheless, that when any such Officer shall be rendered incapable of Military Service by Wounds or Infirmities, contracted while he shall be discharging his Military Duty during the Period of his continuing to serve as such Officer under the Provisions of this Act, then and in such case it shall be lawful for His Majesty to make such Provision for such Officer as he shall think proper and necessary, so that such Provision shall in no Case exceed the Half Pay of the Rank in the BRITISH Service, similar to that which such Officer shall have held at the Time of his becoming so incapable as aforesaid: Provided also, that no such Person as aforesaid shall be liable to any Pain, Penalty, or Forfeiture whatever, for having accepted any such Commission, or inlisted as a Soldier IN ANY SUCH REGIMENTS, BATTALIONS, OR CORPS, AS AFORESAID, by reason of his having professed the *Popish* Religion, and not having declared the same at the time of his accepting such Commission or inlisting.

IV. And be it further enacted, That all Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, and Private Soldiers respectively

serving under the Provisions of this Act, shall, whilst in His Majesty's Service as aforesaid, be subject and liable to such Articles of War as His Majesty hath established or may think fit to establish for the better Government of the said Forces, and for bringing Offenders against the same to Justice, and for constituting Courts Martial with Power to try, hear, and determine any Crimes or Offences by such Articles of War, and inflict Penalties, by Sentence or Judgment of the same, and may be billeted and quartered, and be received and provided for in Quarters: Provided always, that no Officer, Non-commissioned Officer, Drummer, or Soldier, shall, by such Articles of War, be subject to any punishment extending to Life or Limb, for any Crime which is not expressed to be so punishable by an Act of this Session of Parliament, intituled, *An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters;* and for such Crimes as are expressed to be so punishable in the said Act, in any manner or under any regulations which shall not accord with the Provisions of the said Act: Provided also, that every Person who shall be inlisted as a Soldier under the Authority of this Act, shall be attested in such manner as His Majesty shall direct, by such Articles of War and not otherwise; and that such Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, and Private Soldiers respectively shall take such oath for their Fidelity, and their Continuance in His Majesty's service, as His Majesty shall in like manner direct, and no other.

V. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That this Act shall continue in Force during the present War, and until one Year after the Termination thereof, by the ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, and no longer.

Such, reader, is the Act of Parliament, which has been interpreted to mean, that *foreign Officers may be put into English regiments,* and that they may also be placed in the command of *the several districts of this kingdom;* in short, it has been interpreted to mean, that the whole of our regular army may be *legally* put under the command of Hanoverians or other foreigners; and that, every part of this kingdom may be *legally* put under the command of the same persons. I say, with Lord Folkestone, that the Act means no such thing; but, if it did, to what a pass are we come? To what a state have these Anti-Jacobin wars and these Lawyers brought us? If the King, or his ministers, have it in their power to displace all our native Officers, from the Ensign to the General, and to put Hanoverians in their stead; if this Act of Parliament gave them the power to do this, then are we in a state to be envied by no nation upon the face of the earth; then are we in a state to excite the pity, or, rather, the contempt, of all those whom we have affected to despise. For, you will observe, reader, that it is not here a question of *degree.* If they can appoint *one* foreigner to command Englishmen, they can appoint a *thousand.* There is no limit; and, then, again, I say, we are, at last, come to a pretty pass!——Observe, too, that *Roman Catholics* may, if FOREIGNERS, be commissioned according to this act; so that, you see, if Mr. Perceval's interpretation hold good, Roman Catholics may possess *all* the offices in our army; they may command in all our districts; they may enjoy *all* the places of military trust in the kingdom, not excepting the *governorships of the forts and castles.* Yes, if Mr. Perceval's interpretation of the Act be good, *Baron Bock* or *Baron Linsingen* might be appointed Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and I do not know that they might not be appointed Lords Lieutenants of Counties, for that is also a place of military trust. In short, if that interpretation be admitted, the Act of Settlement, as to its most important provision, is no more, and we are exposed to all the dangers that it was intended to prevent.——At the time when this Act was passed, it was strongly protested against by Mr. FRANCIS, Mr. H. HUTCHINSON and Mr. PETER MOORE; but, none of these gentlemen anticipated the use that has since been made of it. Little did they imagine, that it would be made the ground whereon to introduce German Officers into our own regiments and to put German Generals to command English districts. In one stage of the Bill, the Secretary of War said: "that as this was only a measure for *providing* for a certain number of *brave* men, who had been *forced to leave their own country,* he hoped the Bill might proceed in its course." He did not point out the particular instances in which this *bravery* had been displayed, nor did he explain *how* the people had been *forced* away from their own country; but, at any rate, it was in this *humble tone* that the Hanoverians were introduced. We were then told of their distresses; of

their forlorn situation; of the cruelties exercised against them by the French. In short, they were held out to us *as objects of compassion*. But, now, faith, we are to listen to accounts of their merits; of their skill; of their valour. We have now to behold them put in high commands; in short, to behold them *commanding English regiments, English generals*, and *English territory*.——The provision, relative to *Roman Catholics*, has been several times noticed in and out of parliament; but, it has always been said, in answer, that there can be no great danger from this, because confined to *a few foreign Corps*, whereas *our own Roman Catholics*, if they were admitted, would find their way into all the regiments in the service, and might possess many of the great commands on the Staff. What, however, will be said now? Mr. Perceval's interpretation of the act of 1804 allows the King to put Roman Catholics into *all* the Military Commands, provided only that those Roman Catholics be FOREIGNERS! This makes the indignity upon our own Catholics ten thousand times greater than it was before. It is well known, that the voluntary services of many of our own Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen have been absolutely refused; and yet, do we see these foreign Catholics admitted, as we are now told they *legally* are, not only into any of our native corps, but to the command of large portions of our army in our own country? If what has been done in this way be *lawful*, if Mr. Perceval's interpretation of the Act of 1804 be allowed to be good, German Catholics may command all the regiments and garrisons and districts in Ireland, while an Irish Catholic can have no such command!——That is quite enough. Not another word need be said upon this part of the subject. The reader will now judge for himself what *law* there is for the employing of these foreigners in English regiments and the staff.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.——*Bulletins of the Grand French Army.——First Bulletin dated at Gumbinnen, June* 20, 1812.

Towards the end of 1810, Russia altered her political system—the English spirit regained its influence—the Ukase respecting Commerce was its first act.——In February, 1811, five divisions of the Russian army quitted the Danube by forced marches and proceeded to Poland. By this movement Russia sacrificed Wallachia and Moldavia.——When the Russian armies were united and formed, a Protest against France appeared, which was transmitted to every Cabinet. Russia by that announced, that she felt no wish even to save appearances. All means of conciliation were employed on the part of France—all [illegible]ctual. ——Towards the close of 1811, six months after, it was manifest in France that all this could end only in war. Preparations were made for it. The garrison of Dantzic was increased to 20,000 men. Stores of every description, cannons, muskets, powder, ammunition, pontoons were conveyed to that place; considerable sums of money were placed at the disposal of the department of engineers for the augmentation of its fortifications.——The army was placed on the war establishment. The cavalry, the train of artillery, and the military baggage train, were completed.——In March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was concluded with Austria; the preceding month a treaty had been concluded with Prussia.——In April the first corps of the Grand Army marched for the Oder, the second corps to the Elbe, the third corps to the Lower Oder, the fourth corps set out from Verona, crossed the Tyrol, and proceeded to Silesia. The Guards left Paris.——On the 22d of April, the Emperor of Russia took the command of his army, quitted St. Petersburg, and moved his head-quarters to Wilna.——In the commencement of May the first corps arrived on the Vistula, at Elbing, and Marienburg; the second corps at Marienwerder, the third corps at Thorn, the fourth and sixth corps at Plock, the fifth corps assembled at Warsaw, the eighth corps on the right of Warsaw, and the seventh corps at Pulawy.——The Emperor set out from St. Cloud on the 9th of May; crossed the Rhine on the 13th, the Elbe on the 29th, and the Vistula on the 6th of June.

Second Bulletin of the Grand Army, Wilkowiski.—June 22, 1812.

All means of effecting an understanding between the two empires became impossible. The spirit which reigned in the Russian Cabinet hurried it on to war.——General Narbonne, Aid-de-Camp to the Emperor, was dispatched to Wilna, and could remain there only a few days. By that was gained the proof, that the demand,

equally arrogant and extraordinary, which had been made by Prince Kurakin, and in which he declared, that he would not enter into any explanation before France had evacuated the territory of her own Allies, in order to leave them at the mercy of Russia, was the *sine quâ non* of that Cabinet, and it made that a matter of boast to Foreign Powers.——The first corps advanced to the Pregel. The Prince of Eckmuhl had his head-quarters, on the 11th of June, at Konigsberg.——The Marshal Duke of Reggio, commanding the second corps, had his head-quarters at Wehlau; the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, commanding the third corps, at Soldass; the Prince Viceroy, at Rastenburg; the King of Westphalia, at Warsaw; the Prince Poniatowski, at Pultusk. The Emperor moved his head-quarters, on the 12th, to Konigsberg, on the Pregel; on the 17th to Insterburg; on the 19th to Gumbinnen. ——A slight hope of accommodation still remained. The Emperor had given orders to Count Lauriston to wait on the Emperor Alexander, or on his Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to ascertain whether there might not yet be some means of obtaining a reconsideration of the demand of Prince Kurakin, and of reconciling the honour of France, and the interest of her allies, with the opening a negociation.——The same spirit which had previously swayed the Russian Cabinet upon various pretexts, prevented Count Lauriston from accomplishing his mission: and it appeared for the first time, that an Ambassador, under circumstances of so much importance, was unable to obtain an interview, either with the Sovereign or his Minister. The Secretary of Legation, Prevost, brought this intelligence to Gumbinnen; and the Emperor issued orders to march, for the purpose of passing the Niemen. 'The conquered,' observed he, 'assume the tone of conquerors: fate drags them on; let their destinies be fulfilled.' His Majesty caused the following proclamation to be inserted in the Orders of the Army:——SOLDIERS! The second war of Poland has commenced. The first was brought to a close at Friedland and Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war with England. She now violates her oaths. She refuses to give any explanation of her strange conduct, until the Eagles of France shall have repassed the Rhine, leaving, by such a movement, our allies at her mercy. Russia is dragged along by a fatality! Her destinies must be accomplished. Should she, then, consider us degenerate? Are we no longer to be looked upon as the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonour or war. The choice cannot admit of hesitation. Let us, then, march forward. Let us pass the Niemen. Let us carry the war into her territory. The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as the first: but the peace which we shall conclude will be its own guarantee, and will put an end to that proud and haughty influence which Russia has for fifty years exercised in the affairs of Europe.

Third Bulletin of the Grand Army.
Kowno, June 26, 1812.

On the 23d of June, the King of Naples (Murat) who commands the cavalry, transferred his head-quarters to within two leagues of the Niemen, upon its left bank. This Prince has under his immediate orders the corps of cavalry commanded by Generals Counts Nansouty and Montbrun; the one composed of the divisions under the command of Generals Counts Bruyeres, St. Germain, and Valance; the other consisting of the divisions under the orders of General Baron Vattier and Generals Counts Sebastiani and Defrance.——Marshal Prince d'Eckmuhl, commanding the first corps, moved his head-quarters to the skirts of the great forest of Pilwisky.——The second corps and the Imperial Guards followed the line of march of the first corps.——The third corps took the direction by Marienpol; the Viceroy, with the 4th and 6th corps, which remained in the rear, marched upon Kalwarry.——The King of Westphalia proceeded to Novogrod with the 5th, 7th, and 8th corps.——The first Austrian corps, commanded by the Prince of Schwartzenberg, quitted Lemberg on the ——, made a movement on its left, and drew nearer to Lublin.——The pontoon train, under the orders of Gen. Eble, arrived at the advanced posts near Kowno; he took a Polish cloak and cap from one of the light cavalry, and inspected the banks of the Niemen, accompanied by Gen. Haxo, of the engineers alone.——At eight in the evening the army was again in motion. At ten, Count Morand, General of Division, passed over three companies of voltigeurs, and at the same time three bridges were thrown across the Niemen. At eleven, three columns debouched over the three bridges. At a quarter past one, day began to appear. At noon, General Baron Pajol

drove before him a cloud of Cossacks, and took possession of Kowno with a single battalion.——On the 24th the Emperor proceeded to Kowno.——Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl pushed forward his head-quarters to Roumchicki, and the King of Naples to Eketanoni.——During the whole of the 24th and of the 26th, the army was defiling by the three bridges. In the evening of the 24th, the Emperor caused a new bridge to be thrown over the Vilia opposite Kowno, and directed Marshal the Duke of Reggio to pass it with the second corps. The Polish light horse of the guards crossed the river by swimming. Two men were drowning, when they were picked up by two swimmers of the 26th light infantry. Colonel Guéhêneac having imprudently exposed himself to afford them assistance, had nearly fallen a sacrifice himself; a swimmer of his regiment saved him.——On the 25th, the Duke of Elchingen pushed on to Kormelon: the King of Naples advanced to Jigmuroui. The enemy's light troops were driven in and pursued on every side. ——On the 26th, Marshal the Duke of Elchingen arrived at Skoroule. The light divisions of cavalry covered the whole plain to within ten leagues of Wilna.——Marshal the Duke of Tarentum, who commands the 10th corps, composed in part of the Prussians, passed the Niemen on the 24th, at Tilsit, and moved upon Rossiena, in order to clear the right bank of that river, and to protect the navigation.——Marshal the Duke of Belluno, commanding the 9th corps, and having under his orders the divisions Heudelet, Lagrange, Durette, and Partouneaux, occupies the country between the Elbe and the Oder.——The General of Division, Count Rapp, Governor of Dantzic, has under his orders the division Daendels.——The General of Division, Count Hogendorp, is Governor of Konigsberg. ——The Emperor of Russia is at Wilna with his guards, and one part of his army occupying Ronikontoni and Newtrooki.

Fourth Bulletin of the Grand Army.—Wilna, June 30.

On the 27th the Emperor arrived at the advanced posts at two in the afternoon, and put the army in motion for the purpose of approaching Wilna, and attacking the Russian army at day-break of the 28th, should it wish to defend Wilna, or retard its capture in order to save the immense magazines which it had there. One Russian division occupied Troki, and another division was on the heights of Traka.——At day-break of the 28th the King of Naples put himself in motion with the advanced guard, and the light cavalry of General Count Bruyeres. The Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl supported him with his corps. The Russians every where retired. After exchanging some cannon-shot, they crossed the Vilia in all haste, burned the wooden Bridge of Wilna, and set fire to immense magazines, valued at many millions of rubles: more than 150,000 quintals of flour, an immense supply of forage and of oats, and a great mass of articles of clothing, were burned. A great quantity of arms, in which Russia is in general deficient, and of warlike stores, was destroyed and thrown into the Vilia. ——At mid-day the Emperor entered Wilna. At three o'clock the bridge over the Vilia was re-established. All the carpenters of the city repaired to it with zeal, and constructed a bridge, while the pontoneers at the same time constructed another.——The division of Bruyeres followed the enemy by the left bank. In a slight affair with their rear, about 80 carriages were taken from the Russians. There were some men killed and wounded; among the latter is the Captain of Hussars, Segur. The Polish light horse of the guard made a charge on the right bank of the Vilia, put to rout, pursued, and made prisoners a good number of Cossacks.——On the 25th, the Duke of Reggio had crossed the Vilia, by a bridge thrown over near Kowno. On the 26th he marched upon Javou, and on the 27th on Chatoui. This movement obliged the Prince of Vittgenstein, Commandant of the first corps of the Russian army, to evacuate all Samogitia, and the country lying between Kowno and the sea, and to retire upon Wilkomir, after obtaining a reinforcement of two regiments of the Guards.

On the 28th a rencounter took place. The Marshal Duke of Reggio found the enemy drawn up opposite Develtovo. A cannonading commenced; the enemy was driven from one position to another; and passed the bridge with so much precipitation, that he could not set fire to it. He lost 300 prisoners, among whom are several officers, and about 100 killed or wounded. Our loss amounts to about 50 men. ——The Duke of Reggio praises the brigade of light cavalry, commanded by General Baron Castex, and the 11th regiment of light infantry, composed entirely of Frenchmen from the departments beyond the Alps. The young Roman conscripts have shewn a great deal of intrepidity.——The enemy

set fire to his grand magazine at Wilkomir. Up to the last moment the inhabitants were pillaging some barrels of flour; we succeeded in recovering a part of it.——On the 29th the Duke of Elchingen threw a bridge over the Vilia, opposite Souderva. Some columns received a direction of march by the roads of Grodno and Volhynia,* for the purpose of coming up with various Russian corps that were cut off and scattered.——Wilna is a city containing from 25 to 30,000 souls, with a great number of convents, fine public buildings, and inhabitants full of patriotism. Four or five hundred young men of the University, above eighteen, and belonging to the best families, have requested to form a regiment.——The enemy is retiring upon the Dwina. A great number of Officers of the Staff and of estafettes are daily falling into our hands. We are obtaining proofs of the exaggeration of all that Russia has published with regard to the immensity of her means. Only two battalions to each regiment are with the army: the third battalions, the statements of the situation of many of which have been found in the intercepted correspondence of the officers of the depots with the regiments, do not amount for the most part to 120 or 200 men.——The Court set off from Wilna 24 hours after being apprized of our passage at Kowno. Samogitia, Lithuania, are almost entirely liberated. The centralization of Bagrathion towards the North has very much weakened the troops which were to defend Volhynia.——The King of Westphalia, with the corps of Prince Poniatowski, and the 7th and 8th corps, must have entered Grodno on the 29th.——Different columns have set out to fall upon the flanks of the corps of Bagrathion, which, on the 20th, received orders to proceed by forced marches from Proujanoni towards Wilna, and the head of which had already arrived within four days' march of the latter city; but events have forced it to retreat, and it is now pursued.——Hitherto the campaign has not been sanguinary; there have been only manœuvres: we have made in all 1000 prisoners. But the enemy has already lost the capital and the greater part of the Polish provinces, which are in a state of insurgency. All the magazines of the first, second, and third lines, the result of two years' care, and valued at more than 20 millions of rubles, are consumed by the flames, or fallen into our power. In fine, the head quarters of the French army are in the place where the Court was for six weeks.——Amidst the great number of intercepted letters, the following are remarkable: the one from the Intendant of the Russian army, who communicates, that Russia having already lost all her magazines of the 1st, the 2d, and 3d lines, is reduced to the situation of forming new ones in all haste; the other from Duke Alexander of Wirtemberg, which shews, that after a campaign of a few days, the provinces of the centre are already declared in a state of war.——In the present situation of things, had the Russian army believed that they had any chance of victory, the defence of Wilna would have been equivalent to a battle; and in all countries, but particularly in that where we now are, the preservation of a triple line of magazines should have determined a General to risk the chances of it.——Manœuvres, then, alone have placed in the power of the French army a considerable portion of the Polish provinces, the capital, and three lines of magazines. The magazines of Wilna were set on fire with so much precipitation, that we have been unable to save a great many things.

Fifth Bulletin of the Grand Army.—Wilna, July 6.

The Russian army was posted and organized in the following manner at the commencement of hostilities:——The first corps, commanded by the Prince Wittgenstein, consisting of the 5th and 14th divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, amounting in the whole to 18,000 men, including artillery and sappers, had been a considerable time at Chawli. It had since occupied Rossiena, and was, on the 24th of June, at Reydanoni.——The second corps, commanded by General Baggawont, consisting of the 4th and 17th divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, constituting the same force, occupied Kowno.——The third corps, commanded by General Schomoaloff, composed of the 1st division of grenadiers and one division of infantry, and a division of cavalry, amounting to 24,000 men, occupied Nov-Trockl.——The 4th corps, commanded by General Tutschkoff, composed of the 11th and 23d divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, in the whole 18,000 men, was stationed on the line from Nov-Trocki to Lida.——The Imperial Guards were at Wilna.——The sixth corps, commanded by General Doctorow, consisting of two divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, amounting to 18,000 men, had formed a

part of the army of Prince Bagration. In the middle of June this corps arrived at Lida from Volhinia, in order to reinforce the first army. It lay at the end of June between Lida and Grodno.——The fifth corps, composed of the second division of grenadiers, of the 12th, 18th, and 26th divisions of infantry, and two divisions of cavalry, was on the 30th at Wolkowisk. Prince Bagration commanded this corps, which might probably amount to 40,000 men.——Lastly, the 9th and 15th divisions of infantry, and a division of cavalry, commanded by General Markow, was at the extremity of Volhinia.——The passage of the Vilia, which took place on the 25th of June, and the movement of the Duke of Reggio upon Janow, and towards Chatoui, obliged the corps of Wittgenstein to proceed towards Wilkomir and on its left; and the corps of Bagawont to make for Dunabourg by Mouchnicki and Gedroitse. These two corps were thus cut off from Wilna.——The third and fourth corps, and Russian Imperial Guards, retired from Wilna upon Nementschin, Swentzianoui, and Vidzoni. The King of Naples pressed them vigorously along both banks of the Vilia. The tenth regiment of Polish hussars, which were at the head of the column of the division of Count Sebastiani, came up near Lebowo with a regiment of Cossacks who covered the rear-guard, and charged at full gallop, killed nine, and made about a dozen prisoners. The Polish troops, which up to this moment have engaged in a charge, have shown rare resolution. They are animated by enthusiasm and passion.——On the 3d of July the King of Naples marched upon Swentziani, and there overtook Baron Tully's rear-guard. He gave orders to General Montbrun to charge, but the Russians did not wait the attack, and retired with such precipitation, that a squadron of Huhlans, which was returning from a reconnoisance on the side of Mihailetki, fell in with our posts. It was charged by the 12th Chasseurs, and the whole either taken or slain. Sixty men were taken with their horses. The Poles, who are amongst these prisoners, have applied to serve, and have been taken, full mounted, in the Polish troops. ——On the 4th, at day-break, the King of Naples entered Swentziani, the Marshal Duke of Elchingen entered Maliatoni, and Marshal Duke of Reggio, Avanta.——On the 30th of June, Marshal the Duke of Tarentum arrived at Rossiena: he proceeded beyond that to Ponevieji, Chawli, and Tesch.——The immense magazines which the Russians had in Samogitia have been burned by themselves, which has occasioned an enormous loss, not only to their finances, but still more to the subsistence of the people.——The corps of Doctorow, however, viz. the 6th corps, was still on the 27th of June without any orders, and had made no movement. On the 28th it assembled and put itself in motion, in order to proceed to the Dwina by marching on its flank. On the 30th its advanced guard entered Soleinicki. It was charged by the light cavalry of General Baron Borde Soult, and driven out of the village. Doctorow, perceiving that he was anticipated, turned

(To be continued.)

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

(Continued from page 286.)

AMERICAN STATES.——*Correspondence on the Orders in Council.——Mr. Monroe to Mr. Foster.—Washington, June 4, 1812.*

can be of no avail either in the support or violation of maritime rights. This construction is the more justifiable, from the consideration that it is supported by the corresponding acts of the French Government, continued from the time of the repeal, and by communications to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris to the date of that report.——I beg you, Sir, to be assured, that it is painful to me to have imposed the least embarrassment on you, by the correspondence on the difference between the tenor of Lord Castlereagh's letter to you, and your's founded on it to me. I continue to persuade myself, however, that you will become sensible, that with a knowledge of the extent given by your Government to the conditions on which alone its orders will be repealed, and that this extent was always contemplated by your Government, it was impossible for the President to be inattentive to the fact, or to withhold it from the legislative branch of the Government; I have to add, that had it been proper for him so to have done, the late hour at which your note was received, not till the noon of the 1st instant, was not in time to be considered in relation to the Message sent to Congress on that day.——With great respect and consideration, I have the honour to be, &c. JAMES MONROE.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that ex"cited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

GERMAN TROOPS.——In my last I showed what was the *law*, and what *is* the law, with regard to these troops. I have now only to notice a little circumstance that may, possibly, have escaped the attention of the public.——It has before been shown, or, at least, I think so, that the Act of 1804 does not authorize the employing of Germans, or other foreign Officers, in any part of our army; that it does not authorize the giving them any place of trust, civil or military, in any corps, or in any way, *excepting merely in the corps authorized to be formed by that same Act.*——This was what my Lord Folkestone contended for, and this was what could not be contradicted. Upon this ground it was that he complained, that German Officers had been, and still were, employed upon the staff at home; that they had the command of whole districts in England; that they were placed over whole corps and brigades of English troops even in England; that they commanded many of our own general officers in this our own country; that, at last, they had been put into our native corps; that they were getting into the command of our native corps; and that German Soldiers were, even from prisons, inlisting, in considerable numbers, into our regiments, and particularly into one regiment to be hereafter named, while, at the very same time, *Irishmen* were not inlisted into that same regiment.——None of this could be denied, and none of it was denied. *Perceval* contended, indeed, that the Act of 1804 tolerated it, but, *he* once contended that a *volunteer* could not resign, and the judges decided against his opinion. In the case before us his assertion was unsupported by even the *show* of reason. There was not sophistry itself to give him countenance. It was a barefaced falsehood, unsustained by any thing but impudence. ——However, be that as it may, it was a fact, that the Germans were thus employed; and now for the particular instance spoken of above. My Lord Folkestone complained, *that a considerable number of foreigners had been inlisted out of the prisons into the 10th Regiment of Light Dragoons*, then quartered at Brighton. The fact was acknowledged by Palmerstone and Perceval; but, they said that the said foreigners were *Germans* and not Frenchmen. How this mended the matter it was difficult to perceive; for, these Germans had been made prisoners in the service of the Emperor of France. If they entered his service as volunteers, they were guilty of the *blackest perfidy* in inlisting into our service, and, of course, could be entitled to no trust from us; and if they were put into his service by the law of conscription, they must have been his *subjects*, and, of course, were, in inlisting into our service, guilty of *high treason*, in the same way that our men were, who were found in the service of the Emperor at the Isle of France.——These objections were urged at the time, but never answered. Now, however, it is proper to inquire, whether these men be still in the 10th (or *Prince of Wales's own* Regiment) of Light Dragoons; because, I see it stated in the news-papers, that this regiment is coming to London *to supply the place of the Life Guards*, who are, it is said, to be sent abroad? If this be true, it is a matter of more than curiosity to ascertain to what extent this regiment really is of German growth. The whole of the regiment do, I believe, wear *whiskers;* but, I should like to know how many, or, at least, what proportion, of the regiment are really of German mould.——In the discussion upon Lord Folkestone's motion, it *came out*, that the *senior Lieutenant Colonel*, whose name is QUINTIN, was a *German;* and, as the Prince himself cannot personally take the command of the regiment, this German is, of course, the real commander of it. So, that, if what the news-papers say relative to this exchange of troops, be true, the troops which will perform the duty of Life Guards in the metropolis and round the person of the King or his substitute, will have *a German at their head*, and will, in part, be composed of Germans in the ranks, unless those men who were inlisted out of the prisons into the regiment have been since discharged. ——I noticed before, that, at the same time that these *Germans* were taken out of pri-

sons, out of the service of the Emperor of France, to be put into the Prince of Wales's own regiment, there existed in the regiment regulations which forbade the inlisting of *Irishmen*. This fact was stated in the House of Commons, and Colonel Palmer, the junior Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, avowed that there were instructions given to the recruiting officers, *not to inlist Irishmen*, which instructions must, of course, have proceeded from the PRINCE HIMSELF as *Colonel*, or from Mr. QUINTIN as senior Lieutenant-Colonel.——It is not for me to say positively what were the reasons for preferring Germans taken out of a prison; what were the reasons for preferring Germans taken in the service of France, to the natives of Ireland, who had never been in any service, or in none but that of their own King; what were, or could be, the reasons for this, it is not for me positively to say; but, it is for me to say, because it is my feeling, that I think a thousand Irishmen worth, as soldiers, any five thousand Germans that ever wore whiskers. ——However, I shall now, for the present, quit the subject. All I wished to do was, to furnish the means of making it *clearly understood by the public*. Time will do the rest, without any violent efforts on the part of the press. Much must be left to *Time*, and it is great folly for men to fret and chafe themselves, if they can avoid it, because events appear tardy in their progress. Every man ought to *do* what he can; but, it would be best for no man to *attempt* what he cannot do.——The public will, after all, or, at least it ought, to judge for itself. The thing is of no more importance to me than it is to any one else. I shall neither gain nor lose by the employment of Germans.

NORTHERN WAR.—In the present number and the last I insert the Bulletins of the Grand French army as far as they have gone; for, as in all former instances, I am persuaded, they will, in the end, prove to be the true, and the only true, history of the campaign.——These Bulletins are, by our hired prints, said to be *full of falsehoods*. May be so; but, at any rate, the facts which they state do not appear to receive any positive contradiction; and, one thing we are certain of, that the places, whence they are dated, are *the real places where Napoleon is at the time of dating them*. This being the case; this fact being undeniable, we know that *the French army get nearer and nearer to the capital of the Russian Empire;* and, with this fact staring us in the face, we shall hardly be such brutes as to be persuaded, that Napoleon has been experiencing reverses.——The hirelings of the press tell us, that his army has been beaten here and beaten there; that the Russians have killed so many thousands and wounded so many thousands; nay, they have already (according to our hired writers) killed and wounded more men than Napoleon has in his army. But, while all these Russian *victories* are going on, the Emperor advances towards Moscow, and the Czar goes thither before him! Odd proofs of Russian victories! But we are a *thinking* people. The most thinking people in all Europe. We are so profound; our noddles lead us so deep, that we can see proofs of victories in those very circumstances where the less thinking people of Europe can discover nothing but defeats. ——In the Peninsula, indeed, we see with different eyes. There our thinking faculties lead us to perceive proofs of defeat in the retreat of the French. Our General is got on to Madrid; he is got into the heart of Spain, and the French have retreated before him. These we take for indubitable proofs of victory on our part and of defeat on the part of the French. It is curious to observe how differently we thinking people reason with regard to what is passing in different parts of Europe! In the North, to retreat is a symptom of victory; in the South it is a sure mark of defeat. We did not, indeed, *always* reason thus as to the operations of the armies in the South. There was a time when Talavera retreated, and with such rapidity as hardly to take time to look behind him. We did not *then* look upon a retreat as a mark of defeat; no, but we sang victory at every spot where our army stopped and turned round and made a momentary stand; and, we asserted, that our retreat was by *design;* that it was in consequence of a plan laid for *drawing the enemy on*, though we can *now* discover no possibility of there being such a design on the part of the French Marshals in Spain.——So that, upon the whole, this appears to be our notion; that, when we or our allies retreat before the French, then to retreat is a mark of victory; and that, when the French retreat before us, or our allies, then to retreat is a mark of defeat. This is the notion inculcated by our hired writers, who form at least five-sixths of the newspaper editors in London, and, indeed, in the counties; and this is the notion which their readers in general have adopted. Oh! we are as the sinecure placeman, Lord

Stormont, said; indeed we are "a mos "*thinking people!*"——To those, however, who are not of this very thinking description, I would beg leave to make an observation or two that may tend to mak them see the situation of Russia as it really is.——Russia has been invaded by the Emperor Napoleon, who has driven her armies before him from fortress to fortress who has set free a whole kingdom of her subjects, who has made a progress towards her capital such as was never made by any other commander in a similar space of time, and who (as will be seen by the documents I now insert) has received the benediction of the people whom he has first conquered and then set free, or, in other words, whom he has withdrawn from the power of Russia. ——Now, reader, are there here marks o his having been *defeated*? Are there here any of the signs of a baffled project? And, I would ask the Morning Chronicle, whether there are here any signs of Napoleon being "*a tyrant*," as that print is (for reasons best known to the editor) continually calling him?——We have usually seen that an invading army, if not successful in the end, has been soon met and driven back. When the Duke of Brunswick invaded France, we saw the gallant people rise and beat and drive him out, as we should, I hope, see the people of England do to an invader. When the Duke of York invaded Holland, we saw what I need not, or, at least, what I do not choose, to describe; but, at any rate, we saw the affair end by the famous Convention of the Helder. When Napoleon invaded Italy, the people did not drive him out. He remained in the country, or, at least, his armies did, till he had conquered Italy, and had placed a king upon the throne of one part of it, and had made himself king of the other part. When the French republicans invaded Holland, they remained there; they drove out the Stadtholder and his race, and made the country their own. ——These are instances of unsuccessful, and of successful, invasion; and, I must confess, that, at present, the invasion of Russia appears to me to resemble that of Italy under Napoleon rather than that of Holland under the Duke of York. In short, I see the Czar hastening to his capital, instead of remaining at the head of his army to face Napoleon, and I see the latter still getting on nearer and nearer to Moscow, marching through a country, which, as far as he has hitherto gone, appears to be inhabited by people ready to receive him as their deliverer, instead of rising upon him as an hostile tyrant.——In the meanwhile, however, it is not *certain*, that he will succeed in his views against Russia. He himself is not certain of it. Though he has gained greater victories, and several of them, since he left Paris, than we have gained in Spain; though he has done as much in one month as all our armies and Generals have been able to do in twenty years, still he is not *sure* of final success; and, therefore, this is, I repeat it, the time to offer him terms of peace; and, indeed, if this be not now done, it will be in vain for any one to contend, that peace can ever be made, without the extermination of Napoleon, or of our system of rule.

Death of Napoleon.——The hired news-writers in London have, for about the fiftieth time, spread a report of the Death of Napoleon; and, though some of them have stated their doubts of the fact, they have all spoken of it as of *an event most ardently to be desired.* In short, they have shown, that his death would be to them a subject of joy as great as that of the death of Perceval was to the people of Nottingham, Sheffield, Leicester, Westminster, Truro, &c. &c., who expressed their joy by signs the most unequivocal, and in whose joy I myself most cordially participated. And *why?* Why did so many people in England rejoice at Perceval's death? For the same reason, to be sure, that many would rejoice to hear of the death of Napoleon; namely, because they would regard it as *a good thing for the country.* To Perceval's death we owe, in all probability, the repeal of the Orders in Council; the abandonment of the Marylebone barracks; and some other measures very much to the advantage of the country. The people of Nottingham and elsewhere felt that these benefits were likely to result from his death, and, therefore, they rejoiced, and not from the bloody-mindedness, which the hirelings in London had the baseness to ascribe to them and *to the whole of the working classes in England.* ——Since that time these very writers, in speaking of American affairs, have observed, that *when the news of Mr. Perceval's death should arrive*, they expected the American government *to put a stop to its warlike proceedings.* Here they confessed that they themselves expected that death to produce a most beneficial effect for the country; they not only thought this, but they said it; and yet had they the impu-

dence and the baseness to ascribe the joy of the people of Nottingham to *a bloody-minded disposition.*——I was glad to hear of the death of Perceval, because I thought it would tend to the *good*, to the safety, the honour, the happiness, the freedom, of my country. I neither killed him nor abetted any one in killing him, nor did I do any thing to rescue the man who had killed him. I took the event as it came, and believing most sincerely, being thoroughly convinced, that it would produce good to England, I rejoiced at it. When I can be convinced that the death of Napoleon will be good for England; when I can be made clearly to see how his death will tend to the honour, the happiness, the freedom of Englishmen, I shall stand prepared to rejoice at his death. At present there is no such conviction in my mind; and, therefore, his death does not appear to me to be a thing to wish for or rejoice at; and I believe, that hundreds of thousands of those, who are so anxious to hear of his death, have never duly considered, nor, indeed, at all considered, the effects which it would probably produce with regard to England.——There are some persons, and, indeed, the greater number, who wish for his death, who desire to see the Bourbons restored and all the old despotism re-established in France. These persons would, of course, wish to see the whole of Europe and of the world in the most wretched slavery, and, therefore, they could have no objection to its coming here: but, there are others who wish for the death of Napoleon, who do not wish to see England as well as the rest of the world in chains; and, it is for these persons to consider what might *possibly* be the effect of the sudden death of this powerful man, whose existence prevents any attempt to revive the old despotisms of Europe. He has, upon the Continent, crushed all the ecclesiastical tyranny, except in Russia and Spain; and, will any man, and especially any Englishman, say that he would like to see that tyranny revived? Lord Sheffield, in his report to the Wool-farmers, says that this country suffers in its competition with *neighbouring countries* on account of our lands being *tithed*. His Lordship must allude to France; and, therefore, he, at least, who is a very *loyal* man, can hardly wish to see *tithes restored in France;* unless, indeed, he can be supposed to be actuated by a spirit similar to that of the jockey who lamed his neighbour's horse to bring it down to a level with his own.-

There is a REV. C. COTTON, who, as the news-papers inform us, has written *a poem* to persuade the French not to fight under Napoleon any longer. The Morning Chronicle quotes the following verses of this poem, and says, that it perfectly agrees in the *sentiment.*

But think not, France, we wish to see restor'd,
Thy trembling vassal, and thy feudal lord,
The grinding impost, and the tort'ring wheel,
The horrific letter, and the mute Bastile:
Britain too well the sweets of freedom knows,
And deprecates oppression e'en to foes.
But in thy fickle clime no medium reigns:
Must thou be forging still, or wearing chains?
Still in extremes of heat or darkness groan?
Nor find in Albion, freedom's temp'rate zone!
Here still her fruits by Patriots planted, spring,
The King a speaking law! the Law a silent King!

What "*sentiment*" here is that the Morning Chronicle agrees in I do not know; but, I do know, that a Frenchman might give the Rev. Poet an answer that he would not much like, as for example: 'Rev. Sir, 'since when, I pray you, has it been right, 'according to *your creed*, for subjects to 'resist their sovereign; and, without such 'resistance, how are we to follow your 'advice? As to the question whether 'Napoleon be our *lawful* sovereign, you 'have settled that by acknowledging him 'as such at the peace of Amiens and at the 'Convention of Cintra; and, you are not 'now, when it suits your own purpose, to 'persuade us that he is not our legitimate 'sovereign; you are not, one day, to treat 'with him as our lawful ruler, capable of 'disposing of the territories and honours 'of France, and the next day to call upon 'us to resist him and destroy him as a '*foreigner* and an *usurper;* besides that it 'is very impudent in you, or any of your 'countrymen, to talk in this strain.——It 'will be quite soon enough, Rev. Sir, for 'you to go into the particulars of what you 'wish to restore in France, when we shall 'be disposed to suffer you, or any body 'else, to restore any thing in France; but, 'since you have touched upon the subject, 'let me ask you what you mean by telling 'us, that you wish us to imitate you, and, 'at the same time, that you do not wish 'to restore the "*grinding impost,*" &c. '&c.? You mean, I suppose, that you 'would not give us the *gabelle* again, and 'other *grinding* imposts; but would merely lay on us the Excise and Customs and 'Assessed and Land and Property Taxes; 'you would only make us pay ten per 'centum out of our income after having collected a tax upon the land and upon al-

'most every article of use to the life of 'man. You would not restore any thing '*grinding*, and would merely give us your 'Excise and Custom-House laws, which, 'however, have provided the punishments 'of *forfeiture*, *fine*, *imprisonment*, and '*death*, for different degrees of offence *in* '*smuggling*.——And, Rev. Sir, you would 'not give us the "*torturing wheel*;" but 'would, doubtless, content yourself with 'hanging us by the neck, cutting us down 'before we were dead, ripping out our 'bowels before our faces, chopping off our 'heads, cutting us into four quarters, and 'placing those quarters at the disposal of 'the king that you would put over us, 'agreeably to the sentence lately passed 'and executed upon some of your coun'trymen, who, strange as it may seem, had, at the Isle of France, voluntarily 'quitted the service of your king for that 'of this very Napoleon whom you describe 'as such a terrible tyrant; or, perhaps, 'in minor cases, you would give us that 'which Sir Francis Burdett has said so much 'about. These are what you would give us, are 'they? Thank you, Rev. Sir; we will take 'the will for the deed.——In place of Letters 'of Cachet and a Bastile, you would, I 'suppose, give us occasional suspensions 'of the Habeas Corpus Act and Solitary 'Imprisonment. Thank you again, Rev. 'Sir.——But, Rev. Sir, there are two 'things, and those of great importance, 'and such too as you might have been ex'pected to have uppermost in your mind, 'which you have wholly omitted; I mean 'the GAME LAWS and THE TITHES. 'It is surprising, that, when you were 'telling us of what you did *not* wish to 'restore, you should have left out of your 'list these two grievances, which were 'more powerful than all the others put 'together in producing our revolution, and 'rather than see which restored, French'men would perish to the last. *Now* we 'know and feel, that no man in France 'can be prevented from killing game upon 'his own land or upon the land of any 'other man by that other man's consent. 'We know, that, in France, to be able 'to kill, or possess, game requires no qua'lification of any sort; and, we also know, 'that no man's crop is liable to a deduc'tion of a tenth part. Why did you not, 'Rev. Sir, assure us that *you would not re*'*store tithes?* Why did you not give us 'this assurance, of more importance to us 'than ever, because so many of us are now 'become proprietors of the soil? I'll tell 'you why, Rev. C. Cotton: I'll tell you 'why you did not give us this assurance; 'it was because it would have let the peo'ple, the "most thinking people," of 'England into the secret, that we have no 'tithes to pay, while they have; that we 'have, by our revolution, got rid of tithes; 'and this is a secret that you did not wish 'to communicate to that thinking people, 'that "*most* thinking people."——This 'one article, Rev. Sir, might have solved 'your question: "WHAT ARE 'FRENCHMEN FIGHTING FOR?" 'They are fighting because they would 'not be *restored* to their former state. 'They are not fighting for "a *Corsican*;" 'they are not fighting for "an *usurper*;" 'they are not fighting for "an *upstart*;" 'they are fighting for *no game laws*, *no* '*tithes*, *no gabelle*, *no corvée*, no feudal, 'ecclesiastical or regal tyranny; and 'though they submit to the commands of 'one of themselves placed at their head, 'they feel that all that nine-tenths of them 'possess is held by the same tenure that he 'holds his authority.'——This answer would, I imagine, puzzle the Rev. C. Cotton a little. But, indeed, I question whether he knows any thing at all of the state of France. He, perhaps, has taken up his notions wholly from the hired newspapers, which have been constantly in the habit of publishing false accounts of the state of that country, and which, upon this subject, have promulgated lies till their editors, probably, believe them to be true. The Rev. Poet seems to be as much out in his geography as in his political views; and, to be sure, it must make Frenchmen laugh to see an Englishman pitying them on account of the *fickleness* of the *climate* of their country; but, even this is not quite so absurd as an attempt to persuade a whole nation of proprietors of land, that it is *better* for them to have a tenth part of their crop taken from them than to retain the whole crop. In a parson one might have excused an assertion that it was *as good*; but an attempt to make them believe that it was *better* was too much to go down.

There is one view of the subject, I mean of the consequences of the death of Napoleon, that the friends of our system never seem to take. They always appear to suppose, that, if he were to die, or be killed, there would be *a great change*, and I think there can be no doubt of that: but then, they rush on to a further conclusion, and take it for granted, that that change would be in favour of the restoration of the

old government, in which, I think, they are deceived. The first consequence of the death of Napoleon would, in all human probability, be a state bordering upon anarchy; but, the *republic* would revive. The republicans would again bear sway; and, if we had good memories, we should be very well assured, that much was not to be gotten by the change. If our stomach for fight did not get the better of our recollection, we should not be exceedingly glad to see a new race of Jourdains and Pichegrus and Brunes come forth against us. The *people* of Europe would see such a change with feelings that I need not describe; and their sovereigns would, in my opinion, have more ground for apprehension than they now have. Therefore, it appears to me *possible*, to say the least of it, that the death of Napoleon is what no high-flying royalist ought to wish for; or, at least, that, if he should hear of that death, he ought to moderate his joy. ——I have, however, I must confess, another principle according to which I judge of the good or evil of Napoleon's death. I see all the hireling news-writers expressing their anxiety to hear of his death; I perceive that his death is wished for by all those whom I know to be the country's worst enemies; by all those who hate every thing like freedom in the country, by all the sons and all the daughters of corruption. And, as I cannot refrain from believing, that they wish him dead because they think that his death will be *good for them*, and, as I am convinced that whatever is for their good must be injurious to the country, I conclude that the death of Napoleon would be injurious to England, and, thereupon, I make up my mind to wish that he may live.——I know that I shall be abused for this; but I comfort myself with the reflection, that *to revile is not to refute*. I have given my opinion very frankly, and shall not be offended with any one who may differ from me. *I do not wish for the death of Napoleon.* That I say distinctly.

Paper against Gold.——The rise in the price of bullion has created some little alarm; but, the time is not yet come. The war in the Peninsula, and a few more subsidies; these will settle the matter in due course. The Gold is now sold at *Five pounds and five shillings an ounce*, and the Silver at *Six shillings and eight pence an ounce*. The real value of the former is £3. 17*s*. 10½*d*. and of the latter 5*s*. 2*d*. —And yet, I dare say, that Mr. George Chalmers would undertake to set up an affected horse-laugh at any one who should say, that the paper was *depreciated!*——Here is a clear depreciation of more than 30 per centum. Nobody but Mr. Chalmers or somebody in pay will deny this. And this is the grand object to keep one's eye upon. At this rate about 65 or 66 LIGHT *guineas are worth a hundred pounds in Bank of England paper.* Nay, though there is law against selling full-weight guineas for Bank of England paper, there is no law against selling them for *country bank paper*; so that people may, and they do, sell them daily and hourly, and the last stragglers are now going out of the country. —I have 64 guineas; I want to sell them; I sell them for £100. in country bank notes. That done I go to the country bank and make them change their notes into London Bank notes; and thus is my operation as complete as if I had sold them at once for Bank of England Notes.——I know, that there are people who laugh at this, and say that *all will come about again.* That it certainly will; but, it must all undergo the *proper process.* Things are not *restored* without a process. The paper is *going down.* It must go lower yet; and, afterwards, things will, in one shape or another, take a new turn.——I know of a REMEDY. I have said so before. But, I will not tell the remedy. I have as much right to keep my secret to myself as any other possessor of valuable secrets. I would rather tell it to Mr. Vansittart than to such a man as Perceval; but, I will not tell it yet. When the *pinch* comes I will make it known.——Suffice it, for the present, to say, that I have never yet seen *my remedy* so much as hinted at in print. My remedy is a *strong* one; but, if ever applied, it will be *efficacious*, I'll warrant it. Whenever the proper time comes, I will make a fair bargain with the public: *no cure, no pay.* But, perhaps, it may be thought "*base lucre*" in me to sell my remedy. Very well, then, shall I say, I'll keep my remedy to myself, and keep you your disease. You cannot get my remedy out of me, if you were to rip me up. ——People may laugh at these pretensions of mine; but they will, if we live but a little longer, see that these pretensions have some foundation. I say I could tell the ministers how to cure the depreciation; I say I could tell them how to set all to rights again. I say I *will not* tell them how to do it; and if they laugh at me, I

can laugh at them. Let them go on with war and subsidies, and they will soon come to my shop I warrant them.
Others have written upon this subject, and many have well written; but the first man to say, in print, in England, that Bank Notes were depreciated, was

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 9th September, 1812.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

AMERICAN STATES.—*Instructions for the Privateer Armed Vessels of the United States.*

1. The tenour of your commission, under the Act of Congress, entitled, "An Act concerning Letters of Marque, Prizes, and Prize Goods," a copy of which is hereto annexed, will be constantly in your view. The high seas referred to in your Commission, you will understand generally to extend to low water mark, but with the exception of the space, neither one league nor three miles from the shore of countries at peace both with Great Britain and the United States; you may, nevertheless, execute your commission, rather than detain the shore of a nation at war with Great Britain, and even on the waters within the jurisdiction of such nation, if permitted so to do.——2. You are to pay the strictest regard to the rights of neutral powers, and usages of civilized nations; and in all your proceedings towards neutral vessels, you are to give them as little molestation or interruption, as will consist with the right of ascertaining their neutral character, and of detaining and bringing them under regular adjudication, in proper cases. You are particularly to avoid even the appearance of using force or seduction, with a view to deprive such vessels of their crews and of their passengers, other than persons in the military service of their country.——3. Towards every vessel, and their crews, you are to proceed in exercising the rights of war with all the justice and humanity which characterizes the nation of which you are a member.——4. The Master, and one or more of the principal persons belonging to a captured vessel, are to be sent, soon after the capture, to the Judge or Judges of the proper Courts of the United States, to be examined on oath touching the interests or property of the captured vessel and her lading; and, at the same time, are to be delivered to the Judge, or Judges, all passes, charter-party, bills of loading, invoices, letters, and other documents and writings, found on board; the said papers to be provided by the affidavit of the Commander of the captured vessel, or some of the persons present at the capture, to be produced as they are received, without fraud, addition, subduction, or embezzlement.——By the command of the President of the United States,

JAMES MONROE, Secretary of State.

An Act to prohibit American Vessels from proceeding to or trading with the Enemies of the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That no ship or vessel, owned in whole or in part by a citizen or citizens of the United States, shall be permitted to clear out or depart from any port or place within the limits of the United States, or territories thereof, to any foreign port or place, till the owner, agent, factor, freighter, master, or commander shall have given bond, with sufficient security, in the amount of such ship or vessel, and cargo, not to proceed to or trade with the enemies of the United States. And if any ship or vessel, owned as aforesaid, shall depart from any port or place within the limits of the United States, or territories thereof, for any foreign port or place, without giving bond with security aforesaid, such ship or vessel, and cargo, shall be forfeited to the use of the United States; and the owner or owners, freighter, factor, or agent, master, or commander, shall severally forfeit and pay a sum equal to the value of such ship or vessel, and cargo; and the said master or commander, if privy thereto, and being thereof convicted, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisoned for a term not exceeding twelve months, in the discretion of the Court.——Sect. 2. And be it further enacted, That if any citizen or citizens of the United States, or person inhabiting the same, shall transport or attempt to transport, overland or otherwise, in any waggon, cart, sleigh, boat, or otherwise, naval or military stores, arms, or the munitions of war, or any article of provision, from any place of the United States, to any place in Upper or Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, the waggon, cart, sleigh, boat, or the thing by which the said naval or military stores,

arms, or munitions of war, or articles of provisions, are transported or attempted to be transported, together with such naval or military stores, arms, or munitions of war or provisions, shall be forfeited to the use of the United States, and the person or persons aiding or privy to the same, shall severally forfeit and pay to the use of the United States, a sum equal in value to the waggon, cart, sleigh, boat, or thing, by which the said naval or military stores, arms, or munitions of war, or articles of provision are transported, or are attempted to be transported: and shall moreover be considered as guilty of a misdemeanour, and be liable to be fined in a sum not exceeding 500 dollars, and be imprisoned for a term not exceeding six months, in the discretion of the Court: provided that nothing herein contained shall extend to any transportation for the use or on account of the United States, or the supply of its troops or armed force.——Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the Collectors of the several ports of the United States be, and the same are hereby authorized to seize and stop naval and military stores, arms, or the munitions of war, or any articles of provision, and ship or vessel, waggon, cart, sleigh, boat, or thing by which any article prohibited as aforesaid is shipped or transported, or attempted to be shipped or transported, contrary to this act.——Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That no ship or vessel belonging to any citizen or citizens, subject or subjects of any state or kingdom, in amity with the United States, except such as at the passing of this act shall belong to the citizen or citizens, subject or subjects, or such a state or kingdom, or which shall hereafter be built in the limits of a state or kingdom in amity with the United States, or purchased by a citizen or citizens, subject or subjects of a state or kingdom in amity with the United States aforesaid, from a citizen or citizens of the United States, shall be admitted into any port or place of the United States, unless forced by a stress of weather, or for necessary repairs; and any ship or vessel belonging to a citizen or citizens, subject or subjects of any state or kingdom in amity with the United States aforesaid, except such ships and vessels as are above excepted, which shall, from and after the first day of November next, enter or attempt to enter, any port or place aforesaid, the same, with her cargo, shall be forfeited to the use of the United States.——Sect. 5. And be it further enacted, That any British packet or vessel with dispatches destined for the United States, and which shall have departed from any port or place in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or its dependencies, on or before the 1st day of September next, shall not be liable to be captured or condemned, but the same shall be permitted to enter and depart from any port or place in the United States: provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect any cartel or vessel with a flag of truce.——Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby authorized to give, at any time within six months after the passage of this act, passports for the safe transportation of any ship or other property, belonging to the British subjects, and which is now within the limits of the United States.——Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That every person, being a citizen of the United States, or residing therein, who shall receive, accept, or obtain a license from the Government of Great Britain, or any officer thereof, for leave to carry any merchandise, or send any vessel in any port or place within the dominions of Great Britain, or to trade with any such port or place, shall, on conviction for every such offence, forfeit a sum equal to twice the value of such ship, merchandise, or articles of trade, and shall moreover be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and be liable to be imprisoned not exceeding twelve months, and to be fined not exceeding one thousand dollars.

H. Clay,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Wm. Crawford,
President of the Senate, *pro tempore.*

Approved, James Madison.

July 6, 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

French account of the Battles of Salamanca and Castella.

Barcelona, *Aug.* 1.—On the 27th of July, at three o'clock in the morning, an expedition, consisting of the brigades Lamarque, Devaux, and Clement, marched from this, and arrived in the evening at Martorell. Orders were then given to the troops to march all night, and to attack Monserrat at the break of day. Some musket shots discharged by the sentinels of the insurgent army apprized the enemy of our approach, and at day-light we found our-

selves in front of the entrenched position of Casa Masana, where the corps of Manso was drawn up in order of battle. Dispositions were instantly made to carry the entrenchments. The enemy was overthrown and pursued to the gates of Manresa. Our troops then moved rapidly upon the convent, the approaches to which had been recently strengthened with works. The road is commanded by a fort which the English had caused to be constructed at the hermitage of St. Dimas, higher up than the convent, in a position almost inaccessible. Our troops passed under the fort, notwithstanding the multitude of balls, stones, and fragments of rocks which the Anglo-Catalan regiment stationed there showered down upon them. M. Lafaille, Chief of the battalion of Engineers, entered the convent with the foremost of the troops; but they were continually under the fire and the projectiles from the fort of St. Dimas. The column of the Chief of Battalion Sarrere, advancing by Colbato, drove away every enemy that opposed it, and arrived on one of the points of the mountain in front of the fort, from which it greatly annoyed the garrison by a well-supported fire of musketry.——The Adjutant Commandant, Ordonneau, and M. Lafaille, Chief of the battalion of Engineers, with a detachment of the Voltigeurs of the 111th regiment of the line, clambered up to the gate of the fort, by steps cut nearly perpendicularly in the rock, and in which a few resolute men would have easily arrested the progress of the strongest columns. The enemy called in their outer posts, and destroyed the bridge which led to the fort across a precipice. Major Chevalier, of the 11th of the line, then advanced upon the summits of the rocks situated in front of the fort, and summoned the English Commander to surrender; but received an answer in the negative. General Clement then directed Lafaille, Commandant of Engineers, to reconnoitre the position in which our two pieces of mountain cannon would be placed with advantage. These guns had been brought by 150 men of the third light regiment, of the 11th and 115th, and arrived at the position at two in the morning on the 29th. The remainder of the night was employed in the construction of batteries, which began to play at day-break. They were placed within less than musket-shot from the fort. Our voltigeurs, stationed in the highest points of the rocks, kept up a continual fire on the works; and favoured the action of the artillery. The enemy was disconcerted by so unexpected an attack, and consented to capitulate. By the capitulation, which was signed by the Adjutant Commandant Ordonneau, Chief of the Staff, and the English Colonel Green, the garrison were to be prisoners of war, and to be conducted to Barcelona.

The loss of the enemy has been very considerable, as well at the attack of Casa Masana as at that of the fort of Dimas, of Colbato, and Menistrol. These actions will have the most fortunate results; they have been extremely brilliant for all the troops, which clambered up, under the enemy's fire, those rocks which appeared to be inaccessible. The 29th and 30th were employed in destroying and blowing up the fort, the works of the enemy, and a part of the Convent. Thus the insurgents, who had prepared one of the finest religious edifices in christendom, by transforming it into a fortress, and in making it an arsenal and a depot for all articles necessary for war, are alone to blame for the destruction of this celebrated monument, the object of the ancient veneration of the people.——We have brought to Barcelona the English Colonel Green, one Lieutenant-Colonel, 15 officers, and 260 non-commissioned officers and privates of the Anglo-Catalan force, which were formed, paid, and commanded by the English. This was the basis of that corps on which the authors of the Catalonian insurrection founded their greatest hopes.

VALENCIA, *July* 20.—For a considerable time past, a combined attack upon the army of Arragon, and a descent upon the coasts either of Catalonia or Valencia, has been contemplated at Majorca and Alicant. On the 10th, the Marshal Duke d'Albufera had an interview at Reus with the Commander in Chief Decaen. The junction of their columns upon the coast drove Lacy off, and frustrated the expedition from Majorca. A part of the fleet was separated from the whole. On his return to Valencia, on the 12th, the Marshal found Villacampa at the gates of Lina, with 1,000 men; while Passecour, at the head of 1,500, was employed in the attack of Cossentes and Reguena; and Ouda and Segorba were menaced by a small body of troops. His Excellency ordered General La Fosse to march with the 121st, the 8th Neapolitan, and some cuirassiers; at the head of these he routed the enemy. In the mean time the army of Murcia, which had effected a junction, and had been reinforced, seemed dis-

posed to attack in front of Xucar. On the 21st, an English fleet of ten sail, of which four were ships of the line and four frigates, and the remainder sloops and transports, appeared before Valencia, and having the wind in their favour, passed rapidly on from Denia to Cullera, between the mouths of the Xucar and the Albufera, seeming as if they were just about to land, and keeping up a fire on the forts, which in return fired on them. The Marshal Duke of Albufera immediately adapted measures for their repulse. He recalled Gen. La Fosse from Reguena, and the 121st from Segorba. The 14th proceeded with all possible speed from Alcira to Cullera; and the 4th hussars, the artillery, and a part of the 1st light battalion, and the 114th, made a forced march in the night to the part of the coast which had been menaced.——Towards the evening, by good luck, quite unexpected, the wind changed suddenly, and blew with such violence from the east, that the fleet, after having passed the night in vain efforts, was obliged to luff and bear away on the 22d. In the course of the night the Commander in Chief visited the coast, and made himself the various dispositions of the troops.——At the same time General Harispe, at the head of the 2d division, had advanced before Alcoy, in presence of the army of Murcia; the 1st brigade to Castella, under the orders of General Delort, and the second to Ibi, commanded by Colonel Mesilop. General Harispe, foreseeing the attack, had chosen a central position, where the troops were to rendezvous and receive it. From the former evening the movements of the enemy were known, and the necessary arrangements made. On the 21st, by day-break, the Commander in Chief, Joseph O'Donnel, at the head of four columns, attacked Delort, who, pursuant to his instructions, retired *en echellon*, and called in upon the point fixed upon the camps of Biar and Oiull. No sooner was the first shot fired than Colonel Mesilop, whose troops were ready, and under arms, marched to join General Delort, when he was himself attacked by a corps of 6,000 men, commanded by the English General Roche, who had come by Xixona. With the assistance of the guns in the little fort of Ibi, with the voltigeurs of the 44th, and a handful of cuirassiers, he stops the progress of the enemy as they are passing a ravine, and repulses them; but faithful to his orders, he leaves some companies to observe the motions of the enemy with the garrison of the fort, and proceeds immediately to the field of battle, while General Harispe is calling in, from Alcoy, the reserve of the artillery and the cuirassiers, and the flank companies of the 116th.——Gen. O'Donnel had made a brisk attack. General Delort, who had taken up an advantageous position, kept up a heavy and severe fire with his artillery. The 24th dragoons, when they arrived on the right, hung upon the left wing of the enemy, who were much harassed in consequence, and brought up two field-pieces against the cavalry as they marched. In the mean time, Colonel Mesilop having arrived on the left, General Delort did not think proper to delay any longer. The troops expected this time with confidence, and on the signal being given, as fiery as they had before been cool, they rushed upon the enemy on all sides, the cavalry and artillery in a trot, and the infantry making a running charge. Colonel Bubessi leads the dragoons straight forward against the battery which was playing on them with grape. It is carried in an instant, the artillerymen are put to the sword, a brigade of infantry, who supported the guns, are attacked at the same onset, broken, and made prisoners. The infantry and the cuirassiers at the same time make their way into Castella, carrying every thing before them. They complete the rout of the enemy's entire line, which flies on all sides. The streets of Castella are strewed with dead bodies, and Reramberger, the commandant of a battalion, compels 400 men, who have taken refuge in the citadel, to lay down their arms.——After this brilliant success, Colonel Mesilop hastily returns to Ibi with his column. The enemy was in the village, he attacks and overthrows him, and drives him beyond the ravine, leaving behind him a great number of killed and prisoners; then assembling his forces, he pursues him from position to position across the rocks, till the reserve of the 116th appearing upon the mountains in his rear, complete his defeat. ——The loss of the enemy in this affair is supposed to be as much as 3,600 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Brigadier General Laban, and several officers of rank, are among the killed; among the prisoners are four Colonels, five Lieutenant-Colonels, 125 officers of minor rank. We have not lost more than 233 killed and wounded.

Colonel Mesilop, whose conduct during the whole action was highly praiseworthy, had his horse killed under him. Generals, officers, and soldiers, all performed

their duty with the utmost zeal, and contributed to the success of this glorious day. ——The head-quarters of the Duke of Albufera are now at Cullera.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.—— *Bulletins of the Grand French Army.——Fifth Bulletin,* *(continued from page 318.)*

to the right, and made for Ochmiana. General Baron Pajol arrived at that place with his light cavalry at the moment when Doctorow's advanced vanguard entered it. General Pajol charged. The enemy was sabred and overthrown in the town; he lost 60 men killed and 18 prisoners. Gen. Pajol had five men killed and some wounded. This charge was made by the 9th regiment of Polish lancers.——Gen. Doctorow, seeing his route intercepted, fell back upon Olchanoni. Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl, with a division of infantry, the Cuirassiers of the division of Count de Valence, and the second regiment of light cavalry of the guard, moved upon Ochmiana, in order to support General Pajol.——The corps of Doctorow, thus cut off and driven towards the South, continued to prosecute the movement on the right by forced marches, with the sacrifice of its baggage. Upon Smoroghoni, Danowcholf, and Roboulncki, whence he made for the Dwina. This movement had been foreseen. Gen. Nansouty, with a division of Cuirassiers, the division of Light Cavalry of Count Bruyere, and Count Moraand's division of infantry advanced to Mikailitchki, with a view to cut off this corps. He arrived on the 3d at Swin, at the time when it passed that place, and pushed it briskly. He took a large number of waggons, and obliged the enemy to abandon some hundreds of baggage-carts.——The uncertainty, the anxiety, the marches, and countermarches which these troops had endured, the fatigues which they had undergone, must have made them suffer severely.——Torrents of rain fell during thirty-six hours, without intermission. The weather has suddenly changed from extreme heat to very severe cold. Several thousand of horses have perished by the effects of this sudden transition. Convoys of artillery have been stopped by the mud.——This terrible storm, which has fatigued both men and beasts, has unavoidably retarded our march; and the corps of Doctorow, which successively fell in with the columns of General Borde Soult, of General Pajol, and General Nansouty, has narrowly escaped destruction.——Prince Bagration, with the 5th corps stationed more in the rear, marches towards the Dwina. He set out on the 30th of June from Wolkowitsk to Minsk.——The King of Westphalia entered Grodno the same day. The division Dombrowski passed it first. The Hetman Platow was still at Grodno with his Cossacks. When charged by the light cavalry of Prince Poniatowski, the Cossacks were dispersed in every direction. Twenty were killed and 60 made prisoners.——At Grodno were found materials for 100,000 rations of bread and some remains of magazines.——It had been foreseen, that Bagration would have fallen back upon the Dwina, by drawing as near as possible to Dunabourg; and the General of Division, Count Grouchy, had been sent to Bogdanow. He was on the 3d at Trabmi. Marshal the Prince of Echmuhl, reinforced by two divisions, was on the 4th at Wichnew. If the Prince Poniatowski had vigorously pressed the rear-guard of Bagration, that corps would have been endangered.——All the enemy's corps are in a state of the greatest uncertainty. The Hetman Platow was still ignorant on the 30th of June, that Wilna had been two days in the possession of the French. He took the direction towards that city as far as Lida, at which place he changed his route, and moved towards the South.——The sun during the whole of the 4th re-established the roads. Every thing is now organizing at Wilna. The suburbs have suffered by the vast crowds of people that rushed into them during the continuance of the tempest. There was a Russian apparatus there for 60,000 rations. Another has been established for an equal number of rations. Magazines are forming. The head of the convoys arrives at Kowno by the Niemen. Twenty thousand quintals of flour, and a million rations of biscuit, have just arrived here from Dantzic.

Sixth Bulletin of the Grand French Army. Wilna, July 11, 1812.

The King of Naples continues to follow the enemy's rear-guard. On the 5th he met the enemy's cavalry in a position upon the Dwina. He caused it to be charged by the brigade of light cavalry, commanded by General Baron Subervie. The Prussian regiments, the Wirtembergers and Poles, which form a part of this brigade, charged

with the greatest intrepidity. They overturned a line of Russian dragoons and hussars, and took 200 prisoners, with their horses. When they arrived on the other side of the Dwina, they broke down the bridges, and showed a disposition to defend the passage of the river. General Count Montbrun then brought up his five batteries of light artillery, which, during several hours, carried destruction into the ranks of the enemy. The loss of the Russians has been considerable.——General Count Sebastiani arrived on the same day at Vidzoni, whence the Emperor of Russia had departed on the preceding evening. ——Our advanced guard is upon the Dwina.——General Count Nansouty was, on the 5th of July, at Postavoni. In order to pass the Dziana, he proceeded six miles farther on the right of the King of Naples. The General of brigade, Roussel, with the 9th regiment of Polish light cavalry, and the 2d regiment of Prussian hussars, passed the river, overthrew six Russian squadrons, sabred a great number, and took 45 prisoners, with several officers. General Nansouty praises the conduct of General Roussel, and mentions, with commendation, Lieutenant Borke, of the Prussian hussars, the Sub-Officer Kranse, and the hussar, Lutze. His Majesty has granted the insignia of the Legion of Honour to General Roussel, and to the Officers and Sub-officers above-named.——General Nansouty took 130 Russian mounted hussars and dragoons prisoners.——On the 3d of July the communication was opened between Grodno and Wilna by Lida. The Hetman Platoff, with 6,000 Cossacks, when driven out of Grodno, moved towards Lida, and found there the French posts. He descended to Ivie on the 5th.——General Count Grouchy occupied Witchnew, Traboni, and Soubotnicky. General Baron Pagol was at Perchia; General Baron Bade Soult was at Blackchtoni; Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl was in advance of Bobrowitzki, pushing heads of columns in every direction.——Platoff retreated precipitately on the 6th, to Nikolaew.——Prince Bagration having set out in the beginning of July from Wolkowisk on his route for Wilna, was intercepted in his march. He turned back with a view to reach Minsk; anticipated there by the Prince of Eckmuhl, he altered his direction, gave up his intention of proceeding towards the Dwina, and moved towards the Boristhene, by Bobruisk, across the marshes of Beresina.——Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl entered Minsk on the 8th. He found there considerable magazines of flour, hay, clothing, &c. Bagration had already arrived at Novoi-Sworgiew: perceiving that he was anticipated, he sent orders to burn the magazines; but the Prince of Eckmuhl did not give time for effecting these orders.——The King of Westphalia was on the 9th at Nowogrodek; General Regnier at Konina: magazines, baggage waggons, quantities of medicines, and straggling parties, fall into our hands every instant. The Russian divisions are straying in these countries without any previously arranged route, pursued on every side, losing their baggage, burning their magazines, destroying their artillery, and leaving their places without defence.——General Baron Colbert took, at Vileika, a magazine of 300 quintals of flour, a hundred thousand rations of bread, &c. He found also at Vileika a chest containing 200,000 francs, in copper money. ——All these advantages have scarcely cost the French army a man. Since the opening of the campaign there have been but about thirty killed in all the corps, about 100 wounded, and ten prisoners; whilst we have already taken from 2,000 to 2,500 Russian prisoners.——The Prince of Schwartzenberg passed the Bug at Droghitschin, pursued the enemy in different directions, and made himself master of many baggage carts. The Prince of Schwartzenberg praises the reception he has met with from the inhabitants, and the spirit of patriotism which animates these countries.——Thus, ten days after opening the campaign, our advanced posts are upon the Dwina. Almost the whole of Lithuania, containing four millions of inhabitants, has been conquered. The operations of the war commenced at the passage of the Vistula. The projects of the Emperor were from that time plainly unfolded, and he had no time to lose in carrying them into execution. Thus, the army has been making forced marches from the period of passing that river, in order to advance by means of manœuvres upon the Dwina, for the distance between the Vistula and the Dwina is greater than that between the Dwina and Mosiere or Petersburg. The Russians appear to be concentrating themselves upon Dunaburg: they give out that it is their intention to wait for us and to give us battle before we enter their ancient provinces, after having abandoned Poland without a contest; as if they were constrained by justice, and had wished to restore a country badly acquired, is as much

as it had not been gained by treaties, or by the right of conquest.——The heat continues to be very violent.——The people of Poland are in motion on all sides. The White Eagle is hoisted every where. Priests, nobles, peasants, women, all call for the independence of their nation. The peasants are extremely jealous of the happiness of the peasants of the Grand Duchy, who are free; for, whatever may be said to the contrary, liberty is considered by the Lithuanians as the greatest blessing. The peasants express themselves with a vivacity of elocution, which would not seem to belong to the climates of the North, and all embrace with transport, the hope that the result of the struggle will be the re-establishment of their liberty. The peasants of the Grand Duchy have gained by their liberty, not that they are richer, but that the proprietors are obliged to be moderate, just, and humane; because otherwise the peasants would quit their lands in order to seek better proprietors. Thus the noble loses nothing; he is only obliged to be just, and the peasant gains much. It must be an agreeable gratification for the heart of the Emperor, to witness, in crossing the Grand Duchy, the transports of joy and gratitude which the blessing of liberty, granted to four millions of men, has excited. ——Six regiments of infantry are just ordered to be raised by a new levy in Lithuania, and four regiments of cavalry have been offered by the nobility.

Acts relative to the Organization of Lithuania.

Order of the Day.—Article I. There shall be a Provisional Government of Lithuania, composed of seven Members and a Secretary General.—II. The Commission of the Provisional Government of Lithuania shall be charged with the administration of the finances, with the care of the means of subsistence, with the organization of the troops of the country, with the formation of the national guards, and of the gens-d'armie.—III. There shall be an Imperial Commissioner with the Commissioner of the Provisional Government of Lithuania. —IV. Each of the Governments of Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, and Bialistock shall be administered by a Commission of three Members, with an Intendant presiding.—V. These Administrative Commissions shall be under the orders of the Provisional Commission of the Government of Lithuania.—VI. The Administration of each District shall be confided to a Sub Prefect.—VII. There shall be in the city of Wilna a Mayor, four Assistants, and a Municipal Council, composed of twelve Members. This Administration shall be charged with the management of the property of the city, with the superintendence of the Charitable Establishments, and with the Municipal Police.—VIII. A national guard, consisting of two battalions, shall be formed at Wilna. Each battalion shall have six companies. This national guard shall be organized in the following manner:—Etat-Major. One Commandant, two Chiefs a Battalion, two Adjutant-Majors, one Quarter-Master, two Adjutant Sub-Officers, one Drum-Major, three Master Artificers, one Surgeon-Major, one Assistant Surgeon, eight Musicians (22).—Companies. One Captain, one Lieutenant, one Sub-Lieutenant, one Sergeant-Major, four Sergeants, one Corporal Quarter-master, four Corporals, two Drummers, and 100 soldiers, making, in each Company, 119. The strength of the two battalions 1450.—IX. There shall be in each of the Governments of Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, and Bialistock, a corps of *gendarmerie*, commanded by a Colonel, having under his orders, those of the Governments of Wilna and Minsk, two Chiefs of squadrons; those of the Governments of Grodno and Bialistock, one Chief of a squadron. There shall be a company of *gendarmerie* in each district. Each Company shall be composed of one Captain Commandant, one Second Captain, one First Lieutenant, two Second Lieutenants, one principal Quarter-master, four Quarter-masters, sixteen Brigadiers, eighty volunteer *gens d'armes*, and one trumpeter, total 107.—X. The Colonel of gendarmerie shall reside at the chief seat of the Government. The residence of the officers, and the stationing of the brigades, shall be determined by the Provisional Commission of the Government of Lithuania.—XI. The officers, sub officers, and volunteers of the gendarmerie shall be taken from the gentlemen proprietors of the district: no one can be exempted. They shall be appointed, viz. the officers by the Provisional Commission of the Government of Lithuania: the sub-officers and volunteers by the Administrative Commission of the Governments of Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, and Bialistock.—XII. The Polish uniform shall be that of the gendarmerie.—XIII. The gendarmerie shall perform the service of the police; it shall support the public authority; and shall arrest traitors, marauders,

and deserters of whatever army.—XIV. Our Order of the Day of the —— of last June shall be published in each Government, and there shall consequently be established in each a Military Commission.—XV. The Major-General shall appoint a General or Superior Officer, either French or Polish, of the troops of the line to the command in each Government. He shall have under his orders the national guards, the gendarmerie, and the troops of the country. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

Imperial Head-quarters, Wilna,
July 1, 1812.

[Then follow a number of other Orders of the Day, of the same date, appointing the several Members of the Provisional Commissioners of Government, &c.]

Warsaw, July 7.—His Highness, Prince Poniatowski, General in Chief of the Fifth Corps of the Grand Army, has addressed to the Poles, who are under his command, the following Order of the Day:

Head-quarters, Baygodo, July 6.

SOLDIERS!—In communicating to you the Proclamation of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, I am convinced of the sentiments with which you will reply to his appeal, and that you will readily perceive that a new field is opening to you, in which you will cover yourselves with glory. Already in two wars you have had an opportunity of recognizing the restorer of your country, and of laying the foundation of the glory of the Polish army. I have no doubt that, forming as you do in the present war, in the grand army, a corps, which this powerful Protector has himself denominated the Army of Poland, and which is to decide the fate of many millions of Poles, your countrymen, you will then prove yourselves worthy of the French, in conjunction with whom we fight, as well as of those projectors which have, during so long a period, formed the object of our wishes, and which now begin to be put in execution for us. We ought, then, to redouble our efforts. Let no fatigues, no privations, enfeeble the warlike spirit which we have inherited. We shall once more prove to the whole world that the sacred name of country renders its real children invincible.

Posen, July 11.—Different corps of troops are continually passing through our city on their way to the Grand Army. Yesterday the Saxon regiment of "low" infantry arrived here; one part of it was quartered in the city, and the rest in the villages in the environs. Within the last three months, from the 1st of April to the 30th of June, our city has had quartered upon it, 7 Marshals, 73 Generals, 416 Officers on the Staff, 3,642 Officers, 89,613 Sub-officers and privates, and 10,902 horses.

Berlin, July 14.—On the 11th of this month, his Highness the Prince of Orange set out for Vogelsdorf, on his way to Breslau. According to the most recent intelligence from the army, the few Swiss regiments were stationed in the environs of Marienwerder, a short distance from Dantzic.—In the place where the Dwina and the Niemen approach nearest to each other, that is to say, from Dunaburg to Kowno, the distance of these two rivers asunder is twenty German miles.

Wilna, July 11.—*Extract from the Lithuanian Courier.* — *Proclamation of the Provisional Committee to the Lithuanians.*

CITIZENS—For the space of twenty years a foreign Government has communicated its orders to us in language with which we are unacquainted. Listen now to the voice of your brothers; listen to the voice of Poles addressing you in the Polish language. Return thanks to Providence, which evidently manifests its beneficent designs towards you, through Napoleon the Great. His coming, like that of the Sun, before which the ice dissolves, has dissipated every obstacle, and his benign accents, while they awake the joy of hope in our bosoms, fill us with sentiments of the most ardent gratitude.—By the Order of the Day of the 4th of July, by which a Provisional Government has been constituted, we are enabled to call upon you to partake our sentiments. Can there be any more reasonable ground for exultation than the hope of seeing our country once more take her rank amongst the nations?—You shall be witnesses of our solicitude to assuage your evils, and lessen, as much as possible, the calamities of war. The sacrifices we shall call on you to make will be but slight, when put in comparison with the benefits we shall procure you. Having promised thus much, we declare that we have been installed as a Provisional Government, and we invite all our fellow-citizens to enter upon the necessary relations with us.

Signed by the Members of the Commission.

The Provisional Commissioners of the Government of the Duchy of Lithuania to the Clergy of the Diocese of Wilna.

The principles of the religion of the Lithuanian people are well known. They have been well inculcated by a wise and

enlightened clergy. —— The Provisional Government cannot better announce to the people the benignity of the Great Napoleon, who has been led by Providence into Lithuania, nor choose a better channel to make them acquainted with the amelioration of their lot, than by confiding this great interest to the Clergy.—We therefore order the people to assemble for the purpose of returning thanks to God, who has been graciously pleased to send us this saviour of Poland, and to pray that he will further the successes of his arms.—The Clergy will afterwards endeavour to cherish proper sentiments in the people, so that, supported by their religion, they may continue with their agricultural labours.—The peasantry must not be remiss in the performance of their duty. Their safety and happiness depend thereon.—They may discover in the abundant harvest before them, the evident assistance afforded by Providence to Napoleon the Great.—Let them peaceably gather in their crops, as in ordinary times. Circumstances even require an increase of zeal, and it cannot be doubted, that with the feelings by which they appear to be now actuated, but that they will be eager to shew the utmost.—*Done the 7th July*, 1812.

SIGNED BY THE COMMISSIONERS.

July 15.—We still enjoy the presence of His Majesty, who rides out every day, attended by a very few persons.—The day before yesterday His Majesty gave audience to the Polish Deputies, the Senators Warvedon, Wibiski, Wladislaus, Count Jarousky, &c. They have been commissioned by the General Confederation of Poland to bear their homage to His Majesty. They were presented by His Excellency the Duke of Bassano, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The President of the Deputation, the Senator Warvedon Wybiski was spokesman. —The answer of His Majesty was couched in the most gracious terms.—— The same day, the 11th, some inhabitants of the Duchy of Samogitia, M. M. Bilwuz, Bralosewoq Jellemshy, and other Officers, having at their head, the old Marshal of the Court of Zietgua, had the honour of being admitted to His Majesty's presence, they assured him how much the Samogitians wish to partake in the honour enjoyed by their brethren at Wilna.—His Majesty conversed with them on all matters, relating to the interests of their country.— Our city, was never so brilliant as it has been for the last 15 days. The greatest of Sovereigns is resident within its walls, within which also are assembled the principal citizens of our country. A youthful and impetuous race have arranged themselves under the Polish Eagles; it is here proper to mention the names of those zealous children of Lithuania who were the first to take arms and equip themselves at their own expense. In the guard of honour we find Prince Oginski, its chief; Count Plater, M. M. Pilgudski, Briot Bemco, Romer, Chlewiski—(here follows several other Polish names).—In the Lithuanian Guard, commanded by Brigadier Konophill, we find M. M. Magelonki, Narbut, and Michalowisk, completely equipped. A great number of young persons are busily employed equipping themselves. We have no doubt but that the Lithuanians will seek the opportunities to distinguish themselves as the gallant fellows of the regiment, commanded by Count Knadinski, did at Som, Sierra, and Benevente.—The Bishop of Korakowski has had the honour of being twice brought to Court to say mass in the Imperial Chapel. He received a diamond ring as a present. The Priests who accompanied him had also presents.— The grand national festival was celebrated here yesterday with universal enthusiasm. —At eleven o'clock all the Clergy were assembled in the porticos of the Church, to receive the Constituted Authorities.—At noon a numerous procession, consisting of the Members of the Provisional Commission, the Deputies of the Grand Confederation, the Commission of Administration, the Members of the Tribunals, the Sub-Prefect, the Mayor, the Municipality, the Guard of Honour, the Officers of the Gendarmerie of the City, finally, of all the Public Functionaries, arrived at the Cathedral, where they were introduced by the Clergy.—Bishop Korakowski officiated; when Te Deum was sung, the President of the Provisional Commission delivered a very eloquent discourse, and published the Act of Confederation of Poland. When the reading of the Act was over, cries of "Long live the Emperor Napoleon the Great," a thousand times repeated, filled the spacious arches of the church.—*Salvum fac imperatorem Napoleonem*,—was then sung; after this ceremony all the authorities proceeded to the residence of His Excellency the Duke of Bassano, to present to him the Act of Confederation, and beg that he would submit it to His Majesty.— It was announced the same day that the

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and *sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their offic , and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty: that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment, that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about two hours after I was put into the same yard with him, and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects, that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"If I were asked what ought to be done to prevent war with America, I should say: first repeal "the Orders in Council; but, I am far from supposing, that that measure alone would be suffi- "cient. Indeed, it seems to me, that the impressment of American seamen must be abandoned." ——Pol. Register, Vol. XXI. page 200. Feb. 15, 1812.

TO THE

PRINCE REGENT,

ON THE DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.

Letter VIII.

Sir,

During the time that I was imprisoned for two years in Newgate for writing about the flogging of the Local Militia, in the town of Ely, and about the employment of German Troops upon that occasion, I addressed to your Royal Highness several Letters, the object of which was *to prevent this country from being plunged into war with America*. I took great pleasure in offering to you advice, which I thought would be beneficial to my country; and, of course, I have experienced great sorrow at seeing that that advice has not been followed, and that, in consequence of its rejection, we are now actually in a state of war with our brethren across the Atlantic.

Those corrupters and blinders of the people, the hired writers, do yet attempt to make their readers believe, that we are not at war with the Republic of America. They it is, who have hastened, if not actually produced this war; for, they it was, who reviled the American President, and who caused it to be believed here, that he and the Congress *dared not go to war*. What pains, alas! have I taken to convince your Royal Highness of the folly and falsehood of these opinions! Though my mind was busied with the means of raising the thousand pounds fine to pay TO THE KING (and which you have received from me in his behalf), I let slip no occasion to caution you against believing these representations. I told you (and you might as well have believed me), that the *American* people were *something;* that *they* had a say in the measures of government; that they would not suffer themselves to be plunged into war for the gain of a set of lazy and rapacious fellows; but that, if their country's good demanded it, they would go to war; and that such war would, in all probability, be very calamitous to England.

While I was telling you this, your late minister, Perceval, was laughing at the idea of America going to war; and his opinion was upheld by all the venal scribes in the kingdom; that is to say, by nineteen twentieths, perhaps, of all those who write in news-papers, and other political works. That we really *are at war* with America, however, the following document clearly proves. The American Congress declared war in due form; they passed an Act making war against your Royal Sire and his people; their government issued Letters of Marque and Reprisals; but, still our hirelings said that there was *no war*. The following proclamation, however, issued by an American General from his head-quarters in Canada, which province he has invaded, puts the fact of war beyond all doubt.

"*By William Hull, Brigadier-General and "Commander in Chief of the North West- "ern Army of the United States.*

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Inhabitants of Canada!—After thirty "years of peace and prosperity, the United "States have been driven to arms. The "injuries and aggressions, the insults and "indignities of Great Britain, have once "more left them no alternative but manly "resistance or unconditional submission.— "The army under my command has invad- "ed your country, and the standard of "Union now waves over the territory of "Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending "inhabitants, it brings neither danger nor "difficulty. I come to find enemies, not "to make them. I come to protect, not to "injure them.——Separated by an im- "mense ocean and an extensive wilderness "from Great Britain, you have no partici- "pation in her councils, no interests in her "conduct; you have felt her tyranny, you "have seen her injustice; but I do not ask "you to avenge the one or redress the

"other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford every security consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings of civil, political, and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity. That liberty which gave decision to our councils, and energy to our conduct, in a struggle for independence, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution—that liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world; and which afforded us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any country.——In the name of my country, and by the authority of Government, I promise you protection to your persons, property, and rights. Remain at your homes—pursue your peaceful and customary avocations—raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of free men.——Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency—I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the van-guard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interests, and the just expectation of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages let loose to murder our citizens and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife will be the signal of one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner; instant destruction will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice, and humanity, cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness—I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace, liberty, and security; your choice lies between these and war—slavery and destruction. Choose, then, but choose wisely; and may He who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and happiness.

"By the General,

"A. P. Hull, Capt. the 13th United States' Regiment of Infantry and Aid-de-Camp.

"*Head-quarters, Sandwich,*
"*July* 12, 1812."

He, Sir, who will not believe in this, would not believe though one were to rise from the dead. This is an animating address, and, it is, at least, possible that it may prove the fore-runner of the fall of Canada, which, when once gone, will never, I believe, return to the English Crown.

The fact of war being now ascertained beyond all doubt, the next thing for us to think of is, the means by which we are to obtain peace with this new and most formidable enemy. The hired writers, unable any longer to keep from their readers the fact that war has taken place, are now affecting to treat the matter *lightly;* to make the people of England believe, that the Americans will be driven out of Canada; that the people of America hate the war; and that, at any rate, the Congress will be obliged to put an end to the war when the intelligence of the repeal of our Orders in Council shall arrive at the seat of the American government.

These being the assertions now most in vogue and most generally listened to, I will give your Royal Highness my reasons for disbelieving them.

First, as to the probability of the Americans being baffled in their designs upon Canada, if the contest was a contest of *man to man,* upon ground wholly neutral, I should say, that the advantage might be on our side; but, I am not sure that it would; for, the Americans have given repeated proofs of their courage. They are, indeed, known to be as brave as any people in the world. They are, too, volunteers, *real* volunteers, in the service they are now

upon. The American army does not consist of a set of poor creatures, whom misery and vice have made soldiers; it does not consist of the off-casts and out-casts of the country. It consists of a band of freemen, who understand things, and who are ready to fight for what they understand: and not of a set of half-cripples; of creatures that require to be trussed up in order to prevent them from falling to pieces. It is the youth; the strong, the active, the hardy, the sound youth of America whom our army in Canada have to face; and, though I do not say, that the latter will be unable to resist them, yet I must say, that I *fear* they will not, when I consider, that the Americans can, with ease, pour in a force of *forty or fifty thousand men*, and when I hear it stated, that we have not above fourteen or fifteen thousand men in Canada, exclusive of the Militia, upon whom I do not know what degree of reliance is to be placed. After all, however, the question of success in the invasion of Canada, will, as in the cases of France and Holland, depend wholly upon *the people* of Canada. If they have reason to fight for their present government; if they be convinced, that a change of government would *make their lot worse*, they will, of course, rise and fight against the invaders, and then our commander may safely set General Hull at defiance; but, if the people of Canada should have been inveigled to believe, that a change of government would be for their benefit, I must confess that I should greatly doubt in our power of resistance. It will be quite useless for us to reproach the people of Canada with their want of zeal in defence of their country. We have reproached the Dutch, and the Italians, and the Hanoverians for the like; but, Sir, it answers no purpose. Such reproaches do not tend to drive out the invaders; nor do they tend to deter other nations from following the example of the invaded party. What a *whole nation* wills must, sooner or later, take place.

As to the SECOND assertion, that the people of America hate the war, I must say, that I have seen no proof of such hatred. The Americans, being a reflecting people and a people resolutely bent upon preserving their freedom, have a *general* hatred of war, as being, generally speaking, hostile to that freedom. But, in the choice of evils, if war should appear the least evil, they will not fail to take it; and, indeed, they *have taken it;* for, in America, it is really the people who declare war; the Congress is the *real* representative of the people; there are no sham elections; no buyings and sellings of votes and of false oaths; but the members are the unbought, uncorrupted, unenslaved agents of the people, and, if they cease to speak the sentiments of those who elect them, they are put out of the Congress at the end of a very few months. It is, therefore, not only false, but stupid, to affect to believe that the war is *unpopular*, and that the *government* is odious in the eyes of the people. The whole of the government is of the people. All its members are chosen by them; and, if it ceased to please them, it would soon cease to exist. Nothing, therefore, can be so absurd as to suppose that a measure so important as that of war has been adopted *against the will of the people.*

This opinion has been attempted to be sustained upon the evidence of a riot at Baltimore, the object of which was the silencing of a news-paper, and the end of which was bloodshed on both sides. But, from this fact the exactly contrary conclusion ought to be drawn. The news-paper in question was, it appears, *hostile to the war;* and, therefore, a riot, in order to silence such paper, cannot be considered as a proof of *unpopularity* attached to the war. The truth appears to have been, that the editor of the paper was pretty notorious as being bribed to put forth what gave so much offence to the people, who were, upon this particular occasion, unable to imitate the tolerant conduct of their government. It was, however, very wrong to assail the corrupt tool by force. He should have been left to himself; for, though this species of attack upon the liberty of the press is far less injurious to that liberty than the base attacks, dictated by despotism, and masked under the visor of forms dear to freedom; still it is an *attack;* it is answering statements or arguments by violence; by something other than statement and argument. Therefore, I disapprove of the attack; but I cannot consider it as a mark of the unpopularity of the war, of the precise contrary of which it is, indeed, a very bad proof.

Much having, in our hired news-papers, been said of this riot; it having been represented as a proof of bad government in America, and (which is more to my present purpose) as a sign of *approaching anarchy*, tending to the overthrow of that government which has declared war against us, I must trespass a little further upon this head, to beg your Royal Highness to believe nothing that the hired men say upon

the subject. When the war with France began in 1793; that war which appears not to promise any end; when that war began, many riots took place in England against those who were opposed to the war; many houses were destroyed; many printing-offices demolished; many booksellers put to flight; many men were totally ruined, and that, too, by mobs marching and burning and killing under banners on which were inscribed "CHURCH AND KING." Now, as there was not a general anarchy to follow these things in England, I beg your Royal Highness not to be persuaded to believe, that anarchy will follow the demolishing of a printing-office in the United States of America, where there are more news-papers than there are in all Europe, this country included. Once more, however, I express my disapprobation, and even my abhorrence, of that demolition; which was the less excusable, as the assailants had freedom, *real* freedom of the press, to answer any thing which the bribed printer might publish, and even to publish an account of his bribery. Such, however, appears to have been the popular feeling *in favour of the war*, that no consideration was of sufficient weight to restrain the resentment of the people against a man who was daily declaiming against that measure.

If we conclude, as, I think, we must, that the people of America were in favour of the war at the time when it was declared, the next thing to be considered is, what effect the intelligence of the repeal of our Orders in Council will have in America. The question is, in short, whether that intelligence will make such a change in the sentiments of the people of America *as to produce peace*. I think it will not. There are some persons in England who seem to believe, that the receipt of that intelligence will, at once, put an end to the war; for, they do not appear to consider any *treaty* necessary to the restoration of peace with America.

Not only must there be a *negociation* and a *treaty*, or *convention*, before there can be peace, or even a suspension of arms; but, I am of opinion, that no such treaty or convention will be made without more being done by us than *merely the repealing of our Orders in Council*, which removes but a part, and not, by any means, the greatest part, of the grievances of which the Americans complain. So long ago as the month of February last, as will be seen by my motto, I expressed to your Royal Highness my opinion, that the mere repeal of the Orders in Council would not satisfy the people of America. It was, therefore, with no small degree of surprise, that I saw (from the reports in the news-papers), that Mr. Brougham *had pledged himself to support the ministers in a war against America, if she should not be satisfied with their measure of repeal.* I was surprised at this, because Mr. Brougham must have seen, that she complained of the *impressment of her seamen*, and of divers other things, which she deemed to be injuries. Besides, did Mr. Brougham imagine, that our two years' nearly of refusal to repeal were to go off without any thing done by us in the way of compensation? The history of the transaction is this: The American President announces in 1810, that, unless we repeal our Orders by a certain day, in the same way that France had done, a certain law shall go into force against us. We do not comply; we continue in what he calls a violation of his country's rights for a year and a half after the time appointed for repealing; at the end of that time an inquiry takes place in parliament, and two volumes are published, containing evidence of the ruinous consequences *to us* of the measure which America has adopted. *Thereupon* we repeal. But, Sir, Mr. Brougham can hardly want to be told, that America has made *no promise to be satisfied* with any repeal which should take place *after* her act should go into effect. Indeed, she has never made any such promise; nor was it to be supposed, that, when she saw that her measure of exclusion was ruining us, she would be content with our merely doing that which was calculated to *save ourselves*. This, in fact, is our language to her: we refused to repeal our Orders till we found that the not repealing of them was injurious *to ourselves*, and, therefore, we now repeal them, and, in consequence, call upon you *to act as if we had never refused.*

This, Sir, is what no nation can be supposed to listen to. We do what America deems an injury; we do what she says is sufficient to justify her in declaring war against us. And, after a while, we desist; but notoriously because proof has been produced that perseverance *is injurious to ourselves*. In the meanwhile she declares war to compel us to do that which we have done before we hear of her declaration. And, under these circumstances, can we expect her to disarm, until she has obtained something like *indemnification* for

the injuries which she alleges she has sustained? If, there were in existence no ground of dispute other than that of the Orders in Council, it appears to me, that America could (especially with our parliamentary evidence before her) never think of peace without a *compensation for the vessels seized* illegally, as she says, under the Orders in Council. Otherwise she tells the world, that she may be always injured with impunity; because, the utmost that any nation has to apprehend from her hostility is to be compelled to *cease* to violate her rights. Upon this principle she may be exposed to a like attack the next day after she has made peace. Either, therefore, she complains without cause or, the mere repeal of our Orders in Council ought not to satisfy her.

Besides, Sir, it appears to me, that even supposing that there were no other ground for the war, on her part, than the existence of our Orders in Council, she is bound, in fairness towards the Emperor Napoleon, to obtain some kind of compensation for what she has suffered from the execution of our Orders in Council after the time that he repealed his decrees. If she make peace with us, and place us upon the same footing with France, without obtaining such compensation, he will assuredly allege partiality against her, since she will have suffered us to continue to do with impunity, for a year and a half, that which she made him cease to do. It was, therefore, I repeat it, matter of great surprise with me, that Mr. Brougham should have given the pledge above-mentioned; though I hope your Royal Highness will be advised better than to pursue measures that shall put him to the test.

Compensation for the property seized under our Orders in Council will, I think, be demanded; and, if the Orders be recognized as a violation of the rights of America, I do not see upon what ground such compensation could be objected to; but, Sir, as far as relates to ourselves, I trust, that the means of making such compensation would not be demanded of *the people*, but would be taken from those who have received the amount of the property seized. With this, however, America has nothing to do: she can only demand compensation; but, she may extend that demand to the amount of her expenses in fitting out ships of war and in raising and sending forth an army. "*Indemnity* "*for the past and security for the future*" is, Sir, a phrase not unknown amongst the statesmen who adorn, and who have adorned your and your royal Sire's court; and, I do not know of any maxim in public law, or in diplomacy, that forbids a republic any more than a monarchy to make such a demand. If we do allow that America has just cause of complaint, we cannot well refuse her indemnity at least; if we do not allow that she has just cause of complaint, we do wrong, we act a base and cowardly part, if we desist from doing that which she complains of.

Upon what ground it is, then, that Mr. Brougham expects an immediate cessation of hostilities on the part of America I am at a loss to discover. I am at a loss to discover upon what ground it is that he has made his pledge, or, at least, the pledge which has been attributed to him. Either he must look upon the Orders in Council as the sole ground of the American declaration of war, or he must suppose there to be other grounds. If he looks upon them as the sole ground, he must, I think, suppose that America will not lay down her arms without obtaining indemnity for such heavy losses as those Orders have occasioned her; and, if he looks upon the declaration as having been partly produced by *other subjects* of complaint, he must necessarily suppose, that an adjustment as to those grounds of complaint must precede a cessation of hostilities.

Whatever pledges may have been given by any persons, it is for your Royal Highness to lend an ear to the voice of reason; and, I am greatly deceived if that voice will not recommend to you an expression, as speedily as possible, of your readiness to cause the officers of the fleet to cease to impress any persons out of American ships. This, as I have before had the honour to assure your Royal Highness, is the complaint which has, at last, in reality, produced the war between us and our American brethren. There have been many subjects of difference; many grounds of quarrel, but this is what finds its way to the hearts of the American people. They would, I verily believe, have endured all but this; this, however, I knew they would not endure, and I told your ministers and the public so long ago. If I am asked whether I think, that the ceasing to impress people on board of American ships would cause many of our sailors to desert, I answer, that *I do not know;* but, that I do not see *why it should?* I do not see why Englishmen should like the American service better than our own. And, really, I

must [illegible] Sir, that I think, that to entertain any such apprehension squares not well with the tenor of our national songs about the valour and patriotism of our "*tars.*" I think it exceedingly humiliating to us to suffer it to be said, or to act as if we said, that we must retain the power of impressment, or personal seizure, on board American ships out at sea, for fear the giving up of that power should cause our fleet to be deserted. Sir, I am one of those who love to believe, that English seamen do not want *force* to induce them to fight for their country. It is, in my eyes, a most mortifying thing to proclaim to the world, that we are likely to have war with America, and that we appear to prefer war with America to the giving up of the means of detecting and seizing English sailors, deserters from the King's service. This so badly comports with all our assertions respecting the *freedom* we enjoy, and also respecting our devotion to our King and our glorious constitution; for, it appears to me, that, if the world believe in *the necessity* of this power of impressment, it must think either that our boastings of our blessed state are untrue, or, that our sailors are not the most wise or the most loyal set of men. I am for wiping off this stigma; and, without crying or fainting away, as Sir Vicary Gibbs is reported to have done at Horsemonger Lane, I am for showing the Yankees and the whole world, that we want no terror to keep our seamen to their duty; that we are not afraid of their sculking from our fleet to take refuge in American ships; that we entertain not the disgraceful apprehension, that those who have once had the honour to sail under the *royal* flag of the House of Hanover will ever prefer that of the American or any other *republic*.

Honour, Sir, as well as policy seem to me to dictate the giving up of this power; and, as the giving of it up might, and, as I think, would cause the restoration of peace between England and America, I will not be persuaded that such a measure does not accord with the wishes of your Royal Highness.

As to "*the exhausting of the resources* "*of America*, which now begins to be talked off by that most corrupt of newspapers, the TIMES, I do most earnestly beseech your Royal Highness to bear in mind how long the late PITT promised this deluded nation that he would *exhaust the resources of republican France!* Sir, Mr. Madison, though a very plain-dressed, sleek-headed man; though he wears neither tails. nor bags, nor big wigs, nor robes; though he dresses in a pepper-and-salt coat and a nice dimity waistcoat, knows a great deal more of our real situation than I believe many of your ministers know of it; and, I should not wonder if he knew almost as much of it as your Royal Highness's self does. He is a man, Sir, who is not to be led by our hireling prints; he sees our gold at above *five pounds an ounce;* he has seen acts passed which, in effect, force the circulation of our Bank notes: and, seeing this, he does not want any body to tell him what is coming; seeing this he will laugh at the idea of our exhausting the resources of America, the capital of whose whole debt does not amount to a tenth part of one half year's interest upon our debt. This ground of hope is, Sir, more visionary than any other. Indeed, they are all equally visionary. There is no hope of any thing but loss and injury to us by a war with America.

I have now done all that I am able to prevent this calamity. If the war proceed, I shall say as little about it as circumstances permit. [illegible] have lost no occasion of endea[illegible]ng to put aside this evil; and, when the result of the contest shall be lamented; when those who now rejoice at the idea of doing mischief to free men, shall be weeping over their folly, I trust that your Royal Highness will have the justice to remember, that this war had always a decided opponent in your faithful servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 15th September, 1812.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.——By the last *price current* I see that the *Gold Coin* is now £5. 8*s*. the ounce in Bank notes. Of course a real guinea will sell for about £1. 10*s*. The following article from the Morning Chronicle of the 15th instant contains very curious matter upon this subject.

"The scarcity of money becomes every "day more and more inconvenient. Persons, evidently agents, with great powers of drawing on London Bankers, have "opened accounts with Country Bankers, "for the purpose of getting their local "notes; and with these they go into shops, "fairs, and even Farmers' houses, to buy "up guineas, as well as silver. They pay "for them in these country bank notes,

"which they may do lawfully, and thus "the specie is collected from every part of "the kingdom. It is suspected that these "agents, unknown even to themselves, "are employed by THE HIGHEST AU- "THORITY.——This is the natural con- "sequence of the system which has been "pursued; and the consequence already "is, that every pound sterling which we "have to pay even to our own troops "abroad, costs us thirty shillings. Our "army, however, must be paid, and we "are so far involved that we must go on. "As soon as Parliament meets, which, "whether there is a general Election or "not, must be before Christmas, some "strong measure must be adopted for the "supply of sp●. There is an idea of "calling in, *and paying in Bank notes for "all the plate in the Kingdom.* But that "would obviously afford no relief—since if "the price of bullion is the cause of the "disappearance of specie now, it would "equally disappear then; and the quantity "of plate in the Island is not great."—— This cannot be true; or, at least, I think it impossible that any persons intrusted with any power above that of a ticket porter, should entertain the notions here ascribed to the "*highest authority.*"——But, as to the state of the finances of the country, there is no exaggeration there. This part of our public concerns is fast drawing to a crisis. When a guinea is worth 30*s.* men ought to look about them.——This, though the natural consequence of war, and though the thing must be made more and more desperate by the continuance of war, *is one of the grand impediments to peace.* It was, indeed, one of the *real* causes of this present war. The paper is in such a state that it cannot support itself against the effects of a free intercourse with France. ——I do not see any reason to suppose, that the depreciation will not proceed as rapidly as it has done for two years last past. It began to be sensibly felt and *clearly understood* very soon after I was shut up in Newgate, for the cause mentioned in the last page of this Register. The matter was then made so very plain, that those began to see who had been blind all the days of their lives. So that, there was, at any rate, one good that resulted from my suffering. I made clowns able financiers; or, at least, as able as Pitt and his set, if not a little more so.——To return to the matter before us; the *buying up of the plate* would be nonsense. It would disappear the moment it got into circulation. Real gold and silver will not keep company with our paper, unless one is to be bought and sold with the other, and then each will fetch its real value.——The *Local Token* bill must be repealed before it goes into operation, or there must be a great issue of tokens some where to supply the place of those now in circulation; for, otherwise no trade can possibly be carried on.——Were it not for the *national debt* all would be easily settled; but, indeed, *it is that Debt which has made all the paper.* They began together, and together they will live as long as they can.——What will be done about the *pay* of the *Judges*, &c. &c. who have fixed annual, or daily, sums, I hardly know; for, if the gold should get to about £7. 1*s.* an ounce, a one pound note will be worth only half as much as it used to be; and yet, times will not be very favourable to the *raising* of the pay of any of the people in public employment.——When people talk of *dearness*, they forget how the paper has *fallen* in value. If a guinea be worth 30*s.* a load of wheat which sells for £30. does, in fact, sell for only about £20., and so on as to other things.——Hume foretold exactly what is now taking place; and I would advise the ministers to read his book. They will derive much more profit from him than from the Morning Chronicle, who now complains of *our system.* Alas! Mr. Perry, it is too late to recover things. Pitt decided its fate. It may be made to go on a little faster or a little slower; but its end will be the same; and all that is worth talking about is, what are the *consequences* that it will produce as to the liberty and independence of the nation. This is indeed a question worthy of being discussed by men of real wisdom; but the Prince Regent will, I am afraid, look about him in vain for many men of that description. If there were a man in power endued with profound insight as to this subject; a man capable of foreseeing what would happen and of providing accordingly, he would have in his hands more power to do good than ever before fell to the lot of a human being.——One thing is certain, that every man in the country thinks that *some great change is at hand.* Every man thinks this, except those men who never think beyond their own particular interests, and who occupy in the creation a rank little superior to that of the badger or the otter. Of men who do think, who have minds, and who extend their wishes to the well-being of

others; who have some sentiment of honour, who know what *freedom* and what *country* mean; of such men there is not one, who does not expect to see some great event in England; but, no one has an *opinion* as to what it is to be. It is truly curious to observe with what eagerness those who still adhere to the name of Pitt get rid of every topic connected with the paper-money. They are *afraid to think on the subject.* But, their avoiding it will not prevent what is to happen.——The *remedy* of which I possess the knowledge would do much; but, I do not flatter myself that it will ever be called for in a way that shall induce me to divulge it.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 16th September, 1812.

LORD YARMOUTH'S LETTER

To the Editor of the Courier.

SIR—Your Paper of yesterday, which I have just seen on my return from Windsor, contains, under the head Foreign News, this extract from the *Gazette de France*, asserting as impudent and scandalous a falsehood as any that ever disgraced the press:—"Lord YARMOUTH, and his worthy imitators, obtained their liberty under the "guarantee of their parole. In violating "that guarantee, they have offended the "delicate sentiment of honour. Lord Yarmouth was the first to set an example, so "much the more fatal, as its author is of "the most elevated rank."——I have always avowed, both at Verdun and at home, my opinion, that the detention of the English in 1803, however cruel, by its being a measure never resorted to on former occasions, was justified by the seizure of French property and French subjects in British ports, before our Ambassador had ceased to exercise the functions of his high office at Paris. This opinion left me no pretext, however miserable, for the breach of a parole of honour. Since, however, a charge of its violation has been brought forward in the French papers, and repeated with various comments in the English, I am compelled to clear myself, which I shall do in a few words, premising, that I can support my assertion by the original passports signed by the French Minister.——In May 1803 the English in France were declared prisoners of war, and as such gave their parole of honour.—For several months I and many others were permitted to reside wherever we pleased, till the cruel disregard of some English Gentlemen to the comforts of their fellow-prisoners, occasioned our being confined in fortresses on their effecting their escape.——I had passed more than two years in the fortress of Verdun, when I learnt that Mr. Fox had, at the command of the Prince of Wales, to whose gracious interference I am proud to owe my liberation from captivity, applied for and obtained my return to England on parole of honour, to go back to France whenever my return should be demanded. A similar parole was signed by the Earl of Elgin and General Abercromby, and we sailed together from Morlaix in May, 1806. Upon my being sent back to Paris, almost immediately afterwards, by Mr. Fox, I demanded and obtained my release from this parole, as a necessary preliminary to my being under the protection afforded by the Law of Nations to diplomatic Agents.——Since it has thus become necessary for me to recur to the year 1806, I take this opportunity of adding to the papers, then published, the instructions accompanying Mr. Fox's dispatch of the 18th July. These instructions I owe it to myself to publish in refutation of the charge once advanced, and now revived, of having, contrary to the tenor of my instructions, produced His Majesty's full powers at a time when (22d July) no choice remained but to do so or break off the negociation. It will, of course, be remembered, that M. D'Oubril had then concluded a treaty, and that he used all the weight belonging to the Minister of so great a friendly power, to obtain an official character to be attached to the British negociation. No obloquy could induce me, for obvious reasons, to make this document public in 1806-7; it is now harmless, and I have a right to add it to the official papers of that year.——The story of M. de Clermont and the snuff-box, in 1811, is private, and of no moment, nor should I notice it, but that the pen is in my hand. It is entirely unfounded, never having received that or any other mark of the French Emperor's recollection or approbation, then or at any other time.——I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

YARMOUTH.

London, 13th August, 1812.

P. S. It is usual to direct one's letter to some friend who will give it publicity; I have taken a shorter course, that of sending it to the press in the first instance.

Instructions accompanying Mr. Fox's Dispatch of July 18.

"ON ONE HAND.

"The cession of Sicily is intolerable, because the retaining it was proposed to us as an inducement for relinquishing our favourite mode of negociation: if it be ceded, the following difficulties will besides occur:—

"First, where to find an equivalent:—an equivalent for a possession we can keep, in spite of the French, ought to be of the same nature likewise. How can this apply to Dalmatia, or other places that have been mentioned? Nay, even strictly, to the ex-Venetian territories, where even there seems to be little chance of obtaining?

"Secondly,—It is not possible to surrender to the enemy the only remaining portion of the King of Naples' dominions, without obtaining some adequate, or nearly adequate, compensation for that Prince.—Such an application of the Hans Towns appears absurd upon the face of it; and till further explanation shall have been made, one can hardly conceive any country upon the Adriatic where the said Prince can be in any degree of security.

"Thirdly,—The distance of Malta from any friendly country, and consequently from any certain source of supply, may render the possession of that island to us extremely difficult, at least, if not precarious.

"ON THE OTHER HAND.

"The allowing the French to recede from their original basis, so far as to substitute an exchange in the case of Sicily, may become less objectionable, if such a change be at the declared desire of Russia, and should lead to an arrangement more suitable to the views of that power. In such case, provided compensation be made to the King of Naples, we shall have given up well-understood English objects for what we deem to be ill-understood Russian objects: but in cases of confederacy, there is nothing to be ashamed of in such a transaction. If we hold out, it is probable Russia will make a separate peace, by which means we shall soon find ourselves completely destitute of all continental connexion or influence whatever. Hanover will remain in the power of the enemy, probably guaranteed to Prussia, and we can have no possible means of recovering a possession so essential to the honour of the King and nation, than by conquering some part of the world which France would accept as an equivalent for the Electorate. Of this I can see no prospect, and should therefore consider all hope of honourable peace as put off for ever.

"Under these circumstances I am of opinion that, at any rate, time ought to be gained, and that our endeavour ought to be, if possible, to make some arrangement, which, though exceptionable, might obtain to us the two grand points—*Hanover*, and the preservation of our Russian connexion.——N. B. Corsica, Sardinia, Majorca, and Minorca, might all, or any of them, be useful in producing such an arrangement."

(Sent July 16, 1806, with the Dispatch.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

The Provisional Commissioners of the Government of the Duchy of Lithuania to the Clergy of the Diocese of Wilna.

(Continued from page 350.)

provisional Government of Lithuania, in order to consecrate this great reunion, had resolved to give a portion of one thousand francs to a Lithuanian girl who should marry a man born in the Greater Poland, and a second gift of one thousand francs to a Pole who should marry a Lithuanian girl. By chance it occurred that the first couple immediately presented themselves and received the nuptial benediction.—In the evening the city was magnificently illuminated. — The National Theatre was thrown open gratis. The piece entitled The Cracovians was played. The festival closed with a ball, of which Count Pac, a Lithuanian, did the honours. The transparencies were beautiful, and the inscriptions very ingenious. Several French and Polish Generals were present at the ball, which was also honoured by the presence of His Majesty the Emperor and King.—This same Gazette (the Lithuanian Courier) announces, this day, the refusal of the Grand Seignior to ratify the treaty of peace concluded at Bucharest, between the Russian and Turkish Plenipotentiaries.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon was still at Wilna on the 15th. He enjoys the best possible health.

Seventh Bulletin of the Grand Army.—Wilna, July 16.

His Majesty has erected upon the right bank of the Vilia an intrenched camp, surrounded by redoubts; and constructed a citadel upon the mountain on which was the ancient palace of Jagillons. Thus, two bridges upon piles are being constructed. Three bridges upon rafts are already established.—On the 8th His Majesty reviewed a part of his guard, composed of Laborde and Roguet's divisions, commanded by Marshal the Duke of Treviso, and the old guard under the orders of Marshal the Duke of Dantzic, in front of the intrenched camp. The fine appearance of these troops excited general admiration.—On the 4th, Marshal, the Duke of Tarentum, set out from his head-quarters in Rossien, the capital of Samogitia, one of the handsomest and most fertile provinces in Poland; the General of Brigade, Baron Ricard, with a part of the 7th division, to march upon Poniewicz;

the Prussian General Kleist had been sent upon Chawle; and the Prussian Brigadier de Jeannerel, with another Prussian brigade, upon Tilch. These three Generals have arrived at their destinations. Gen. Kleist was only able to reach a single Russian Hussar; the enemy having hastily evacuated Chawle, after setting the magazines on fire.—General Ricard arrived early in the morning of the 6th at Poniewicz. He had the good fortune of saving the magazines which were in it, and which contained 30,000 quintals of meal. He took 160 prisoners, among which were four officers. This expedition does the greatest honour to the detachment of the Prussian Death Hussars, who were charged with the execution of it. His Majesty has bestowed the Legion of Honour on the Commandant of it, to Lieut. De Reven, to Sub-officers Werner and Pommeroit, and Brigadier Grahouski, who in this affair distinguished themselves.—The inhabitants of the Province of Samogitia are distinguished for their patriotism; they were free, their country was rich, but their destinies changed with the fall of Poland. The better and finest parts of the country were given by Catherine to Soubow: the peasants, free as they were, were compelled to become slaves. The flank movement made by the army upon Wilna having turned this fine Province, it will be of the utmost utility to the army. Two thousand horses are on their march to repair the loss of the artillery. Considerable magazines have been preserved. The march of the army from Kowno upon Wilna, and from Wilna upon Dunabourg and Minsk, has obliged the enemy to abandon the Banks of the Niemen, and rendered this river free, by which numerous convoys arrive at Kowno.—We have at this moment more than 150,000 quintals of meal, 2,000,000 rations of biscuit, 600,000 quintals of rice, &c. The convoys succeed each other with rapidity; the Niemen is covered with boats.—The passage of the Niemen took place on the 24th, and the Emperor entered Wilna on the 28th. The 1st army of the west, commanded by the Emperor Alexander, is composed of 9 divisions of infantry, and 4 of cavalry: driven from post to post, it now occupies the intrenched camp at Drissa, in which the King of Naples, with the corps of Marshal Dukes of Elschingen and Reggio, several divisions of the 1st corps, and the cavalry corps of Counts Nansouty and Montbrun, keep it. The 2d army, commanded by Prince Bagration, was on the 1st of July at Kobren, where it had collected. The 9th and 13th divisions, under General Tormazow, were still further off. On the first intelligence of the passage of the Niemen, Bagration put himself in motion to march upon Wilna; he effected his junction with Platoff's Cossacks, who were opposite Grodno. Arrived upon the top of the Ivie, he learned that the road to Wilna was shut against him: he discovered that the execution of the orders he had received would be rash, and cause his ruin, Soubotnicki, Trobone, Witchnew, Volojinck, being occupied by General Grouch's, General Baron Pagol, and the Prince of Eckmuhl's corps; he therefore retrograded, and took the direction of Minsk: but, arrived mid-way towards that town, he learned that the Prince of Eckmuhl had entered it; he again retrograded: from Newig he marched upon Slousk, and from thence upon Bobreusk, from whence he will have no other resource than that of crossing the Borysthenes. Thus the two armies are completely divided and separated, there being between them a distance of an hundred leagues. Prince Eckmuhl has seized upon the strong place of Boreson, upon the Beresina: 60,000 lbs. of powder, 16 pieces of besieging artillery, and some hospitals, have fallen into his power. Considerable magazines were set on fire; a part was, however, saved.—On the 10th, General Latour Maubourg sent the division of light cavalry, commanded by General Rosmeke, advanced towards Mer. It met the enemy's rear-guard at a short distance from that town. A very brisk engagement took place. Notwithstanding the inferiority of the Polish division in number, it remained master of the field. The General of Cossacks, Gregoriow, was killed, and 1,500 Russians were killed and wounded. Our loss, at the utmost, was not more than 500. The Polish light cavalry fought with the greatest intrepidity, and its courage supplied the want of number. The same day we entered Mer.—On the 13th the King of Westphalia had his head-quarters at Nisvy.—The Viceroy has arrived at Dockchilsoui.—The Bavarians, commanded by General Count G. St. Cyr, were reviewed on the 14th at Wilna, by the Emperor. Deroy and Wrede's divisions were very fine. These troops have marched on Slouboku.—The Diet at Warsaw, being constituted into a general Confederation of Poland, has named Prince Adam Czartorinski for its President. This

Prince, aged 80 years, has for 50 years been Marshal of the Diet of Poland. The first act of the Diet was to declare the kingdom of Poland re-established. A deputation from the confederation was presented to His Majesty at Wilna, and submitted to his approbation and protection the Act of Confederation.—To the Act of Confederation, His Majesty replied as follows:—Gentlemen Deputies of the Confederation of Poland,—I have heard with interest what you have related to me.—Poles! I would have thought and acted like you; like you I would have voted in the Assembly at Warsaw. Love of the country is the first duty of civilized man.—In my situation I have many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform. Had I reigned during the 1st, 2d, or 3d partition of Poland, I would have armed all my people to support you. Immediately that victory enabled me to restore your ancient laws to your Capital, and a part of your Provinces, I did it without prolonging a war which would have continued to spill the blood of my subjects.—I love your nation. For sixteen years I have seen your soldiers by my side, in the fields of Italy, as well as those of Spain.—I applaud all you have done; I authorize the efforts you wish to make: I will do every thing that depends on me to second your resolutions.—If your efforts are unanimous, you may conceive the hope of reducing your enemies to acknowledge your rights; but in these countries, so distant and extensive, it is entirely upon the unanimity of the efforts of the population which covers them, that you must found your hopes of success.—I have held to you the same language since my first appearance in Poland: I must add here, that I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions; and that I cannot sanction any manœuvre, or any movement, which may tend to trouble the peaceable possession of what remains to him of the Polish Provinces. Let Lithuania, Samogitia, Wetespsk, Polosk, Mohilow, Volhynia, the Ukraine, Podolia, be animated with the same spirit which I have seen in Great Poland, and Providence will crown with success your holy cause: He will recompense that devotion to your country which has rendered you so interesting and acquired you so many claims to my esteem and protection, upon which you may depend under every circumstance.

Eighth Bulletin of the Grand Army, Gloubokoe, July 22.

The corps of Prince Bagration is composed of four divisions of infantry, from 22 to 24,000 men strong, of Platow's Cossacks, forming 6,000 horse, and from 4 to 5,000 cavalry. Two divisions of his corps (the 9th and 15th) wished to rejoin him by Pinsk; they were intercepted, and obliged to return by Wolhynie.——On the 14th General Latour Maubourg, who follows the rear-guard of Bagration, was at Romanoff. On the 16th Prince Poritawowski had his head-quarters there.——In the affair of the 10th, which took place at Romanoff, the General Rozniecki, commanding the light cavalry of the four cavalry corps, has lost 600 men killed, wounded, or made prisoners. We have no superior officer to regret. General Rozeniecki states, that the bodies of Count Pahlen, General of Division, and the Russian Colonels Adrenow and Jesowayski have been recognized on the field of battle.——The Prince of Schwartzenberg had his head-quarters on the 13th at Prazana. On the 11th and 12th he occupied the important position of Cinsk, with a detachment which took some men, and considerable magazines. Twelve Austrian hussars charged forty-six Cossacks, pursued them during several leagues, and took six of them. The Prince of Schwartzenberg marches on Minsk.—General Regnier returned on the 19th to Slonim, to guarantee the Duchy of Warsaw from an incursion, and to observe the two divisions of the army which had re-entered Wolhynia.——On the 12th, General Baron Pajol, who was at Ighouman, sent Captain Vandois, with 50 cavalry, to Khaloui. This detachment took there a park of 200 carriages, belonging to Bagration's corps, and made prisoners six officers, 200 cannoniers, 300 men attached to the train, and 800 fine artillery horses. Captain Vandois, finding himself fifteen leagues distant from the army, did not think it practicable to carry off this convoy, and burnt it. He has brought with him the horses and the prisoners.——On the 15th the Prince of Eckmuhl was at Igbonmen, Gen. Pajol was at Jachitsie, having posts on Swisloch. Bagration leaving this, renounced the idea of marching to Bobrunsk, and proceeded 15 leagues lower down on the side of Mozier.——On the 17th the Prince of Eckmuhl was at Gologuino.——On the 15th General Grouchy was at Borisons. A party, which he sent to Star-Lepel, took

considerable magazines and two companies of miners, eight officers, and 200 men.—On the 18th this General was at Kokanow.——On the same day, at two in the morning, Gen. Baron Colbert entered Orcha, where he took possession of immense magazines of flour, oats, and clothing. He afterwards passed the Boristhenes, and proceeded in pursuit of a convoy of artillery.——Smolensk is in alarm. Every thing is removing to Moscow. An officer, sent by the Emperor to cause the evacuation of the magazines of Orcha, was quite astonished to find the place in the possession of the French. This officer was taken, with his dispatches.——While Bagration was briskly pursued in his retreat, anticipated in his projects, separated and removed from the main army, that army, commanded by the Emperor Alexander, retreated on the Dwina. On the 14th, General Sebastiani, following the rear-guard, cut down 500 Cossacks, and arrived at Dronia.——On the 13th, the Duke of Reggio advanced upon Dunaberg, burnt the fine barracks which the enemy had constructed there, took a plan of the works, burnt some magazines, and took 150 prisoners. After this diversion on the right, he marched on Dronia.——On the 15th the enemy, who was concentrated in his entrenched camp of Drissa, to the number of from 100 to 120,000 men, being informed that our light cavalry did not keep a strict watch, threw over a bridge, sent across 5,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, attacked General Sebastiani unexpectedly, drove him back one league, and caused him a loss of 100 killed, wounded, and prisoners, among whom were a Captain and a Sub-Lieutenant of the 11th Chasseurs. The General of Brigade, Saint Genier, who was mortally wounded, remained in the power of the enemy.——On the 16th, the Marshal Duke of Treviso, with a part of the foot guards, and the horse guards, and the light Bavarian cavalry, arrived at Gluboko. The Viceroy arrived at Dockechistie on the 17th. On the 18th, the Emperor removed his head-quarters to Gleubokoe. On the 20th, the Marshals Duke of Istria and Treviso were at Onchatsch, the Viceroy at Kamen, and the King of Naples at Disna.——On the 18th, the Russian army evacuated the entrenched camp of Drissa, defended by twelve palisadoed redoubts, united by a covered way, and extending 5,000 toises on the river. These works cost a year of labour. We have levelled them.——The immense magazines they contained were either burnt or thrown into the water.——On the 19th, the Emperor Alexander was at Wilespk. On the same day Gen. Count Nansouty was opposite Polotsk.——On the 20th, the King of Naples passed the Dwina, and covered the right bank of the river with his cavalry.——All the preparations the enemy had made to defend the passage of the Dwina have been useless. The magazines he has been forming, at a great expense, for these three years past, have been entirely destroyed. The same has happened to his works, which, according to the reports of the people of the country, have cost the Russians in one year not less than 6,000 men. One can hardly guess on what ground they flattered themselves that they would be attacked in the encampments they had intrenched.——General Count Grouchy has reconnoitred Babinowitch and S'enno. On all sides we are marching upon the Oula. This river is joined by a canal to the Beresina, which runs into the Borysthenes. Thus we are masters of the communication from the Baltic to the Black Sea.——In his movements the enemy has been obliged to destroy his baggage, and to throw his artillery and arms into the river. All the Poles of his army avail themselves of his precipitate retreat to desert, and wait in the woods till the arrival of the French.——The number of the Poles who have deserted the Russian army may be calculated to amount at least to 20,000 men.——Marshal Duke of Belluno, with the 9th corps, is advancing upon the Vistula.——Marshal Duke of Castiglione has set out for Berlin, to take the command of the 11th corps.——The country between the Oula and the Dwina is very beautiful, and in the highest state of cultivation. We often meet with beautiful country seats and extensive convents. In the town of Gleubokoe alone there are two convents, which may contain each 1,200 sick.

Ninth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Bechenkoviski, July 25.

The Emperor, taking the road of Outchatz, established, on the 23d, his head-quarters at Kamen. The Viceroy occupied, on the 22d, with his advanced guard, the bridge of Botscheiskovo. A *reconnoissance* of 200 horse, detached on Bechenkoviski, fell in with two squadrons of Russian hussars, and two of Cossacks, charged them, and took or killed a dozen men, of whom one was an officer. The Chef d'Escadron praises the conduct of Captains Rossi and

Ferreri.——On the 23d, at six o'clock in the morning, the Viceroy arrived at Bechenkoviski. At ten he passed the river, and threw a bridge over the Dwina. The enemy were inclined to dispute the passage; but his artillery was dismounted. Colonel Lacroix, Aid-de-camp of the Viceroy, had his thigh broken by a ball.——The Emperor arrived at Bechenkoviski on the 24th, at two o'clock in the afternoon. The division of cavalry of General Count Bruyere, and the division of General Count St. Germain, were sent on the route of Witepsk. They reposed when they had performed half their march.——On the 20th, the Prince of Eckmuhl advanced upon Mohilow. The garrison, which consisted of 2,000 men, had the temerity to wish to defend it; but they were sabred by the light cavalry. On the 21st, 3,000 Cossacks assailed the advanced posts of the Prince of Eckmuhl; they were the advanced guard of Prince Bagration, arrived from Bobrunsk. A battalion of the 85th arrested this cloud of light cavalry, and drove it back to a considerable distance. Bagration appears to have availed himself of the little activity with which he was pursued, to advance upon Bobrunsk; and thence he returned against Mohilow.——We occupy Mohilow, Orcha, Disna, and Polotsk. We are marching on Witepsk, where, it appears, the Russian army is concentrated. ——Herewith is a plan of the intrenched camp, and of the lines which the enemy had constructed before Drissa. It is a work which must have cost much time.

Tenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.
Witepsk, July 31.

The Emperor of Russia and the Grand Duke Constantine have quitted the army, and repaired to the capital. On the 17th, the Russian army left the intrenched camp of Drissa, and marched towards Polotsk and Witepsk. The Russian army, which was at Drissa, consisted of five corps-d'armée, each of two divisions, and of four divisions of cavalry. One corps d'armée, that of Prince Wittgenstein, remained for the purpose of covering St. Petersburg; the four other corps, having arrived on the 24th at Witepsk, crossed to the left bank of the Dwina. The corps of Ostermann, with a party of the cavalry of the Guards, put itself in motion at daybreak of the 25th, and marched upon Ostrovno.

Battle of Ostrovno.

On the 25th of July, General Nansouty, with the divisions Bruyere and St. Germain' and the 8th regiment of light infantry, encountered the enemy two leagues in advance of Ostrovno. The action commenced. Several charges of cavalry took place; all of them were in favour of the French. The light cavalry covered itself with glory. The King of Naples mentions the brigade Pire, composed of the 8th Hussars, and 16th Chasseurs, as having distinguished itself. The Russian cavalry, of which a part belonged to the Guards, was overthrown. The batteries which the enemy opened upon our cavalry were carried. The Russian infantry, who advanced to support their artillery, were broken and sabred by our light cavalry.——On the 26th, the Viceroy marching with the division Delzon, at the head of the columns, an obstinate action of the advanced guard, of from 15 to 20,000 men, took place a league beyond Ostrovno. The Russians were driven from their positions one after another. The woods were carried by the bayonet.——The King of Naples, and the Viceroy, mention with praise Generals Baron Delzon, Huard, and Roussel. The 8th light infantry, the 84th and 92d regiments of the line, and the 1st regiment of Croats, distinguished themselves.——General Roussel, a brave soldier, after being the whole day at the head of the battalions, was visiting the advanced posts at ten at night, when a sentinel took him for an enemy, fired upon him, and the ball shattered his scull. He ought to have died three hours sooner, on the field of battle, by the hands of the enemy.——On the 27th, at day-break, the Viceroy made the division Broussier file off in advance. The 18th regiment of light infantry, and the brigade of light cavalry, of the Baron de Pire, wheeled to the right. The division Broussier marched by the great road, and repaired a small bridge which the enemy had destroyed. At day-break, the enemy's rear-guard, consisting of 10,000 cavalry, was perceived drawn up *en echelon* on the plain; their right resting on the Dwina, and their left on a wood lined with infantry and artillery. General Count Broussier took post on an eminence with the 53d regiment, waiting till the whole of his division had passed the defile. Two companies of Voltigeurs had marched in advance, alone; they skirted the bank of the river, advancing towards that enormous mass of cavalry, which made a forward movement, and surrounded these two hundred men, who were thought to be lost, and who ought to have been so. It hap-

pened otherwise. They concentrated themselves with the greatest coolness, and remained during a whole hour hemmed in on all sides; having brought down more than 300 horsemen of the enemy, these two companies gave the French cavalry time to *debouche.*——The division Delzon defiled on the right. The King of Naples directed the wood and the enemy's batteries to be attacked. In less than an hour all the positions of the enemy were carried; and he was driven across the plain beyond a small river which enters the Dwina below Witepsk. The army took a position on the banks of this river, at the distance of a league from the town.——The enemy displayed in the plain 15,000 cavalry and 60,000 infantry. A battle was expected next day. The Russians boasted that they wished to give battle. The Emperor spent the remainder of the night in reconnoitring the field, and in making his dispositions for next day; but at day-break the Russian army was retreating in all directions towards Smolensk.——The Emperor was on an height very near the 200 Voltigeurs, who alone on the plain had attacked the right of the enemy's cavalry. Struck by their fine conduct, he sent to inquire what corps they belonged to. They answered, "*To the 9th; and three-fourths of us are lads of Paris.*" "Tell them," said the Emperor, "that they are brave fellows: they all deserve the cross!"——The fruits of the three actions of Ostrovno are 10 pieces of cannon of Russian manufacture taken, the cannoniers sabred: 20 caissons of ammunition; 1,500 prisoners; 5 or 6,000 Russians killed or wounded. Our loss amounts to 200 killed, 900 wounded, and about 50 prisoners.——The King of Naples bestows particular praise on Generals Bruyere, Pire, and Ornano, and on Colonel Radzivil, commandant of the 9th Polish lancers, an officer of singular intrepidity.——The red Hussars of the Russian guard have been cut up. They lost 400 men, many of whom are prisoners. The Russians had three Generals killed or wounded. A considerable number of Colonels and superior officers of their army remained on the field of battle.——On the 28th, at day-break, we entered Witepsk, a town of 30,000 inhabitants. It has 20 convents. We have found in it some magazines, particularly one of salt, valued at 15,000,000.—— While the army was marching on Witepsk, the Prince of Eckmuhl was attacked at Mohilow.——Bagration passed the Berezina at Bobrunski, and marched upon Novci-bickow. At day-break on the 23d, 3,000 Cossacks attacked the 3d regiment of chasseurs, and took 100 of them, among whom were the Colonel and four officers, all wounded. The *generale* was beat; an action commenced. The Russian General Sieverse, with two select divisions, began the attack. From eight in the morning till five in the afternoon the firing was kept up on a strip of wood, and at a bridge which the Russians wished to force. At five, the Prince of Eckmuhl caused three chosen battalions to advance, put himself at their head, overthrew the Russians, carried their positions, and pursued them for a league. The loss of the Russians is estimated at 3,000 killed and wounded, and 1,100 prisoners. We lost 700 killed and wounded. Bagration repulsed, retired upon Bickow, where he passed the Borysthenes, to advance towards Smolensk.——The battles of Mohilow and Ostrovno have been brilliant and honourable to our army. We never have had engaged more than the half of the force which the enemy presented, the ground not being suitable for greater developements.

Eleventh Bulletin of the Grand Army. Witepsk, Aug. 4.

Intercepted letters from the camp of Bagration speak of the losses sustained by his corps in the battle of Mohilow, and of the number of desertions from which it has suffered on the route. Every Pole has remained in his country, so that this corps, which, including the Cossacks of Platow, amounted to 50,000 men, is now reduced to less than 30,000. It will join the grand army on the 7th or 8th of August, at Smolensk.——The following is the position occupied by the army on the 4th of August: —Head-quarters at Witepsk, with four bridges on the Dwina.——The 4th corps at Samai, occupying Veluj, Porietche, and Ousirath.——The King of Naples at Roudenu, with the three first corps of cavalry. ——The first corps, commanded by Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl, is at the mouth of the Beresina, on the Borysthenes, with two bridges over the last-mentioned river, and one bridge upon the Beresini, with double *tetes-de-pont.*——The third corps, commanded by Marshal the Duke of Elchingen, is at Liozna.——The eighth corps, commanded by the Duke of Abrantes, is at Orcha, with two bridges and *tetes-de-pont* upon the Borysthenes.——The 5th corps, commanded by Prince Poniatowski,

is at Mohilow, with two bridges and *tetes-de-pont* upon the Borysthenes. The second corps, commanded by Marshal the Duke of Reggio, is upon the Drissa, advanced before Polotsk, upon the road to Sabei.——The Prince de Schwartzenberg is with his corps at Slonim.——The seventh corps is upon Rozana.——The fourth corps of cavalry, with a division of infantry, commanded by General Count Mauberg, is before Brobunsk and Mozier.——The tenth corps, commanded by the Duke of Tarentum, is before Dunaberg and Riga.——The ninth corps, commanded by the Duke of Belluno, is assembled at Tilsit.——The eleventh corps, commanded by the Duke o[f] [Cast]lione, is at Stettin.——His Majesty has sent the army into quarters of refreshment. The heat is excessively greater than what it is in Italy. The thermometer is at 26 and 27 degrees. The nights even are warm.——General Skamenskoi, with two divisions of the corps of Bagration, having been cut off from that corps, and not being able to rejoin it, has entered Wolynhia, effected a junction with the division of recruits commanded by General Tormazow, and marched upon the 7th corps. He surprised and cut off the Saxon Brigadier-General Klengel, who had under his command an advanced guard of two battalions, and two squadrons of Prince Clement's regiment.——After a resistance of six hours' duration, the greater part of this advanced guard were killed or taken. General Count Regnier could not come up to their assistance sooner than two hours after the affair was over. Prince Schwartzenberg marched on the 30th of July to join General Regnier, and push the war with spirit against the enemy's divisions.——On the 19th, the Prussian General Grawert attacked the Russians at Eckau, in Courland, overthrew them, took 200 prisoners, and killed a considerable number. General Grawert much commends Major Stiern, who, at the head of the 1st regiment of Prussian Dragoons, took a prominent part in the affair. When General Grawert had effected a junction with General Kleist, he drove the enemy before him on the road to Riga, and invested the *tete-de-pont*.——On the 30th, the Viceroy sent to Welij a brigade of Italian light cavalry; two hundred men charged four battalions of the depot, who were on their route to Twor, broke them, took 400 prisoners, and 100 waggons loaded with military stores.——On the 30th, the Aid-de-camp Traire, who had been sent forward with the Queen's regiment of Dragoons of the Royal Italian Guard, arrived at Ousvrath, took a Captain and 40 men prisoners, and possessed themselves of 200 carriages loaded with flour.——On the 30th, Marshal the Duke of Reggio marched from Polotsk upon Sebei. He met General Wittgenstein, whose corps had been reinforced by that of Prince Repnin. An engagement took place near the Castle of Jacoubovo. The 26th regiment of light infantry obtained much glory.——The division Legrand gloriously bore up against the fire of the entire of the enemy's corps.——On the 31st, the enemy marched upon the Drissa, in order to attack the Duke of Reggio upon his flank as he marched. The Marshal took up a position with the Drissa in his front.——On the 1st of August the enemy were foolish enough to cross the Drissa, and to present themselves in battle array in front of the 2d corps. The Duke of Reggio allowed half their corps to cross, and as soon as he perceived about fifteen thousand men and fourteen pieces of cannon over, he unmasked a battery of forty pieces of cannon, which played upon them with grape shot for nearly an hour. At the same time the divisions Legrand and Verdier made a running charge with the bayonet, and drove the 15,000 Russians into the river. All their artillery and military chests taken, 300 prisoners, among whom were several officers, and one of General Wittgenstein, together with 3,500 men killed or wounded, are the result of this affair.——The affair of Drissa, those of Ostrovno and Mohilow, might have been in other wars called three battles. The Duke of Reggio praises much General Count Legrand, who is remarkably cool in the field.——He also highly applauds the conduct of the 26th light infantry, and the 56th of the line.——The Emperor of Russia has ordered levies of men in the two Governments of Witepsk and Mohilow, but before his Ukases could reach those provinces, we were masters of them. These measures consequently have produced nothing.——We have found at Witepsk proclamations issued by Prince Alexander of Wirtemburg, and we have learned that the people of Russia are amusing themselves, singing *Te Deum* on account of the victories obtained by the Russians.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the COURIER:——"The Mutiny amongst the LO-"CAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knap-"sacks* was the ground of the complaint that ex-"cited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."——That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the news man, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"I implore your Royal Highness to resist the advice of those, who would fain make you believe, that we ought to insist upon these impressments. I implore your Royal Highness to reflect on the manifold miseries that may arise from this cause; and to be pleased to bear in mind, that, to yield *hereafter*, to yield upon force or menace, will be *disgrace;* whereas, to yield *now*, would indicate a sentiment of *justice*."——POL. REGISTER, 20th June, 1812. Vol. XXI. p. 789.

TO THE

PRINCE REGENT,

ON THE DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.

Letter IX.

Sir,

When I closed the eighth Letter to your Royal Highness upon this subject, it was my intention to forbear any further remonstrance with you thereon, and to leave *time* to be the teacher. But, the intelligence, arrived from America since the date of that Letter, has made me depart from that intention, and has induced me to make one more effort to convince you, that, without further measures in the way of conciliation, peace with America is not likely to be restored.

The very day on which my last Letter was printing (Friday last), was marked by the promulgation of tidings from America, that the Congress had *revoked the declaration of war*, and that the American General in Canada had *entered into an Armistice* for 30 days; and that both these had taken place in consequence of the revocation of our Orders in Council. A few hours were sufficient to dissipate these falsehoods, fabricated, no doubt, for the purpose of deceiving the people of this "most thinking" country. The deception would last, in all human probability, for only a few days; but, at the end of those days, a new falsehood would be invented, and the old one lost in that. This falsehood, however, does not appear to have lived even 48 hours; for, the very next day after its promulgation brought forth the contradiction; brought forth the complete proof of a fabrication. Surely, Sir, the people of America must despise us! They must despise, or, at least, pity, a nation who are made the sport of such vile literary impostors; base hirelings, who prostitute the press to all the purposes hostile to truth and freedom.

The authentic intelligence received from America appears to be, in substance, this: that the American Government has received intelligence of the repeal of our Orders in Council, but, that it is by no means satisfied therewith, and means to demand a redress of all its alleged grievances, before it lays down its arms. In confirmation of this, the following paragraph has been quoted from a paper deemed the demi-official paper of the American Government:——"The Orders in Council of the British Government are *now no longer a question* "with the United States. The question of "peace now requires only a proper and a "vigorous use of the ample means which "the Government is possessed of, to render "it speedy, decisive, and glorious. Peace, "when it comes, must bring with it *more* "*than the confession* of British outrage by "the retraction of its avowed tyranny. It "is not *a mere cessation to do wrong* that "can now produce a peace; wrongs done "must be *redressed;* and a *guarantee must* "*be given in the face of the world*, for the "restoration of our enslaved citizens, and "the respect due to our flag, which, like "the soil we inherit, must in future secure "all that sails under it. The rights of "neutrals must be recognized; and the "British, like the first tyrants of the Swiss, "must no longer expect a free people to "bow down, and worship the symbols of "British usurpation."

Did I not tell you so, Sir, in my very last Letter? Did I not say, that America would now demand "*indemnity for the* "*past and security for the future?*" I wished to guard your Royal Highness against deception, and I, for that purpose, entered into an argument to show, that we ought not to expect America to make peace with us upon our having barely *ceased to commit* what she asserted to be a violation of her rights. I told your Royal Highness, that she, for more than one reason, must demand something more than a mere *cessation* to do what she declared to be a wrong.

In short, if I had been informed, when I wrote my last Letter, of what I now *know*, I could not have written otherwise than I then did.

I, therefore, have, I think, some claim to attention from your Royal Highness, especially as I have all along told you, that the repeal of our Orders would not, *alone*, be sufficient. When the repeal took place, upon the death of Perceval, and when Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Brougham were reported to be making pledges to support a war against America, if that repeal did not satisfy her; at *that time*; at that important moment, when conciliation might have been rendered complete; even then, without a moment's delay, I told your Royal Highness, that the repeal of the Orders would not, of itself, be enough, and, as will be seen by the passage taken for my Motto, I most earnestly besought you to put a stop, of your own accord, to the impressment of persons on board of American ships. If *this* had been done, Sir; if this measure, so strongly recommended by me, had been adopted *then*, we should now have seen our ports crowded with American ships to take away our manufactures, instead of hearing of hundreds of American privateers cruizing against our commerce.

The COURIER and TIMES news-papers, two of the most corrupt in England, make certain remarks upon the paragraph which I have quoted from the American demi-official print; and, as these remarks embrace assertions and notions that are false, it is necessary, or, at least, it may be useful, to put the matters of which they treat in a fair light.

The COURIER has this paragraph:——"Here, then, is an open avowal, that nothing will satisfy the American Government but the *abandonment of the right of search*, and the acknowledgment of the principle, that free ships make free goods. *Perish the idea of peace, if it is only to be made on such terms*. Yet this the American Government calls "an "anxious desire to accommodate all differences upon the most reasonable conditions!!!"

The TIMES says:—"In this philippic, "*redress* is not only claimed for the supposed wrongs inflicted by this country, "but it is declared, that the "American "flag must *in future secure all that sails* "*under it*." This is adopting, in its "fullest extent, the language of Buonaparte, "that "free ships make free goods." If "that principle be maintained by the American Government, and supported by the "American Legislature, we see not the "slightest prospect of a speedy termination "of hostilities."

Thus, then, these good hirelings are for war, rather than give up what they call the "*right of search*." They are hardly so stupid as not to know, that the Americans do not contend for our abandonment of *the right of search*, in the usual sense of those words; they must know, that, as far as to search ships at sea (or rather to *visit* them) has been sanctioned by the usage of nations, the Americans are ready to submit to it; but, Sir, this right of search is very different indeed from that of which these good hired writers are speaking.

There is a right of search, or of visit, acknowledged by all the nations of Europe. When a nation is at war, she claims the right of visiting all neutral merchant ships at sea, in order to see that they do not assist her enemy by carrying warlike stores or troops for him; and, if she find them thus taking part with her enemy; if she find them thus transgressing the general usage of nations, she seizes them, as, indeed, she has just cause for doing, seeing that they are, in fact, engaged in the war against her. And, the right of visiting them, to see whether they be thus transgressing, has been, by us, called *the right of search*. We have contended for, and have, for some time past, been able to maintain, an extension of this right to the *goods of an enemy* found in a neutral ship; though it is to be observed, that our ally, Russia, and our ally, Sweden, as well as Denmark, and Holland, in all times, have contended against this right. But, what have these to do with the searching of which the Americans complain? They complain, not that we seize contraband of war on board their vessels; not that we confiscate ships or cargoes where there are enemy's troops or enemy's goods; but, that we stop their vessels upon the high seas, and that there we TAKE OUT OF THEM WHATEVER PERSONS WE PLEASE. This is what they complain of; and, the fact is perfectly notorious, that we have, in this way, taken many thousands of persons out of American ships, carrying on their trade quietly from one part of the world to another. It is notorious, that many of the persons thus seized were citizens and natives of America; that they have been taken on board of our ships of war; that they have been kept there for years; that they have been taken to all parts of the

world; that many of them have been wounded, many have lost their limbs, and many killed, in a service which they abhorred, being compelled to fight against those with whom they had no quarrel.

There is no man of any consideration who will attempt to say, that this is right It must of necessity have created deep-rooted ill-will against us in America, where the sea-faring people are not a class of individuals who have neither house nor home, and whose state is desperate. A vessel, in America, is often manned by people all living in the same village; and, the impressment, the banishment, the destruction of one, must be felt by the whole, and by the whole of the neighbourhood also. Hence the heart-burnings in America against England. The confiscation of ships and cargoes, under the Orders in Council together with the dreadful distress to the Captains and crews, produced great effect against us; but, great as it was, it fell short of the effect produced by the impressment of American seamen.

It has been said, that, if we give up the exercise of this power of impressment, our sailors will desert to the American ships. But, suppose the fact be so: What is that to America? It is not her fault. She does not force them out of our service. She does not compel them to desert. If they really do like her service better than ours, she cannot help that. We may as well complain of her for having such a country as our artisans and manufacturers prefer to their own, and, upon that ground, go and search her country for our deserted artisans and manufacturers, who emigrate to her shores in defiance of our laws. Really, Sir, I can see no just cause of complaint against her because our men desert to her ships. It is for us to keep our men, if we wish them not to go into her service; and not to complain of her for receiving them.

It is a practice wholly unknown in the world before. We have never, that I have heard of, attempted to exercise such a power against any nation but America. It is true, that all our officers who may visit her ships may not conduct themselves in a manner such as she has complained of; but, it is not less true, that they are *left entirely to their own discretion*. They are, it is true, not authorized to take *Americans* out of American ships; but, then, it is left to them, and must be left wholly to them, to decide *who are, and who are not, Americans*. This being the case, it is clear that every American ship's crew who meet an English ship of war at sea are *at the mercy* of the commander of that ship of war! No more need be said; for no man likes to be at the mercy of another. The English Captain has, in this case, the power of seizure, of imprisonment, of banishment, and, indeed, what power has he not over the American crew? They may produce proof of being natives of America, and then he is not authorized to seize them. Aye! but he, alas! is the sole and absolute *judge of that proof*, which he may think *bad*, and then it may as well not be produced.

This is the view to take of the matter, Sir. The corrupt press of London may, and will, bewilder the minds of the people by talking about our right of search, and the like; but, the plain fact is this; that, in consequence of this authority given to our ships of war to take persons out of American ships at sea, the crew of every American merchant ship that went to sea, or even from one port to another in America, were at the absolute mercy of the commander of the first English ship of war that happened to meet them. Suppose the case, Sir, of an American captain sailing out of the Delaware for the East Indies with his complement of men, being twenty, all his neighbours, met by an English sloop of war; suppose him to have six of his men taken out in spite of all his assurances of their being native Americans; suppose him left to pursue his voyage with only 14 hands; suppose the six seized men to be taken off to the West Indies; suppose two or three to die of the yellow fever; another to be killed; another lose an arm; and the sixth released by the intervention of the American Consul in London. Suppose this case, Sir, and you will suppose what *may have happened*. It was *possible* for such cases to happen, and that was enough; but, it was a thing which admitted of being rendered impossible. It is sufficient to say, that, in consequence of the exercise of this power, no American could, in a merchant ship, sail the sea in safety. He never was, for one single hour, secure against captivity and banishment. To a people so situated war must be *a relief*. The American seaman will prefer war, because if captured in war, the laws of war protect him and feed him as a *prisoner*; whereas he was before liable, not only to be seized and carried from his calling and country, but, at the same time, compelled to act as a seaman on board of our ships;

compelled to labour and to risk his life in our service, where it might be his lot to assist in serving others of his own countrymen as he himself had been served.

Sir, when you take a dispassionate view of this matter, I am quite sure, that the justice of your mind will decide you in favour of an abandonment, a frank abandonment, of the exercise of this power, which is, I am satisfied, without a precedent in the usage of nations, and which, under the present circumstances, can do nothing towards the safety of the country.

If this point were once settled, it appears to me, that much difficulty would not remain. But, as I had before the honour to state to your Royal Highness, it is not to be supposed, that war is to *cease* the moment we *cease to do wrong* to America. I have not taken upon me to say, whether our Orders in Council were a wrong, or not; but, by the repeal, we seem to have acknowledged that they were. If, then, they were a wrong, the cessation of them cannot be considered as sufficient to induce America to put up the sword at once, and without any further ceremony. When I published what was called a Libel, in the year 1809, that is to say, when I published an expression of my feelings at what had then been described as having taken place, at the town of Ely (where the Bank has since broken), with respect to the Local Militia and the German Legion; when I had made that publication I *ceased*; I made only one of that sort; yet, Sir, was I, at the distance of a year after the publication, sentenced to be imprisoned for two years, and to pay a thousand pounds fine to your royal Sire, and which thousand pounds I have paid to you, in his behalf. So you see, Sir, that, after one has done a thing, or has been doing a thing, it is not alway sufficient *to cease* to do it; the ceasing to do that which is deemed wrong, is not always regarded as sufficient to appease, or disarm the offended party. The last part of my punishment, the payment of the fine to you, in behalf of your royal Sire, was inflicted at more than three years' distance from the time of my writing about the Local Militia and the German Legion There may, perhaps, in the law of nations be an exception from the general principles in cases where a kingly government commits an offence, or alleged offence against a republic; but, in my small reading, I have, I must confess, never me with any such exception.

Therefore, I, for my part, was not a ll surprized to see the American demi-official print announce, that *compensation for the past* and *security for the future* would be required. "It is not," says the writer, "a mere *cessation to do wrong* 'that can now produce a peace: wrong 'done must be *redressed*, and a *guarantee* 'must be given in the face of the world." Yes, Sir, just as in my case, who, after imprisonment and fine was compelled, before I was released, *to enter into bonds*, to give a *guarantee*, as the republican writer calls it. Indeed, Sir, the history of the world is full of cases in support of this doctrine of the Americans. When your Royal Brother invaded Holland, it was not sufficient that he *ceased* to penetrate into the country; for, when he got back to *the Helder*, though he had then entirely *ceased* to be an invader, and appears to have very properly confined his wishes to the safe bringing-off of his army, the Republican generals, *Brune* (the "Printer's boy of Limosin") and *Daendels*, insisted upon his stipulating for the surrender to France and Holland of *eight thousand* of their seamen, who were then prisoners of war in England; this they insisted upon, "as the price of permission "to the British troops, with whom the "Duke of York had invaded Holland, to "re-embark on board their transports "*without molestation.*"

This was a compensation for injury, not *done*, but *attempted*. If the Royal commander had said, "I have *stopped;* I "have *ceased;* I am going away; *what* "*more do you want?*" If he had thus addressed the republican generals," they would have thought him cracked in the brain. His Royal Highness knew a great deal better. He took the effectual way of giving his opponents satisfaction, and thus he was enabled to bring off his army without molestation.

Here, then, Sir, are two instances of the soundness of the American doctrine; that a mere cessation of an offensive act is not, as a matter of course, deemed a satisfaction to the party offended. Nay, in my case, that was single; it was committed in a moment; it at once ceased; there was no remonstrance; no expostulation; the single act was seized hold of, and my printer and publisher and one of the newsmen, though they did not attempt to defend *their* conduct, but confessed their crime, declared on oath that they were wholly unconscious that they were publishing a libel and humbly sued for mercy;

though they did all this, *yet they were all imprisoned.*

Upon what principle, then, I ask, can these corrupt writers imagine, that America is to be satisfied with the mere repeal of our Orders in Council; that is to say, with a mere cessation of the acts offensive to her? Upon what ground is it that the country, in which the proceedings against me took place, can expect this at her hands? I do not say, that we were doing her wrong; I do not take upon me to decide that question. If we were not doing her wrong, however, why did we repeal? If we were not doing her wrong, why did we yield at her menaces? If we were not doing her wrong, we should not have given way; and, if we were doing her wrong, we should have gone further; for, upon the principles on which I was punished, and on which the sans-culotte generals insisted upon your Royal Brother's giving up of 8,000 prisoners of war then in England; upon those principles a *mere cessation* to do what gives offence is not considered as a sufficient atonement to the offended party.

The President of the United States has seen himself ridiculed and most grossly abused in our venal news papers, who, amongst other qualities not more to be admired, have ascribed to him that of *cowardice*. Such language does not tend to harmony; and, though (thank God!) Mr. Madison cannot, by his obstinacy, or to indulge any old grudge, plunge his country into a war; yet, he certainly has the power to render the way to peace more difficult. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that I do not believe him capable of imitating, for one single moment, those detestable miscreants, whom history has but too frequently exhibited in the act of rendering millions miserable for the purpose of gratifying some stupid, some idiot-like, some hog-like, passion. But, without being under any such influence, and without supposing any very strong prejudice against England in the minds of the people of America, there are, I fear, reasons enough to induce Mr. Madison to be in no haste to listen to terms of peace.

America has long felt the power of England; she has long been compelled to endure that which she detested; she is covered with scars of our inflicting; and she will not forget all this now that she has arms in her hands. I have before pointed to your Royal Highness of what importance it is to her that we should have nothing to do in the affairs of Spain. The war in Spain is, in fact, most fearful to America when it is most promising in appearances to us. She will never rest contented while there is a chance of our having any influence in Spanish South America. Of Napoleon she is not afraid in that quarter. He has no fleet to endanger her commerce; and, besides, her present exertions against us may, perhaps, secure her his assent to her wishes on that flank of her territories.

As to our internal situation she is well aware of it. The army in Canada is not better known to her than the army in the "*disturbed counties.*" Mr. Madison is very well acquainted with the causes of our disturbances; he has read before now all the evidence taken at the bar of parliament; he has seen it *proved* that the people of England are suffering greatly from the non-importation of their goods into America; he is well aware of the wants of our army in Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean; and he knows that a war with his country must soon plunge us into the greatest distress.

It is with a knowledge of all these that Mr. Madison enters on the war; and, under such circumstances, it appears to me impossible that he should listen to any terms of peace not including ample indemnity for the past. The American prints seem to insist upon a guarantee for the release of the American Seamen whom we have impressed. This, I should hope, there would be no objection to: and, indeed, I hope, that your Royal Highness's ministers will *now*, at the eleventh hour, do every thing in their power to procure us the restoration of *honourable* peace; I hope that England is not doomed to wage war against every man in the world who is in the enjoyment of real liberty. I know, Sir, that there are, in England, men who abhor the American government and people, and who would, if they had the power, exterminate them both, merely because the one guarantees and the other enjoys freedom. Such men will never be happy while they see a free man in the world; but, their malice will not be gratified; they will, though it blast their eye-sight, still see the Americans free. Such men always speak of America with disdain; they affect to consider her as nothing; they seem to think that no ceremony is necessary with her; that even when she has declared war, and has actually begun war, she is bound to leave off merely upon our ceasing to do her wrong, if wrong it be. Such men would, of course, think it

a great mortification *to send over to her pacific overtures*, which one of them already calls *suing for peace*. Far from your Royal Highness be counsels like these! How much blood might they cause to flow! This was the language with regard to the republicans of France; but, the haughty Pitt was glad, at last, to be permitted to send overtures of peace to those republicans. I hope, therefore, that we shall, in this case, be wise in the out-set, which is far better than *wisdom at the close*.

The whole case is now before you, Sir; war or peace is in your power. That you may choose the latter is the earnest wish of your Royal Highness's faithful servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 23d *September*, 1812.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR.——Napoleon approaches MOSCOW. Perhaps he is now there; and yet we are told of the *bravery* and the *patriotism* of the Russians.——Well, then, if they be both *brave* and *patriotic* what is the inference? why, that *patriotism* dictates to them to let the French come and take possession of their country.——I have hitherto given, as fully as I have been able, the Bulletins of the French army, and I shall continue to do so; for, I am convinced that they will contain the true history of this most important war, a war which is to decide the fate of the last of the old powers in Europe, except England.——If it be possible for any thing to add to the barefaced, the unblushing infamy, of our corrupt press, it would be the praises it is now bestowing upon the character and conduct of BERNADOTTE, the Crown Prince of Sweden. Long after I was in Newgate, they abused him like *a common thief*. I endeavoured to assuage their wrath; but, no: it would not be: they would insist, that he was all that was abominable. Now, behold, he is the only man to save the cause; he is to be the great deliverer of Europe; he has had a meeting with our august ally, the Czar, who has lately received a *consecrated* image of the *Patron Saint* of Russia from the Bishop of Moscow!——The idea is, that Bernadotte, assisted by us, is to take over an army and fall upon the rear of Napoleon. To *stab him in the back* as it were. Never! He'll never attack Napoleon. There have been many men *great* while *under him*; but, they have all become dust when *opposed* to him.——He is now within a short distance, comparatively speaking, of Moscow! That one fact ought to make his enemies look grave. The greatest of conquerors, of whom history speaks, have not, in their whole lives, performed half what he has performed since he quitted Paris the last time, and that was, I believe, about the time that I quitted Newgate. In two months he has done more, has gone farther with an army, than ever commander did before in two years.——"Fall upon his rear!" The sots! who told them that it was possible to fall upon his rear? His rear, indeed! His rear is covered by the people whom he has emancipated. His rear is covered by the Poles and the Lithuanians. Millions are at his back.——And, then, as to the French. See! he dares leave France and go to the north pole, if the climate would let him. After this can we be cheated into the belief, that he and his government are *hated in France?* Can any man of common sense be made to believe, that there is any chance of "*delivering*" the French nation? There is not, in my opinion, the smallest chance of any thing being done to obstruct him in the North. He will, in all probability, make a peace with the Emperor of Russia, and will obtain the power of enforcing completely the continental system. Having done that he will, in all likelihood, proceed to finish his work in the Southern Peninsula. I would, therefore, have *offered him terms of peace now*, before he had completed his work in the North; and, of course, before he was sure of success.——I have always been full of apprehensions for the result of this war; because, if there be no power left upon the continent, able to make head against Napoleon, the whole of his force may, at last, be directed against us.——I, for my part, can see no one reason *against treating for peace*, while I can see many reasons for it.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.——The gold is now sold at £6. 11*s*. an ounce. I merely note this, in order to let my readers see how the work of depreciation goes on. The price of bullion *fluctuates* a little; but, generally, it is a fair standard of the value of the paper.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 24*th September*, 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.—*Twelfth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.—Witepsk, Aug. 7.*

At the battle of the Drissa, the Russian General Koulnien, a distinguished officer of the light troops, was killed; ten other Generals were wounded; four Colonels were killed.——General Ricard, with his brigade, entered Dunaberg the 1st August. He found eight pieces of cannon; all the remainder had been taken away. The Duke of Tarentum also arrived there on the 2d. Thus, Dunaberg, that the enemy has been fortifying for five years, where he has expended several millions, which cost him more than 20,000 men during the labour, has been abandoned without firing a musket, and is in our power, like the other works of the enemy, and like the intrenched camp which he had on the Drissa. In consequence of the taking of Dunaberg, his Majesty has ordered that a park of 100 pieces of artillery, which he had formed at Magdeburg, and which he had advanced upon the Niemen, should retrograde to Dantzic, and be put in depot in that place. ——At the commencement of the campaign, two besieging parks of artillery had been prepared; one against Dunaberg, the other against Riga.——The magazines of Witepsk are provisioned; the hospitals organized. These ten days of repose are extremely useful to the army. The heat is, besides, excessive. We have it warmer here than in Italy. The harvests are superb; it appears that this extends to all Russia. Last year it was bad every where. The crops will not begin to be cut before eight or ten days.——His Majesty has made a large square (place) before the palace which he occupies at Witepsk. This palace is situate upon the banks of the left of the river Dwina. Every morning, at six, there is a grand parade, at which all the officers of the Guard appear. One of the brigade of Guards, in fine condition, alternately defiles.

Report of the Prince Viceroy of the Battles of the 25th, 26th, and 27th July.

Sire,—I have the honour to address to your Majesty the reports of the battles which took place on the 25th, 26th, and 27th July, and in which the Fourth Corps that I command took part.——Your Majesty ordered the King of Naples, Commandant of the Cavalry of the Army, to set out from Beehen Kovisch, and take the direction of Witepsk. I received orders to place at his disposition the 8th light infantry.——The King of Naples met the enemy in advance of Ostrovno, and engaged in different charges of cavalry, which obtained two grand results. About 600 prisoners and eight pieces of cannon were the trophies of this day. The General of Division Delzons informs me, that the 8th had several engagements, which it supported with valour.——On the 26th, the King of Naples received orders to continue his march upon Witepsk, and me to move with a division to support the movement of the cavalry. I went before day to the King of Naples, and we together agreed upon the hour at which the movement should commence.——I ordered the 13th division to follow the cavalry, and the 14th, and guard, to follow the 13th, but *en echelon*, and at an hour's distance.—The route ran through a wood, and the 8th was quickly engaged to open the road, which the enemy disputed with infantry.——About ten in the morning, the 8th, after having drawn from the wood all the enemy's tiralleurs, met them formed, and holding an advantageous position upon a piece of ground, of considerable elevation, protected by a numerous artillery, having before them a deep ravine, and their left supported by a forest, so thick, that it was impossible for masses to penetrate it, without breaking. It was General Ostermann's corps, consisting of two divisions of infantry, which occupied this position. I then ordered General Delzons, commandant of the 13th division, to form for the attack the Croat regiment and 84th, upon the left of the road, the first deployed, the second in column by divisions. A battalion of voltigeurs, and the 93d regiment were placed upon the right, *en echelon*, by battalion. The attack commenced; it was brisk, and the enemy were charged with intrepidity. The Croats and 84th obliged the battalions offered to them to give way. General Huard, who commanded this attack, displayed equal valour and capacity. Upon the right, the voltigeurs and 92d experienced a greater resistance; they had to penetrate through the forest, *debouch*, and form under the enemy's fire, who placed on their left their principal force. It was not without multiplied efforts, that General Roussel succeeded in taking a position upon *debouching* from the wood, and driving away the enemy; all the valour of the troops and the obstinacy of the General were required to succeed in this so difficult attack.——Nevertheless, the centre and the left, which could not see the slow progress of the right, contended

in the forest, pursuing their success. The enemy, who saw their left supported itself, marched the reserve upon the right, which was more closely pushed. The Croats and 84th were in their turn assailed.——The King of Naples, with his brilliant valour and the promptitude of lightning, determined upon a vigorous charge of cavalry, which arrested the enemy. The Chief of Battalion, Ricard, with a company of carabineers of the 8th, threw himself before the mouths of the cannon. The Chief of Battalion, Dumay, and Captain Bonardale, with an uncommon bravery, maintained the greatest order in the column of artillery. During this time General Roussel *debouched* from the forest, charged the enemy with the 92d in column, and rendered himself master of the position. The Croats and 84th, supported by two battalions of the 106th regiment, kept in reserve to this moment, regained their first advantages. It was then that every thing was re-established, and we remained masters of the ground which the enemy had so hardly contested.——After some moments of repose to rally the troops and reform the columns, the enemy were again pursued, and promptly driven from all the positions which they still attempted to defend. They were thus brought back till within two leagues from Witepsk, in which the 13th division took a position about nine in the evening. The 14th was placed upon the road, in a second line, with orders to clear the banks of the Dwina. The guard was also placed in the rear, to the right of the 13th division.——On the 27th, your Majesty ordered the cavalry and 4th corps to continue the movement upon Witepsk. On this day the 14th division took the lead; the General of Brigade, Bertrand de Sivray, was detached with the 18th regiment of light infantry, and three companies of voltigeurs; he seized upon a village occupied by the enemy on the right, and followed the crest of the heights, of which he rendered himself master; the remainder of the division advanced and formed upon the left of the road, in presence of the enemy, established its artillery, silenced that opposed to it, and forced the Russians to withdraw their line from the banks of the ravine they occupied behind a burnt bridge. ——General Broussur took advantage of this retrograde movement of the enemy, passed the river with his division, formed his regiments by *echellons*, in a double square, under a very brisk fire of his artillery. The square of the 53d was nearest. The enemy's cavalry several times endeavoured to charge the squares, but the fire and countenance of this regiment always checked them.——The two first companies of the 9th line, voltigeurs, which had passed the bridge, under the enemy's fire, were skilfully and bravely directed by Captains Guyard and Savory, upon the enemy's flank, and carried them, with great loss.——[The remainder of this report consists of praises bestowed upon different Officers, who distinguished themselves.]——I am, with the most profound respect, Sire, &c. &c.

EUGENE NAPOLEON.

First Report from the King of Naples to the Emperor.——Malluzero, Aug. 1.

Sire,—I arrived from Polotsk at Beehen Kovisch, in the evening of the 24th, and agreeably to the instructions which were sent me, to rejoin the 1st corps of cavalry, and with it bear upon Witepsk, the Viceroy was to support me. General Nansouty left his head-quarters at Bandebova, and I rejoined him when he was engaged with the enemy upon the height of Ostrovno, and master of the first position of eight pieces of cannon, which the advanced guard of Bruyen's division had taken.——This success was the result of a brilliant charge of cavalry, executed by General Pere, with equal bravery and skill, notwithstanding General Ostermann, who had on that morning, with all his corps, taken a position some hundred toises in the rear, opposed it with infantry. I made St. Germain's division rapidly advance, and form his lines by brigades, and all his artillery was properly placed. I then saw at about fifty toises distance a Russian regiment of dragoons debouch from a wood, which began to form upon the left flank of the foreign brigade with which I then was. To change from front upon the right, charge, overthrow, and almost instantly destroy it, was but the affair of an instant. A second charge of Pere's brigade, having at its head General Count Ornano, took place upon the causeway; it was assisted by the infantry's fire.——Informed by the prisoners that I had to contend with the whole of Ostermann's corps, I ordered Delzon's and Broussur's divisions to march upon the line; I advanced two battalions of the 8th light infantry, which your Majesty had in the morning placed at my disposal, and placed them along a small wood, which was upon my left, to support my first brigade of cavalry, which the fire of the in-

fantry would necessarily force to retire. Upon seeing this movement, about three battalions marched from their left to the front of my cavalry, to meet these two battalions. I ordered them to be charged; they were obliged to retire with considerable loss. I wished to maintain this position till the arrival of Delzon's division; but the enemy marched by favour of a wood which was upon my right, ten or twelve battalions, and shewed a disposition to attack my right—a movement which would necessarily have compelled me to abandon my positions.— —Two of these battalions had already debouched, and forced the brigade on the right to give way. Two other battalions debouched on my left upon a regiment of cuirassiers and the 9th lancers. Almost at the same time these four battalions were charged and destroyed, those on my left by the 9th lancers, and those on my right by the foreign brigade. I have seldom seen cavalry charge infantry with such courage and success.—Delzon's division now being arrived, I ordered it to march along the Dwina, and take a position that would threaten the rear of the Russians. This movement alone stopped the enemy on my right, who were eager to recal their battalions to the centre to cover their retreat, which they effected the same instant.——The two battalions of the eighth regiment of light infantry repulsed two or three charges of the enemy's infantry, and constantly covered the front of my line. The artillery did the greatest injury to the enemy; it fired 1,500 discharges at half shot distance.——Such, Sire, is the exact account of the battle of Ostrovno, of which the results have been the taking of eight pieces of cannon, 7 or 800 prisoners, and at least 5 or 6,000 Russians killed and wounded. Your Majesty may judge of the enemy by passing over the field of battle. ——I acquainted your Majesty by my letter, written on the very ground, with the brilliant conduct of the Generals who directed these different charges. Your Majesty will find more in detail, in the annexed Reports, the names of the brave men who most particularly distinguished themselves: your Majesty will permit me to solicit for them the justly merited rewards. I owe particular eulogium to General Count Belliard, who was in all the charges, and was of the greatest use to me in executing the different movements which I found it necessary to order. I must likewise name to your Majesty all the individuals of my House, and request your goodness in their favour. I have the honour to request of your Majesty a Lieutenancy for M. Berthier, Sub-Lieutenant of the 16th horse chasseurs, who was in the charge made by General Ornand, and was one of the first who attacked the pieces; his superior officers have a great respect for him.——I am, Sire, your Majesty's affectionate Brother,

JOACHIM NAPOLEON.

Second Report of the King of Naples to the Emperor.——Multuzero, Aug. 2.

Sire,—I received in the night between the 25th and 26th of July a dispatch from your Majesty, according to which I was to make a strong reconnoissance upon the enemy with a considerable quantity of artillery, and the division Delzons, which was to support it. I put in motion all the first corps of the reserve of the cavalry, and the two battalions of the 8th of infantry. My advanced guard met with the rear guard of the enemy at about two leagues from Ostrovno: they were advantageously posted behind an extremely deep ravine; they had infantry and cavalry, and were covered on their front and flanks by thick woods; several cannon shot were exchanged; the two battalions were sent to stop the infantry, which already made the cavalry retrograde. In the mean time the division Delzons had arrived; here the part of the cavalry was naturally to have concluded. The Viceroy made his disposition and marched upon the enemy. The ravine was passed. The brigade of foreign cavalry had passed the Dwina, protected our left flank, and debouched in the plain; the rest of the light division marched upon the causeway in proportion as the Viceroy repulsed the infantry of the enemy. The cuirassiers were left in reserve behind the ravine, and their cannon placed in battery. My right was covered by immense woods. The enemy were vigorously led to the second position, behind the ravine, where, no doubt, were their reserve. He was repulsed a second time, and a second time renewed the attack; I perceived confusion; I ordered a charge of cavalry against a column of infantry which was marching audaciously in the plain. The brave Poles rushed on the Russian battalion —not a man escaped—not one was made prisoner—the last men were killed, even in the woods. The *pas de charge* was immediately beaten, and all the square battalions of your Majesty's infantry, and General Girardin, who led the battalions of the left, received orders to

make a change to the right and incline on the *grand chaussée* on the rear of the enemy. All the battalions who were immediately on the right executed the same manœuvres; and General Peré inclined with the 8th regiment of hussars to the *right*, and vigorously charged the whole left of the enemy, which owed its safety only to the woods and ravines that retarded our march. The whole division followed the movement on the causeway; the cavalry debouched on the heights in front of the five or six regiments of cavalry which I had caused to be cannonaded; it was in this position that your dispatch found me, and whence it caused me to pursue the enemy, who was led with drums beating to a ravine about a league and a half from Witepsk.——Here is, Sire, an account of the affair of the 26th, in which, according to the reports of all the prisoners and deserters, the enemy suffered still greater losses than on the preceding evening. One may boldly state their loss at from 2,500 to 3,000 killed, and an immense number wounded. Your Majesty scarcely lost any body.——[Here follows the praises of the different officers who distinguished themselves.]

JOACHIM NAPOLEON.

Report of Marshal the Duke of Tarentum, to the Prince Major-General.——Jacobstadt, July 22.

Monseigneur,—I have this instant (five o'clock in the evening) received the report of General Grawert, respecting the engagement which took place on the 19th at Ekau.——Scarcely had he arrived at Banske, and replaced General Ricard, whilst his infantry was passing the Aa, he detached Colonel de Roeder, with a party of 60 horse, to reconnoitre the ground. He met the enemy's posts about three leagues from Banske, easily drove them back; but observing they had forces behind them, he informed General Grawert of it, and at the same time demanded two squadrons and half a battery of horse artillery; but previous to their arrival, the enemy, who from a height had been able to convince himself of the weakness of Col. Roeder's detachment, fell upon him; he valiantly defended himself, in order not to lose the advantageous position he occupied.——This unequal combat became more critical and lively, when Major Sturn, with the 1st regiment of dragoons, arrived; this brave officer vigorously charged the enemy's cavalry, overthrew and pursued it to the wood, where it was checked by the enemy's infantry. In this charge the enemy had many men killed, and an officer and 20 men taken prisoners. The Prussians had one man killed and 20 wounded, three of whom were officers; among whom is Count Brandenburg. The prisoners taken in this affair unanimously declare, that the preceding evening considerable reinforcements had arrived at Ekau, upon which the enemy advanced four battalions, some squadrons of Uhlans, a paulk of Cossacks, and some cannon, and besides concentrated themselves with very superior forces, with a battery of 16 pieces of cannon in Ekau.——General Grawert, being informed of this, determined upon sending orders to General Kleist, that, by a first disposition, I had sent to Kunken and Draken, upon the high road from Herbergen to Riga, to march by the right of the river Ekau, to take the enemy in flank and rear, whilst he made dispositions for attacking him in front.——General Grawert marched upon Ekau, drove all the enemy's troops from the right to the left bank of the river Ekau, with his cavalry and tiralleurs, and, in an advantageous position, waited the arrival of General Kleist; of whose arrival, as soon as he was informed by the first discharge of cannon, he approached the enemy, passed the defile with the cavalry, the artillery, and the tiralleurs, and supported that attack by a part of his infantry, whilst the other advanced to guard the defile.——General Kleist vigorously attacked on his side, his left bearing upon Ekau. The combat was long and murderous; the Russians defended their positions foot to foot; even a detachment which was cut off fought to the last extremity.——Nevertheless, the bravery of the Prussian troops, notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers, and the good conduct of the chiefs and officers, triumphed over the Russians. At eight in the evening they were forced at all points, and put to flight.——The result of this day is a flag taken, and several hundreds of prisoners. The enemy lost a considerable number of men in killed and wounded. The loss of the Prussians is of consideration.—[Here follow the names of those officers who distinguished themselves.]—General Grawert supposes the enemy will take a position between Ekau and Riga, from whence he reckons upon driving them with facility, as the Russians are discouraged by the action of the 19th, whilst the Prussians are full of confidence.——Gen. Grawert adds, that the 19th has been a

glorious day for the Emperor and the Prussian arms.

THE MARSHAL DUKE OF TARENTUM.

Thirteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.—Smolensko, Aug. 21.

It appears that in the battle of Mohilow gained over Prince Bagration on the 23d July, the loss of the enemy has been considerable; we here give the Report of the Prince of Eckmuhl respecting this affair ——The Duke of Tarente found 20 pieces of cannon in Dunabourg, in place of 8, as had been announced; he obliged several ships laden with more than 40,000 bombs, and other projectiles to retire—an immense quantity of ammunition was destroyed by the enemy. The ignorance of the Russians in constructing fortifications is apparent in the works of Dunabourg and Drissa; His Majesty gave the command of his right to the Prince of Schwartzenburg, by placing under his orders the 2d corps. This Prince marched against General Tormasow; met and defeated him on the 12th; he pays the highest compliments to the Saxon and Austrian troops: the Prince Schwartzenburg shewed in these circumstances equal activity. The Emperor has requested promotion and rewards for the Officers of his Corps d'armee who have distinguished themselves.——On the 8th, the Grand Army was placed in the following manner. The Prince Vice Roi was at Souria with the 4th corps, his advanced guards occupying Vilys, Ousveath and Potulsop.——The King of Naples was at Mkoulmo, his cavalry occupied Lukovo. ——Marshal the Duke of Echingen, Commandant of the 3d corps, was at Loozna. ——Marshal the Prince of Echmuhl, Commandant of the 1st corps, was at Doubrouva. The 5th corps, commanded by the Prince Poniatowski, was at Mohilow. ——The head-quarters were at Witepsk. ——The 2d corps, commanded by the Duke of Reggio, was upon the Drissa.——The 10th corps, commanded by the Duke of Tarente, was upon Dunabourg and Riga. ——On the 8th 12,000 of the enemy's cavalry marched upon Inkovo, and attacked General Count Sebastiani's division, which for half a league was obliged to fight retreating all the day, suffering and causing equal loss to the enemy. A company of voltigeurs of the 24th Regiment of light infantry, forming a part of a battalion of that regiment which had been confided to the cavalry to maintain a position in the wood, was taken. We had about 200 killed and wounded; the enemy may have lost the same number of men. On the 12th the enemy's army, having united at Smolensko, marched by different points with equal slowness and hesitation upon Boreitch and Nadra.——The Prince of Eckmuhl collected all his troops in order to march against the enemy and take possession of Smolensko, by proceeding thither by the other side of the Borysthene. The King of Naples and Duke of Elchingen set out from Liozna and marched upon the Borysthene, near to the embouchier of Berezina, opposite Khomeno; where on the night between the 13th and 14th they threw two bridges over the Borysthene. ——The Viceroy set out from Soniaj, and marched by Janovitshi and Lienvavitsch to Rasasna, where he arrived on the 14th.——General Count Crouchy collected the 3d corps of cavalry at Rasasna, on the 12th.——The Prince of Eckmuhl collected all his corps at Doubrowna, on the 13th.——General Count Eble threw three bridges over Rasasna, on the 13th.——The head-quarters set out on the 13th from Witepsk, and arrived at Rasasna on the 13th.——Prince Poniatowski set out from Mohilow, and on the 13th arrived at Romanzo. On the 14th, at break of day, General Grouchy marched upon Leaobri, chased two regiments of Cossacks from it, and there found the corps of General Count Nansouty. The same day the King of Naples, supported by the Duke of Elchingen, arrived at Krasnoi.——The 27th enemy's division, consisting of 5,000 infantry, supported by 2,000 cavalry and 12 pieces of cannon, was in a position before that town: it was attacked and forced in an instant by the Duke of Elchingen. The 24th regiment of light infantry attacked the small town of Krasnoi with the bayonet, with great intrepidity: the cavalry executed some admirable charges. Baron Bordesoult, General of Division, and the 3d regiment of chasseurs, distinguished themselves. The taking of eight pieces of cannon, 14 caissons, 1,500 prisoners, with a field covered with more than 1,000 Russian corpses, were the advantages of the battle of Krasnoi, in which the Russian division consisting of 5,000 men, suffered a loss of half its number.——His Majesty, on the 15th, had his head quarters at Kovonitnia. ——On the 16th, in the morning, the heights of Smolensko were commanded. The town presented to our view an enclosure of walls of 4,000 toises, ten feet

thick and 25 high, intersected with towers, several of which were armed with cannon of a heavy caliber.——Upon the right of the Borysthene, we perceived and knew that, the enemy faced about, and hastily retraced their steps to defend Smolensko. We knew that the enemy's Generals had received reiterated orders to give battle and save Smolensko. The Emperor reconnoitred the town, and placed his army in its position on the day of the 16th. The Marshal Duke of Elchingen had the left, bearing on the Borysthene; the Prince of Eckmuhl, the centre; Prince Poniatowski, the right; the guard was placed in reserve in the centre; the Viceroy, in reserve on the right, and the cavalry, under the orders of the King of Naples, at the extremity of the right; the Duke of Abrantes, with the 8th corps, lost their way and had made a false movement. The 16th and half of the 17th was passed in observation. A fire of musquetry was kept up along the line. The enemy occupied Smolensko with 30,000 men, and the remainder of their army was formed upon the fine positions upon the right bank of that river opposite to the town, and communicating by three bridges. Smolensko is considered as a strong town by the Russians, and the Bulwark of Moscow. On the 17th at two in the afternoon, seeing that the enemy had not debouched; that they were fortifying themselves in Smolensko, and that they refused battle, notwithstanding the orders they had received, and the fine positions they might have taken, their right upon Smolensko, and their left upon the course of the Borysthene, the enemy's General wanting resolution, the Emperor marched upon the right, and ordered Prince Poniatowski to change his front, the right in advance, and to place his right to the Borysthene, occupying one of the suburbs by posts and batteries to destroy the bridge, and interrupt the communication of the town with the right bank.——During this time the Prince of Eckmuhl received orders to attack two of the suburbs, which the enemy had entrenched, at 200 toises distance from the town, and which were each defended by 7 or 8,000 men, and heavy cannon. General Count Friant had orders to complete the investment, in leaning his right towards Prince Poniatowski's corps, and his left to the right of the attack made by the Prince of Eckmuhl. At two in the afternoon, Count Bruyere's division of cavalry, after having driven away the Cossacks' and enemy's cavalry, approached the bridge highest up the river; a battery of 10 pieces of artillery was established upon this ground, and fired with grape shot upon that part of the enemy's army which was upon the right bank of the river, and quickly obliged the Russian masses of infantry to evacuate that position.——The enemy then placed two batteries, of 20 pieces of cannon, in a convent, to annoy the battery which played upon the bridge. The prince of Eckmuhl intrusted the attack of the right suburbs to Count Morand, and that of the left to General Count Guden.——At three the cannonade commenced; at half past four a very brisk fire of musketry began, and at five the divisions of Morand and Gudin carried the intrenched enemy's suburbs, with a cool and rare intrepidity, and pursued them to the covered way, which was covered with Russian dead. Upon our left the Duke of Elchingen attacked the position which the enemy had without the town, seized upon it, and pursued the enemy to the glacis. ——At five o'clock the communication of the town with the right bank became difficult, and could only be accomplished by isolated men.——Three batteries of breaching, 12 pounders, were placed against the walls at six in the evening; one by Friant's division, and the two others by Morand and Guden's divisions. We drove the enemy from all the town by howitzers, which played upon them.——The General of artillery, Count Sorbier, rendered the occupation of the covered way by the enemy impossible, by two enfiladed batteries. Nevertheless the enemy, who from two in the afternoon perceived we had serious intentions against the town, sent two divisions and two regiments of infantry of the Guard, to reinforce the four divisions which were in the town. These united forces composed half of the Russian army. The battle continued the whole night; three breaching batteries played with the utmost activity. Two companies of miners were attached to the ramparts.——The town was now on fire in the middle of a fine August night. Smolensko offered the French a spectacle similar to that which an eruption of Vesuvius presents to the inhabitants of Naples.——An hour after midnight the enemy abandoned the town, and retired across the river. At two o'clock the grenadiers who first led to the attack, no longer found resistance; the place was evacuated; 200 pieces of cannon and one of the first towns in Russia were

in our power, and that, too, in sight of the whole Russian army. The combat of Smolensko, which we might justly term a battle, an hundred thousand men having been engaged on the different sides, caused the Russians a loss of 4,700 men left dead on the field of battle, of 2,000 prisoners, the greater part of which are wounded, and of 7 to 8,000 wounded. Amongst the dead were found five Russian Generals. Our loss amounts to 700 killed and 3,100 or 3,200 wounded. The General of Brigade, Grabouski, was killed, and the Generals of Brigade, Grandeau and Dalton, wounded. All the troops have rivalled each other in intrepidity. The field of battle has offered to the view of 200,000 persons, who can attest it, the sight of one French corpse laying upon the dead bodies of seven or eight Russians, meanwhile the Russians were protected by the musketry fire from their trenches during a part of the days of the 16th and 17th.——On the 18th, we established the bridges over the Borysthene which the enemy had burnt, but did not succeed in quenching the fire which consumed the town until the day of the 18th, the French sappers having worked with great activity. The houses in the city were filled with Russians, dead and dying.——Of twelve divisions which composed the Grand Russian Army, two divisions have been broken and defeated in the combats of Ostrowna; two have met with the same fate in the battle of Mohilow; and six in the battle of Smolensko. They have only two divisions of the Guards which remain entire. The deeds of bravery which reflect honour on the army, and which have distinguished such numbers of soldiers in the battle of Smolensko, shall be the subject of a particular report. Never has the French army shewn greater intrepidity than in this campaign.

Fourteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army. Smolensko, Aug. 23.

Smolensko may be considered as one of the finest cities of Russia. Had it not been for the circumstances of the war, which has carried thither the fire, and consumed immense magazines of colonial merchandise and goods of all kinds, this city would have been a grand resource for the army. Even in its present state it may be of the greatest utility in point of a military view. There are still large houses remaining, which offer fine places for the establishment of hospitals.—The province of Smolensko is very fine and very fertile, and furnished with great resources, for subsistence and forage. The Russians intended, according to the events of the war, to raise a Militia of Peasant Slaves, whom they have armed with bad pikes. They had already united about 5,000 of them at this place; it was an object of raillery and derision even to the Russian army itself. They had already stated as the Order of the Day, that Smolensko was to be the grave of the French, and that although it had been deemed convenient to evacuate Poland, yet it was necessary to give battle at Smolensko, to prevent this barrier of Russia from falling into our hands.——The Cathedral of Smolensko is one of the most celebrated Grecian Churches in all Russia. The Episcopal Palace forms a kind of town by itself.——The heat is excessive, the thermometer having risen to 26 degrees: the weather is much hotter here than in Italy.

Battle of Polotsk.

After the Battle of Drissa, the Duke of Reggio, knowing that the enemy's General Wittgenstein had been reinforced by twelve third battalions from the garrison of Duneburg, and willing to draw him to an engagement near the defile below Polotsk, caused the 2d and 6th corps to be arranged in order of battle below Polotsk. General Wittgenstein followed him, attacked him on the 16th and 17th, and was vigorously repulsed. The Bavarian division of De Wrede, of the 6th corps, has distinguished itself. At the moment when the Duke of Reggio was making his dispositions to profit by the victory, and to close the enemy in the defile, he was struck on the shoulder by a Biscayen. His wound, which is of a serious nature, obliged him to cause himself to be transported to Wilna, but it did not appear that he made himself in any wise unquiet concerning the consequences. The General Gouvion Saint Cyr has taken the command of the 2d and 6th corps. On the 17th, in the evening, the enemy retired through the defile. General Verdier was wounded. General Maison has been recognized as General of Division, and has succeeded him in the command of his division. Our loss is estimated at 1,000 men killed and wounded. The loss of the Russians is triple to ours. We have taken 500 prisoners from them.——On the 18th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, General Gouvion Saint Cyr, commanding the 2d and 6th corps, opened

on the enemy, by causing his right wing to be attacked by the Bavarian Division of Count de Wrede. The battle extended the whole length of the line, and the enemy were thrown into complete rout, and pursued for two leagues, as long as day-light permitted. Twenty pieces of cannon and 1,000 prisoners have remained in the power of the French army. The Bavarian General Deroy was wounded.

Battle of Valentina.

On the 19th, at break of day, the bridge being finished, the Marshal Duke of Elchingen crossed over to the right bank of the Borysthene, and pursued the enemy. At one league from the town he encountered the last column of the enemy's rear-guard. It was a division of 5 or 6,000 men, stationed on fine heights.—He caused them to be attacked with the bayonet, by the 4th regiment of infantry of the line, and by the 72d ditto. The position was carried, and our bayonets covered the field of battle with dead: 3 or 400 prisoners fell into our hands.——The flying enemy retired on the second column, which was posted on the heights of Valentina. The first position was carried by the 10th of the line; and towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the musketry fire was kept up against the whole of the enemy's rear-guard, which presented about 15,000 men. The Duke of Abrantes had passed the Borysthene at 2 o'clock to the right of Smolensko, and he found himself close upon the rear of the enemy; he might, therefore, by marching with his division, have intercepted the great road to Moscow, and rendered the retreat of the rear-guard difficult: but mean-time, the other columns of the enemy's army which remained to be forced, being informed of the success, and of the rapidity of the first attack, returned back the way they came. Four divisions then advanced to support their rear-guard, and among others the divisions of grenadiers, which, until now, had not come forward, 5 or 6,000 men, cavalry, formed their right, whilst their left was covered by woods, filled with Tirailleurs. It was of the greatest consequence to the enemy to keep this position as long as possible, it being a very fine one, and apparently impregnable; on our part we attached no less importance to it. Thus arose the battle of Valentina, one of the finest feats of arms in our military history.——At six o'clock in the evening the division of Gudin, which had been sent forward to support the third corps, from the moment when we perceived the great succours that the enemy had sent to his rear guard, pushed forward a column on the centre of the enemy's position, supported by the division of General Ledru. After an hour's combat our troops forced the position. General Count Gudin arriving with his division, was, at the commencement of the action, struck by a bullet, which carried off his thigh: he died gloriously. This loss was sensibly felt. General Gudin was one of the most distinguished officers in the army; he was estimable for his moral qualities, as much as for his bravery and intrepidity. General Gerard has taken the command of the division. We reckon that the enemy have had eight Generals killed or wounded: one of their Generals is taken prisoner. On the following day the Emperor distributed recompenses on the field of battle to all the regiments which had distinguished themselves, and as the 127th, which is a new regiment, had behaved itself well, His Majesty granted this regiment the right of carrying an eagle, a privilege it had not before enjoyed, never having until this time been present in any battle. These recompenses, given on the field of battle in the midst of the dead, the dying, the wounded, and the trophies of victory, afforded a spectacle truly military and imposing. The enemy, after this battle, has precipitated his retreat in such a manner that on the day of the 20th our troops marched 20 leagues without being able to find the Cossacks, and every where picking up the wounded and the stragglers. ——Our loss in the battle of Valentina has been 600 killed and 2,600 wounded. That of the enemy, as the field of battle shews, is triple. We have taken 1,000 prisoners, mostly wounded.

Thus the only two Russian divisions which had not suffered by the preceding combats of Mohilow, of Ostrovno, of Krasnoi, and of Smolensko, have now done it by the battle of Valentina. All the intelligence received, confirms the account of the enemy running full drive for Moscow, and that his army has suffered much in the preceding engagements, and besides this experiences a great desertion. The Poles say to them when deserting, you have abandoned us without fighting, what right then can you have to expect from us to remain under your colours? The Russian soldiers of the provinces of Mohilow and Smolensko likewise take advantage of the proximity of

their villages to desert, and return to repose themselves in their own countries. The division of Gudin attacked with so much intrepidity, that the enemy were persuaded it was the Imperial Guards. This is in one word to pronounce the finest eulogy on the 7th regiment of light infantry, and on the 12th, 21st, and 127th of the line who composed this division. The combat of Valentina may likewise be called a battle, as more than 80,000 men were engaged. It was at least an affair of the van-guard of the first rank.——General Grouchy, who was sent with his corps on the route to Donkovichina, found all the villages filled with dead and wounded, and has taken three carriages, containing 900 wounded. ——The Cossacks have surprised at Leozno an hospital of 200 sick Wirtemburgh troops, which, through negligence, had not been forwarded to Witepsk.——For the rest, in the midst of all these disasters, the Russians never cease to chaunt *Te Deums*; they convert every thing into a victory; but in spite of the ignorance and brutality of these people, this begins to appear ridiculous to them, and even too gross.

Report to the Major General.

Monseigneur,—I suppose that the Duke of Reggio will have rendered your Highness an account of the day of the 17th, or at least up to the moment when his wounds forced him to quit the field of battle; during the remainder of that day the troops continued their successes, and at nine in the evening the Russians were repulsed at every point, after having suffered the most considerable losses, having attempted, in the course of the day, six or seven attacks, which were repulsed with a bravery superior to the infatuation which brought them thither. This affair reflects the highest honour on the division of Le Grand, which was placed at the branching of the roads to Jebei and to Nevil; and on the Bavarian corps, placed on the left bank of the Polota, in the rear of the village of Spas, which the enemy was determined to retake, notwithstanding his having been driven out of it five or six times; and the 20th division, as also General De Wrede, who commanded it, have covered themselves with glory. The Bavarian General Vincenti, who is entitled to praise for the manner in which he conducted himself, was there wounded.—— In the evening of that day, I felt the necessity of attacking the enemy. I took my measures for making the attack on the 18th, at four o'clock the afternoon. I have performed impossibilities to deceive the enemy concerning my intentions. Towards one o'clock I caused the equipage of the army, which were in the rear of Polotsk, to file off on the left bank of the Dwina, on the road to Oula. I made an appearance as if I would cause this movement to be covered and protected by the troops which Marshal the Duke of Reggio had caused to repass to the left bank. In the night between the 16th and 17th, they re-united behind Polotsk, at the rear of the equipages, the division of cuirassiers arrived there from Semeneta, and the brigade of light cavalry of General Castex, from Roudina. ——At three in the afternoon the column and baggage had filed in sight of the enemy, and the troops above-mentioned repassed the Dwina with the greatest part of the French artillery, and entered Polotsk. About five o'clock all the troops and artillery were in a position to debouche upon the enemy without their even having observed our preparations. At five precisely all the artillery opened its fire, and our columns of infantry debouched under its protection to attack the enemy's left and centre. Wrede's division debouched to the right of the village of Spas, and attacked with great bravery and skill the enemy's left; General Deroy's division debouched by the same village of Spas; Le Grand's division on the left of that village, connecting itself by its left to Verdier's division, a brigade of which observed the enemy's right, which was placed upon the road of Gehinzeleva. Merle's division covered the front of Polotsk, and part of its rear.—— The enemy, though completely surprised, quite confident in their superior force and immense artillery, composed of 180 pieces, at first received our attack with infinite calmness and *sang froid;* but in the end, before night, their left was completely forced, and their centre totally routed, after having defended their position with much bravery and great slaughter. We should have made a very great number of prisoners, if the woods had not been so near their position. The enemy abandoned to us the field of battle, covered with an immense number of their killed, 20 pieces of cannon and 1,000 prisoners. On our side we have had some killed and wounded—among the latter are Generals Deroy and Raclovitsch, and Colonel Colonge, commanding the Bavarian artillery.——I cannot sufficiently eulogize Legrand, Wrede, Deroy, Raclo-

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that ex"cited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

That famous, that prime thing, called a *general election*, is at hand. Now, then, what talk we shall hear about the *glorious Constitution!* Now the glorious privilege of Englishmen is about to be exercised! A friend advises me to make an appeal to the virtue, to the public spirit of *the people* upon this occasion. I will do no such thing. I will practise no such delusion. I will do nothing that shall tend to make any human being believe, that *the people's* voice is expressed by the tools of the Borough-mongers. But I will do that which will be much more suitable to the occasion, as well as more consistent with truth and sincerity, and more likely to produce good to the country: I will here call to the recollection of the public, and will place before them, not my own opinions upon the state of the representation as it now is; but the opinions of others, together with some facts, which, though already pretty generally known, can never be too often repeated; facts, which ought always to be kept alive in the mind of every man in every country, where there is one spark of the love of real liberty existing. I shall begin with giving, in their own words, the opinions of men, for some one or other of whom almost every reader will be found to entertain respect.

BLACKSTONE and LOCKE.

As it is essential to the very being of Parliament that Elections should be free, therefore, all undue influences upon the electors are illegal, and strongly prohibited; for Mr. Locke ranks it amongst those breaches of trust in the executive magistrate, which, according to his notions, amounts to a dissolution of government, if he employ the force, treasure, and offices of the society to corrupt the representatives, or openly to pre-engage the electors, and prescribe what manner of persons shall be chosen; for, thus to regulate candidates and electors, and new-model the ways of election, what is it but to cut up the government by the roots, and poison the very fountain of public security.—*Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, Book I. Chap. 2.*

EARL MULGRAVE.

But, my lords, there is another kind of incapacity worse than this; I mean that of parliament-men's having such places in the exchequer, as the very profit of them depends on the money given to the King in parliament. Would any of your lordships intrust a man to make a bargain for you, whose very interest is to make you give as much as he possibly can? It puts me in mind of a farce where an actor holds a dialogue with himself, first speaking in one tone, and then answering himself in another.—*Earl Mulgrave's Speech, in the House of Lords, Dec.* 22, 1692.

THE GREAT LORD CHATHAM.

Mr. Pitt, when contending for a Reform in Parliament, in 1782, told the House, that he personally knew, that it was the opinion of his father, that, "without recurring to first principles in this respect, and establishing a more solid and equal representation of the people, by which the proper constitutional connexion should be revived, this nation, with the best capacities for grandeur and happiness of any on the face of the earth, must be confounded with the mass of those whose liberties were lost in the corruption of the people."

MR. PITT.

The defect of representation is the national disease; and unless you apply a remedy directly to that disease, you must inevitably take the consequences with which it is pregnant. Without a Parliamentary Reform the nation will be plunged into new wars; without a Parliamentary Reform you cannot be safe against bad ministers, nor can even good ministers be of use to you. No honest man can, according to the present system, continue minister.—*Mr. Pitt's Speech*, 1782.

MR. FOX.

The whole of this system, as it is now carried on, is as outrageous to morality as it

is pernicious to just government; it gives a scandal to our character, which not merely degrades the House of Commons in the eyes of the people, but it does more; it undermines the very principles of integrity in their hearts, and gives a fashion to dishonesty and imposture. They hear of a person giving or receiving four or five thousand pounds as the purchase-money of a seat for a close borough; and they hear the very man who received and put into his pocket the money, make a loud and vehement speech in this House against Bribery; and they see him, perhaps, move for the commitment to prison of a poor unfortunate wretch at your bar, who has been convicted of taking a single guinea for his vote in the very borough, perhaps, where he had publicly and unblushingly sold his influence, though that miserable guinea was necessary to save a family from starving under the horrors of a war which he had contributed to bring upon the country. . . . . These are the things that paralyze you to the heart: these are the things that vitiate the whole system, that spread degeneracy, hypocrisy, and sordid fraud over the country, and take from us the energies of virtue, and sap the foundations of patriotism and spirit. —*Mr. Fox's Speech*, 1797.

Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey).

Has the House of Commons shown either vigilance of inquiry, or independence of spirit? Have they investigated the origin of their misfortunes, or checked ministers in their ruinous career? Nay, the very reverse. In a war remarkable only for misfortune, and distinguished on our part solely by disgrace, they have suffered ministers to go on from failure to failure, adding misfortune to misfortune, and madness to folly, without either investigation or inquiry.—As a remedy for these evils, Mr. Grey recommended 'a Reform of Parliament; and to obviate the charge of making complaints without prescribing some specific mode of relief, he proposed, that instead of 92 county members there should be 113, and that the right of voting should be extended to copyholders and leaseholders, who are bound to pay rent for a certain number of years. To prevent compromises, he proposed that every county should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should return a representative. He also proposed, that the remaining 400 members should be returned by householders.'—*Mr. Grey's Speech in* 1797.

Mr. Burke.

In a speech upon that infamous job, the *Nabob of Arcot's debts*, on the 28th of Feb. 1785, after having described Paul Benfield as "a criminal, who ought long "since to have fattened the region kites "with his offal," says, that his agent, Richard Atkinson, had kept "a sort of "public office, or counting-house, *where "the whole business of the last general "election was managed.* It was," said he, "openly managed by the direct agent "and attorney of Benfield." And then he says, that, as an indemnification for this, "the claims of Benfield and his crew were "*put above all inquiry.*"

These facts were very notorious at the time; but, when Mr. Burke afterwards obtained from the same minister (Pitt) a pension of three thousand pounds a year for life, with remainder of one half to his wife; then he treated the reformers with more severity than he had treated Paul Benfield.

These opinions, and these assertions of Burke, are, however, of less weight than the statement made by the "*Friends of "the People*," in 1793, in the form of a Petition to the House of Commons itself. Amongst those Gentlemen, who called their Society "the Friends of the People," were the present Duke of Bedford, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey), Mr. Tierney, Lord Lauderdale, Sir Arthur Pigot, Mr. Dudley North, General Tarleton, Sir Ralph Milbank, and many others, amongst whom were 27 members of parliament. The Petition was presented by Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) who pledged himself to prove the truth of the facts alleged in it. It was *received by the House;* no man attempted to deny the truth of its contents; but, it was never taken into consideration; and there it lies, unacted upon and unanswered, to this day. This is the document, which I am now about to insert, and to every part of which I beg leave to solicit the reader's attention.

"*Authentic Copy of a Petition praying for a Reform in Parliament, presented to the House of Commons by* Charles Grey, *Esq. on Monday, 6th May,* 1793.

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

Sheweth,

"That by the form and spirit of the British constitution, the King is vested with the sole executive power.——That

the House of Lords consists of lords spiritual and temporal, deriving their titles and consequence either from the crown, or from hereditary privileges.——That these two powers, if they acted without control, would form either a despotic monarchy, or a dangerous oligarchy.——That the wisdom of our ancestors hath contrived, that, these authorities may be rendered not only harmless, but beneficial, and be exercised for the security and happiness of the people.—— That this security and happiness are to be looked for in the introduction of a third estate, distinct from, and a check upon the other two branches of the legislature; created by, representing, and responsible to, the people themselves.——That so much depending upon the preservation of this third estate, in such its constitutional purity and strength, your Petitioners are reasonably jealous of whatever may appear to vitiate the one, or to impair the other.——That at the present day the House of Commons does not fully and fairly represent the people of England, which, consistently with what your Petitioners conceive to be the principles of the constitution, they consider a grievance, and therefore, with all becoming respect, lay their complaints before your honourable House.——That though the terms in which your petitioners state their grievance may be looked upon as strong, yet your honourable House is entreated to believe that no expression is made use of for the purpose of offence.—— Your Petitioners in affirming that your honourable House is not an adequate representation of the people of England, do but state a fact, which, if the word "Representation" be accepted in its fair and obvious sense, they are ready to prove, and which they think detrimental to their interests, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution.——How far this inadequate representation is prejudicial to their interests, your Petitioners apprehend they may be allowed to decide for themselves; but how far it is contrary to the spirit of the constitution, they refer to the consideration of your honourable House.——If your honourable House shall be pleased to determine that the people of England ought not to be fully represented, your Petitioners pray that such your determination may be made known, to the end that the people may be apprized of their real situation; but if your honourable House shall conceive that the people are already fully represented, then your Petitioners beg leave to call your attention to the following facts: ——Your Petitioners complain, that the number of representatives assigned to the different counties is grossly disproportioned to their comparative extent, population, and trade.——Your Petitioners complain, that the elective franchise is so partially and unequally distributed, and is in so many instances committed to bodies of men of such very limited numbers, that the majority of your honourable House is elected by less than fifteen thousand electors, which, even if the male adults in the kingdom be estimated at so low a number as three millions, is not more than the two hundredth part of the people to be represented.——Your Petitioners complain, that the right of voting is regulated by no uniform or rational principle.——Your Petitioners complain, that the exercise of the elective franchise is only renewed once in seven years.——Your Petitioners thus distinctly state the subject matter of their complaints, that your honourable House may be convinced that they are acting from no spirit of general discontent, and that you may with the more ease be enabled to inquire into the facts, and to apply the remedy.——For the evidence in support of the first complaint, your Petitioners refer to the return book of your honourable House.——Is it fitting, that Rutland and Yorkshire should bear an equal rank in the scale of county representation; or can it be right, that Cornwall alone should, by its extravagant proportion of borough members, outnumber not only the representatives of Yorkshire and Rutland together, but of Middlesex added to them? Or, if a distinction be taken between the landed and the trading interests, must it not appear monstrous that Cornwall and Wiltshire should send more borough members to parliament, than Yorkshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Middlesex, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire united? and that the total representation of all Scotland should but exceed by one member, the number returned for a single county in England?——The second complaint of your Petitioners is founded on the unequal proportions in which the elective franchise is distributed, and in support of it.——They affirm, that seventy of your honourable members are returned by thirty-five places, where the right of voting is vested in burgage and other tenures of a similar description, and in which it would be to trifle with the patience of your honourable House, to mention any number

of voters whatever, the elections at the places alluded to being notoriously a mere matter of form. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.——They affirm that in addition to the seventy honourable members so chosen, ninety more of your honourable members are elected by forty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds fifty. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.——They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and sixty so elected, thirty-seven more of your honourable members are elected by nineteen places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds one hundred. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.——They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and ninety seven honourable members so chosen, fifty-two more are returned to serve in parliament, by twenty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds two hundred. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.——They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and forty-nine so elected, twenty more are returned to serve in parliament for counties in Scotland by less than one hundred electors each, and ten for counties in Scotland by less than two hundred and fifty each. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove, even admitting the validity of fictitious votes.——They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and seventy-nine so elected, thirteen districts of burghs in Scotland, not containing one hundred voters each, and two districts of burghs, not containing one hundred and twenty-five each, return fifteen more honourable members. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.——And in this manner, according to the present state of the representation, two hundred and ninety-four of your honourable members are chosen, and, being a majority of the entire House of Commons, are enabled to decide all questions in the name of the whole people of England and Scotland.——The third complaint of your Petitioners is founded on the present complicated rights of voting. From the caprice with which they have been varied, and the obscurity in which they have become involved by time and contradictory decisions, they are become a source of infinite confusion, litigation, and expense.——Your Petitioners need not tender any evidence of the inconveniences which arise from this defect in the representation, because the proof is to be found in your journals, and the minutes of the different committees who have been appointed under the 10th and 11th of the King. Your honourable House is but too well acquainted with the tedious, intricate, and expensive scenes of litigation which have been brought before you, in attempting to settle the legal import of those numerous distinctions which perplex and confound the present rights of voting. How many months of your valuable time have been wasted in listening to the wrangling of lawyers upon the various species of burgagehold, leasehold, and freehold! How many committees have been occupied in investigating the nature of scot and lot, pot wallers, commonalty, populacy, resiant inhabitants, and inhabitants at large! What labour and research have been employed in endeavouring to ascertain the legal claims of borough-men, aldermen, port men, select men, burgesses, and council-men! And what confusion has arisen from the complicated operation of clashing charters, from freemen resident and non-resident, and from the different modes of obtaining the freedom of corporations by birth, by servitude, by marriage, by redemption, by election, and by purchase! On all these points it is however needless for your Petitioners to enlarge, when your honourable House recollects the following facts; namely, that since the twenty-second of December 1790, no less than twenty-one committees have been employed in deciding upon litigated rights of voting. Of these, eight were occupied with the disputes of three boroughs, and there are petitions from four places yet remaining before your honourable House, waiting for a final decision to inform the electors what their rights really are.——But the complaint of your Petitioners on the subject of the want of an uniform and equitable principle in regulating the right of voting, extends as well to the arbitrary manner in which some are excluded, as to the intricate qualifications by which others are admitted to the exercise of that privilege.——Religious opinions create an incapacity to vote. All Papists are excluded generally, and, by the operation of the test laws, Protestant Dissenters are deprived of a voice in the election of representatives in about thirty boroughs, where the right of voting is confined to corporate officers alone; a deprivation the more unjustifiable, because, though considered as unworthy to vote, they are deemed capable of being elected, and may be the representatives of the very places for which they are disqualified from

being the electors.——A man possessed of one thousand pounds per annum, or any other sum, arising from copyhold, lease-hold for ninety-nine years, trade, property in the public funds, or even freehold in the city of London, and many other cities and towns having peculiar jurisdictions, is not thereby entitled to vote. Here again a strange distinction is taken between electing and representing, as a copyhold is a sufficient qualification to sit in your honourable House.——A man paying taxes to any amount, how great soever, for his domestic establishment, does not thereby obtain a right to vote, unless his residence be in some borough where that right is vested in the inhabitants. This exception operates in sixty places, of which twenty-eight do not contain three hundred voters each, and the number of householders in England and Wales (exclusive of Scotland), who pay all taxes, is 714,911, and of householders who pay all taxes, but the house and window taxes, is 284,459, as appears by a return made to your honourable House in 1785; so that even supposing the sixty places above mentioned to contain, one with another, one thousand voters in each, there will remain 939,370 householders who have no voice in the representation, unless they have obtained it by accident or by purchase. Neither their contributions to the public burdens, their peaceable demeanour as good subjects, nor their general respectability and merits as useful citizens, afford them, as the law now stands, the smallest pretensions to participate in the choice of those, who, under the name of their representatives, may dispose of their fortunes and liberties.——In Scotland, the grievance arising from the nature of the rights of voting, has a different and still more intolerable operation. In that great and populous division of the kingdom, not only the great mass of the householders, but of the landholders also, are excluded from all participation in the choice of representatives. By the remains of the feudal system in the counties, the vote is severed from the land, and attached to what is called the superiority. In other words, it is taken from the substance, and transferred to the shadow; because, though each of these superiorities must, with very few exceptions, arise from lands of the present annual value of four hundred pounds sterling, yet it is not necessary that the lands should do no more than give a name to the superiority, the possessor of which may retain the right of voting notwithstanding he be divested of the property. And on the other hand, great landholders have the means afforded them by the same system, of adding to their influence, without expense to themselves, by communicating to their confidential friends the privilege of electing members to serve in parliament. The process by which this operation is performed is simple. He who wishes to increase the number of his dependent votes, surrenders his charter to the crown, and, parcelling out his estate into as many lots of four hundred pounds per annum, as may be convenient, conveys them to such as he can confide in. To these, new charters are, upon application, granted by the crown, so as to erect each of them into a superiority, which privilege once obtained, the land itself is reconveyed to the original granter; and thus the representatives of the landed interest in Scotland may be chosen by those who have no real or beneficial interest in the land.——Such is the situation in which the counties of Scotland are placed. With respect to the burghs, every thing that bears even the semblance of popular choice, has long been done away. The election of members to serve in Parliament is vested in the magistrates and town councils, who, having by various innovations, constituted themselves into self-elected bodies, instead of officers freely chosen by the inhabitants at large, have deprived the people of all participation in that privilege, the free exercise of which affords the only security they can possess for the protection of their liberties and property.——The fourth and last complaint of your Petitioners is the length of the duration of Parliament. Your honourable House knows, that by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom frequent parliaments ought to be held; and that the sixth of William and Mary, c. 2. (since repealed) speaking while the spirit of the revolution was yet warm, declared, that "frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement between king and people; and enacted, that no parliament should last longer than three years. Your Petitioners, without presuming to add to such an authority by any observations of their own, humbly pray that parliaments may not be continued for seven years.——Your Petitioners have thus laid before you the specific ground of complaint, from which they conceive every evil in the representation to spring, and on which they think every abuse and inconvenience

is founded.——What those abuses are, and how great that inconvenience is, it becomes your Petitioners to state, as the best means of justifying their present application to your honourable House.——Your Petitioners then affirm, that from the combined operation of the defects they have pointed out, arise those scenes of confusion, litigation, and expense, which so disgrace the name, and that extensive system of private patronage which is so repugnant to the spirit of free representation.——Your Petitioners entreat of your honourable House to consider the manner in which elections are conducted, and to reflect upon the extreme inconvenience to which electors are exposed, and the intolerable expense to which candidates are subjected.——Your honourable House knows that tumults, disorders, outrages, and perjury, are too often the dreadful attendants on contested elections, as at this time carried on.——Your honourable House knows that polls are only taken in one fixed place for each county, city, and borough, whether the number of voters be ten or ten thousand, and whether they be resident or dispersed over England.——Your honourable House knows that polls, however few the electors, may by law be continued for fifteen days, and even then be subjected to a scrutiny.——Your honourable House knows that the management and conduct of polls is committed to returning officers, who, from the very nature of the proceedings, must be invested with extensive and discretionary powers, and who, it appears by every volume of your journals, have but too often exercised those powers with the most gross partiality, and the most scandalous corruption.——Of elections, arranged with such little regard to the accommodation of the parties, acknowledged to require such a length of time to complete, and trusted to the superintendence of such suspicious agents, your Petitioners might easily draw out a detail of the expense. But it is unnecessary. The fact is too notorious to require proof, that scarce an instance can be produced where a member has obtained a disputed seat in parliament at a less cost than from two to five thousand pounds; particular cases are not wanting where ten times these sums have been paid: but it is sufficient for your Petitioners to affirm, and to be able to prove it if denied, that such is the expense of a contested return, that he who should become a candidate with even greater funds than the laws require him to swear to as his qualification to sit in your honourable House, must either relinquish his pretensions on the appearance of opposition, or so reduce his fortune in the contest, that he could not take his seat without perjury.——The revision of the original polls before the committees of your honourable House, upon appeals from the decisions of the returning officers, affords a fresh source of vexation and expense to all parties. Your honourable House knows, that the complicated rights of voting, and the shameful practices which disgrace election proceedings, have so loaded your table with Petitions for judgment and redress, that one half of the usual duration of a parliament has scarcely been sufficient to settle who is entitled to sit for the other half, and it was not till within the last two months that your honourable House had an opportunity of discovering, that the two gentlemen, who sat and voted near three years as the representatives of the borough of Stockbridge, had procured themselves to be elected by the most scandalous bribery; and that the two gentlemen, who sat and voted during as long a period for the borough of Great Grimsby, had not been elected at all.——In truth, all the mischiefs of the present system of representation are ascertained by the difficulties which even the zeal and wisdom of your honourable House experience in attending to the variety of complaints brought before you. Though your committee sit five hours every day from the time of their appointment, they generally are unable to come to a decision in less than a fortnight, and very frequently are detained from thirty to forty days. The Westminster case in 1789, will even furnish your honourable House with an instance, where, after deliberating forty-five days, a committee gravely resolved, that, "From an attentive consideration of the circumstances relating to the cause, a final decision of the business before them could not take place in the course of the session, and that not improbably the whole of the parliament" (having at that time near two years longer to sit) "might be consumed in a tedious and expensive litigation;" and they recommended it to the Petitioners to withdraw their Petition, which, after a fruitless perseverance of above three months, they were actually obliged to submit to.——Your Petitioners will only upon this subject farther add, that the expense to each of the parties who have been either plaintiff or defendant in

Petitions tried before your honourable House in the present session, has, upon an average, amounted to above one hundred pounds per day; and that the Attorneys' bills in one cause, the trial of which in point of form only lasted two days, and in point of fact only six hours, amounted to very near twelve hundred pounds. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove. ——Your Petitioners must now beg leave to call the attention of your honourable House to the greatest evil produced by these defects in the representation of which they complain, namely, the extent of PRIVATE PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE; an abuse which obviously tends to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in the election of the House of Commons, and which in its progress threatens to usurp the sovereignty of the country, to the equal danger of the king, of the lords, and of the commons.——The patronage of which your Petitioners complain, is of *two* kinds: *That* which arises from the unequal distribution of the elective franchise, and the peculiar rights of voting by which certain places return members to serve in parliaments; and *that* which arises from the expense attending contested elections, and the consequent degree of power acquired by wealth.——By these two means, a weight of parliamentary influence has been obtained by certain individuals, forbidden by the spirit of the laws, and in its consequences most dangerous to the liberties of the people of Great Britain.——The operation of the *first* species of patronage is direct, and subject to positive proof. Eighty-four individuals do, by their own immediate authority, send one hundred and fifty-seven of your honourable members to parliament. And this your Petitioners are ready, if the fact be disputed, to prove, and to name the members and the patrons.——The *second* species of patronage cannot be shewn with equal accuracy, though it is felt with equal force.——Your Petitioners are convinced, that in addition to the one hundred and fifty-seven honourable members above mentioned, one hundred and fifty more, making in the whole three hundred and seven, are returned to your honourable House, not by the collective voice of those whom they appear to represent, but by the recommendation of seventy powerful individuals, added to the eighty-four before mentioned, and making the total number of patrons altogether only one hundred and fifty-four, who return a decided majority of your honourable House.——If your honourable House will accept as evidence the common report and general belief of the counties, cities, and boroughs, which return the members alluded to, your Petitioners are ready to name them, and to prove the fact; or if the members in question can be made parties to the inquiry, your Petitioners will name them, and be governed by the testimony which they themselves shall publicly give. But if neither of these proofs be thought consistent with the proceedings of your honourable House, then your Petitioners can only assert their belief of the fact, which they hereby do in the most solemn manner, and on the most deliberate conviction.——Your Petitioners entreat your honourable House to believe that, in complaining of this species of influence, it is not their intention or desire to decry or to condemn that just and natural attachment, which they, who are enabled by their fortune, and inclined by their disposition, to apply great means to honourable and benevolent ends, will always ensure to themselves. What your Petitioners complain of is, that property, whether well or ill employed, has equal power; that the present system of representation gives to it a degree of weight which renders it independent of character; which enables it to excite fear as well as to procure respect, and which confines the choice of electors, within the ranks of opulence, because, though it cannot make riches the sole object of their affection and confidence, it can and does throw obstacles, almost insurmountable, in the way of every man who is not rich; and thereby secures to a select few the capability of becoming candidates themselves, or supporting the pretensions of others. Of this your Petitioners complain loudly, because they conceive it to be highly unjust, that while the language of the law requires from a candidate no greater estate, as a qualification, than a few hundred pounds per annum, the operation of the law should disqualify every man whose rental is not extended to thousands; and that, at the same time that the legislature appears to give the electors a choice from amongst those who possess a moderate and independent competence, it should virtually compel them to choose from amongst those who themselves abound in wealth, or are supported by the wealth of others.——Your Petitioners are the more alarmed at the progress of private patronage, because it is rapidly leading to consequences which menace the very existence of the constitution.

At the commencement of every session

of parliament, your honourable House, acting up to the laudable jealousy of your predecessors, and speaking the pure, constitutional language of a British House of Commons resolve, as appears by your journals, "That no peer of this realm hath any right to give his vote in the election of any member to serve in parliament;" and also, "That it is a high infringement upon the liberties and privileges of the Commons of Great Britain, for any Lord of Parliament, or any Lord-lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the elections of members to serve for the Commons in Parliament."——Your Petitioners inform your honourable House, and are ready to prove it at your bar, that they have the most reasonable grounds to suspect *that no less than one hundred and fifty of your honourable members owe their elections entirely to the interference of Peers;* and your Petitioners are prepared to shew by legal evidence, *that forty Peers, in defiance of your resolutions, have possessed themselves of so many burgage tenures, and obtained such an absolute and uncontrolled command in very many small boroughs in the kingdom, as to be enabled by their own positive authority to return eighty-one of your honourable members.*——Your Petitioners will, however, urge this grievance of the interference of peers in elections no farther, because they are satisfied that it is unnecessary. Numbers of your honourable members must individually have known the fact, but collectively your honourable House has undoubtedly been a stranger to it. It is now brought before you by those who tender evidence of the truth of what they assert, and they conceive it would be improper in them to ask that by petition, which must be looked for as the certain result of your own honourable attachment to your own liberties and privileges.——Your Petitioners have thus laid before your honourable House, what the mischiefs are which arise from the present state of the representation, and what they conceive to be the grounds of those mischiefs, and therefore pray to have removed.——They now humbly beg leave to offer their reasons, why they are anxious that some remedy should be immediately applied.——Your Petitioners trust they may be allowed to state, because they are ready to prove, that seats in your honourable House are sought for at a most extravagant and increasing rate of expense.——What can have so much augmented the ambition to sit in your honourable House, your petitioners do not presume accurately to have discovered; but the means taken by candidates to obtain, and by electors to bestow that honour, evidently appear to have been increasing in a progressive degree of fraud and corruption. Your petitioners are induced to make this assertion by the legislature having found it necessary, during the last and present reigns so much to swell the statute book with laws for the prevention of those offences.——As far as conjecture can lead your petitioners, they must suppose that the increasing national debt, and the consequent increase of influence, are the causes of the increased eagerness of individuals to become members of the House of Commons, and of their indifference as to the means used to gratify their speculations. To prove that they do not state this wantonly, or without substantial grounds, they humbly beg to call your attention to the following table, all the vouchers for which are to be found in the journal of your honourable House, or in different Acts of Parliament.——It is upon this evidence of the increase of taxes, establishments and influence, and the increase of laws found necessary to repel the increasing attacks upon the purity and freedom of elections, that your Petitioners conceive it high time to inquire into the premises.——Your Petitioners are confident that in what they have stated, they are supported by the evidence of facts, and they trust that, in conveying those facts to your honourable House, they have not been betrayed into the language of reproach or disrespect. Anxious to preserve in its purity a constitution they love and admire, they have thought it their duty to lay before you, not general speculations deduced from theoretical opinions, but positive truths susceptible of direct proof; and if in the performance of this task, they have been obliged to call your attention to assertions which you have not been accustomed to hear, and which they lament that they are compelled to make, they entreat the indulgence of your honourable House.——Your Petitioners will only further trespass upon your time, while they recapitulate the objects of their prayer, which are,—That your honourable House will be pleased to take such measures, as to your wisdom may seem meet, to remove the evils arising from the unequal manner in which the different parts of the kingdom are admitted to participate in the representation.——To correct the partial distribution of the elective franchise, which commits the

choice of representatives to select bodies of men of such limited numbers, as renders them an easy prey to the artful, or a ready purchase to the wealthy.——To regulate the right of voting upon an uniform and equitable principle.——And, finally, to shorten the duration of Parliaments, and by removing the causes of that confusion, litigation and expense, with which they are at this day conducted, to render frequent and new elections, what our ancetors at the revolution asserted them to be, the means of a happy union and good agreement between the king and people.——And your petitioners shall ever pray."

To the allegations in this Petition, which were never contradicted, I shall only add the facts relating to the charge brought against Perceval and his associates Castlereagh and H. Wellesley, in 1809; which facts were as follows: That, on the 11th of May, in the last mentioned year, Mr. Madocks rose in his place in the House of Commons, and made a charge in the following words.—"I affirm, that Mr. "Dick *purchased a seat in the House of* "*Commons* for the borough of Cashel, "through the agency of the Honourable "Henry Wellesley, who acted for, "and on behalf of, the Treasury; that, "upon a *recent question* of the last im- "portance, when Mr. Dick had deter- "mined to vote according to his conscience, "the noble Lord, Castlereagh, did in- "timate to that gentleman the necessity of "either his *voting with the Government*, "*or resigning his seat in that House*; and "that Mr. Dick, sooner than vote against "principle, did make choice of the latter "alternative, and vacated his seat accord- "ingly. To this transaction I charge the "Right Honourable Gentleman, Mr. Per- "ceval, *as being privy, and having con-* "*nived at it.* This I will ENGAGE TO "PROVE BY WITNESSES AT YOUR "BAR, if the House will give me leave to "call them."—That, at the end of a debate, which ensued upon this, the question was taken upon a motion FOR AN INQUIRY into the matter; there appears, from the report, to have been 395 members present; and, out of the 395, 85 voted for the motion, which, of course, was lost, there being *three hundred and ten* out of three hundred and ninety five, who voted AGAINST THE INQUIRY.

Now let the world judge!

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Northern War.——If I had room, I should again press upon those who have power to treat, to lose no time in offering Napoleon terms of peace, though I begin to fear, that the golden opportunity is gone, never to return. The terms, which offended us, only a few months ago, appeared to me, for the reasons I then gave, to be perfectly fair and equitable; and, indeed, such as I could not possibly trace to any source, other than that of his doubts as to success against Russia; and, therefore, I must lament, that they were not accepted of: for, if success attend him in the North, it would be an insult to common sense to affect to believe, that we shall ever hear of such terms again.——As to the war in the Southern Peninsula, that will follow the fortunes of the war in the North; because, when once the French armies are let loose from their present enterprise, they will pour in upon Spain like a deluge; and, if they be defeated in the North, the contest in Spain will soon be decided against France.——My opinion is, however, that Napoleon will succeed; that he will bring the Czar to his terms; and that he will next bend his course towards Portugal, and afford the King's German Legion another opportunity to "distinguish them- "selves."——They may beat him; it is possible; but, IF THEY SHOULD NOT! If they should not beat him? Why, then it will be time for us to begin to look about us; unless, like the Russians, we are made to believe, that the advance of the enemy and the retreat of our own troops are proofs of his being defeated. Accompanying their last Bulletins, the French have given the world a specimen of the way, in which the Russian People are gulled. But, really, they are not more completely gulled than are the people of England, who believe *just what the Russians believe*, and who will never be undeceived, till they actually see the treaty, which Napoleon will make with the Czar.

Canada.——The Governor of Upper Canada has, it appears, assembled the Legislature, in consequence of the American invasion. He, in his speech to them, talks in a pretty high strain of the *loyalty* and *devotion* of the people; but, he calls upon the Legislature for A SUSPENSION OF THE LAWS OF PERSONAL SAFETY. He says, that he wants an act "*to restrain* for a limited period *the liberty of individuals*;" and in this, he says, he is warranted by "the *history and experience of the mother country*."——This would be all

in regular course, only the Governor talks, in the very same breath, of the *loyalty and zeal of the people!* But, amidst all this, it does creep out, that "A FEW TRAITORS have already joined the enemy." What! Traitors in Canada! Traitors! A few, a few, only a few! Well, then, why suspend the Habeas Corpus Act?—— But, no more. A little time will, I am certain, unriddle the mystery.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 30th September, 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.—*Fourteenth Bulletin of the French Grand Army.——(Continued from page 414.)*

vitsch, and the General of Artillery Aubry, who directed the artillery of the 2d corps with great distinction. General Merle, with only a part of his division, repulsed with great skill an attack which the enemy made on our left, to protect their retreat to the wood. The Croats distinguished themselves in this charge, supported by a part of General Castex's cavalry. In general I demand the consideration of his Majesty; the troops have merited encouragement and rewards. His Majesty will give me great pleasure by dispensing his favour on M. de Maille, my Aid-de-Camp, the bearer of this letter, whose zeal I have every reason for praising. I have also nothing but eulogiums to bestow upon the Chiefs of the 2d and 6th corps.——I have the honour to be, your Highness's most obedient and very humble servant,

COUNT GAUVION SAINT CYR.

Report of the Prince of Eckmuhl to the Prince Major-General Doubrowna, the 7th Aug.

Monseigneur,—I have the honour to lay before your Highness the report of th affair which took place on the 23d July, in front of Mohilow, between a part of the troops belonging to the 1st corps, and the Russian corps under Prince Bagration.—I entered Mohilow on the 20th, and on the 21st the 3d regiment of chasseurs were attacked by the van-guard of Prince Bagration, who wished to occupy this important town. The regiment lost 100 men, and were driven out.——On the 22d I placed in position the 83d regiment of infantry of the line, commanded by Gen. Frederick. General Bagration was arrived at Novoi Brickow; he intended giving battle, in order to enter Mohilow; he had four divisions of infantry, 5,000 Cossacks, and 8,000 cavalry, being in the whole 35,000 men. I had at Mohilow only the 57th, 61st, and 111th regiments of the division of Campans (the 23d, together with the brigade of Pajol and the 1st of chasseurs, I had left on the Berezira to cover Minsk), the 85th and the 108th of the division Dessaix, General Valence's division of cuirassiers, and the third of horse chasseurs.—— The position of Salta Naecka, of which I herewith transmit your Highness a sketch, appeared to me a proper place for duly receiving the enemy. In the night of the 22d, I caused the bridge which lies on the grand route to be barricadoed, and destroyed the inn which is situated next to it. The mill-bridge on the right was cut by a company of sappers, and the houses in the neighbourhood pulled down. The 85th was charged with the defence of these posts, and in case of being attacked, to keep them, in order to give time for the other troops stationed between this place and Mohilow to arrive.——These dispositions being taken, I myself retired to Mohilow, to press the arrival of the division Claperede, and of the troops detached by General Pajol.——On the 23d, at 7 o'clock in the morning, I received a report of the advanced posts being attacked. At eight o'clock I found the 83d regiment very spiritedly attacked; General Frederick, who commanded it, had taken good dispositions, and during the whole of the day has shewn much coolness and great intrepidity. The light artillery of his division, and that of the 85th, had been disposed on the preceding evening.——Their fire was very mischievous, and in about an hour after the combat had began they had already killed above 500 Russians. Twelve or fifteen pieces of Russian artillery came out of the wood, and were ranged in order of battle on the mill plain, where the bridge had been destroyed. The Russian regiments of infantry formed themselves. A battalion of the 108th was sent to sustain the companies of the 85th, which were on the bridge. Some pieces of artillery were opposed to those of the Russians.——The combat became exceedingly lively on this side, and the enemy's force increased with every moment. The battalion of the 108th, which had repulsed the Russians, was obliged to yield to numbers. General Gu-

yardet, with two battalions of the 61st, stopped the enemy's pursuit, and caused the Russians to repass the ravine, who had crossed it in pursuing the battalion of the 108th.——Whilst these things were passing on the right, I gave orders to General Frederick, who defended the debouche of the great road with much vigour, to cause one battalion of the 108th and some companies of the 85th, to pass the defile and charge the enemy's cannon. This movement, which was executed with great precision, and directed by Colonel Achard, of the 108th regiment, had a great effect on the motions of the enemy's left, which found itself obliged to make a retrograde movement. The battalion commanded by Colonel Achard had taken prisoners one of the enemy's battalions, but which was afterwards delivered. The Colonel was wounded by a ball across his arm, and could not sustain himself on the heights which he had occupied.——The enemy had caused a considerable body to advance, formed in a close column, again to undertake forcing the defile of the bridge. This found itself in the direction of the Chef D'Escadron Polmey, who had stopped it by a very lively fire, and caused it to sustain a great loss. The enemy's number in dead, which at this point was very considerable, was thereby doubled.——The action was continued with great heat on both sides, and with a great inferiority on our side.——The other troops were in reserve on our right, where it was to be presumed that the enemy would bring forward his force, and more especially his numerous cavalry. Towards six o'clock in the evening all my reconnoitring parties on the right not having seen the enemy, the troops which had been there kept in reserve, and in particular the 111th, were directed to take the great road. General Frederick received orders to renew his attack.——A battalion of the 35th, which since evening had been placed at the extremity of the right wing, and one of the 61st, attacked the left of the enemy. The two attacks were attended with success. The enemy drew back his artillery, and his troops followed the movement at all points.——The 111th regiment and the 61st of the 5th division, led by General Compans, were charged to pursue the enemy as far as Novosieleke; the night put an end to the pursuit at this place. I owe the greatest eulogiums to the conduct of the troops, and particularly to that of the 85th regiment. Not one soldier ever quitted his post to conduct the wounded, and both the young soldiers and the old ones have shewn the greatest valour. The ancient soldiers have given their youthful comrades the honourable testimonial of not having any conscripts more in their regiments.——The loss of the enemy has been great. They left more than 1,200 dead on the field of battle, exclusive of leaving 4,000 wounded, 7 or 800 of whom have remained in our hands.——Our loss, according to the state of the corps, amounts to 900 men killed, wounded, and made prisoners.——I reiterate the eulogies which I owe to the conduct of General Frederick, to all the Officers of the General Staff, who have paid well in their persons. One of them, Aid-de-Camp to General Haxo, was killed.——I take advantage of this occasion to beg your Highness would request his Majesty to grant recompenses to several of them, and herewith join the state of them to that of the officers, sub-officers, and privates of the 4th and 5th divisions, who have merited to be cited with distinction. I solicit your Highness to lay these statements before his Majesty, and to request his favour in their behalf.

I am, &c. &c.

THE MARSHAL PRINCE D'ECKMUHL.

Report of the General Staff of the Austrian Army.

The enemy, forced into the defile of Kasibrad, marched the whole of the night, between the 10th and 11th, towards Horodetzka; he was joined on his retreat by the troops which he had drawn from Kobryn, as likewise by the detachment of Knorring, and after having passed the defile of Horodetska, he placed himself on the heights beyond that place.——The right flank and the front of this position were covered by a morass, which was impassable for more than a thousand paces in breadth, and left only two points open to get at the enemy; that is the dike, which at Horodetzka forms the post road. This post is near to that of Podubno, its left touched this last village, and he had cut up, by his artillery, the entrance to the two defiles.——On the 11th I marched to Horodetzka, and occupied the head of the defile: the 7th corps, reinforced by two regiments of cavalry and two batteries upon Czaba. They reconnoitred the enemy. The reports of prisoners and deserters state their force at 50,000. They certainly were at least 35,000, with 60 pieces of cannon. Tormasow commanded in person. General Regnier, who was

charged with reconnoitring the left of the enemy, found that they had neglected to occupy Podubno, and that their left wing was content with observing a wood through which the road passes from Szewszen to Kobryn, in place of leaning upon that town. He made haste in taking advantage of this double fault, in taking possession of Podubno, with a division of chasseurs; and it was agreed between us, that he should debouch with the 7th corps, and reinforcements which I had assigned him, by the wood to attack and turn the enemy's left, whilst I should support his movements by feigned attacks upon Horodetzka and Podubno. At the same time, Sieginthal's division, previously detached to Malitz, leaving a battalion and some cavalry to observe that part, to protect our rear, and conceal our march from the enemy, rejoined the corps d'armée, and was placed in reserve of the 7th near Szabra.——On the 12th, we remarked at break of day, that the enemy, from whom none of our movements could be concealed, because they occupied the commanding heights, had placed the greater part of their forces opposite the debouche of Podubno, and whilst the 7th corps, to which was joined Lelienburg's brigade, commenced its movements towards the wood upon its left, and hastily formed with the second line a parallel flank to the debouches from that wood.——About ten in the morning, the 7th corps reached the skirts of the wood, and rapidly advanced to gain the ground necessary for deploying, which it effected in the greatest order under a continual and dreadful fire from the enemy, who, on his part, did not cease to reinforce and extend their flank, that it touched our right, which took from us all hope of turning it, reducing all our efforts to repulse their reiterated attacks, and driving them back upon their centre. ——The battle quickly became general at Floraditzva, Pudubno, and upon all the right. It was contested with great slaughter; the enemy redoubled their efforts and made several very brisk attacks to drive us into the wood; they were constantly repulsed with loss; I seized the critical moment, when their attack upon our right was briskest, to pass over the marsh, which they considered impracticable, a battalion of Colloredo, above and on the right of Podubno. This battalion effected its passage in front, up to their knees in mire, scaled the opposite heights, and impetuously attacked the enemy who were on its summit. This unexpected attack on the flank facilitated that of our right, which, quickly reinforced by the 2d battalion of Colloredo, was not long in repulsing the enemy to the height of Podubno.——They nevertheless attempted, at the extremity of the left, a last effort, and made with a mass of cavalry, very superior, a dernier attack upon that of our right, which firmly expected it, and whilst the Austrian cavalry took them in flank, Polentz's Saxon brigade charged them in front, and instantly drove them behind their infantry. Night put an end to the battle; the enemy took advantage of it to file off his artillery and main part of his troops upon Kobryn, and abandoned to us the field of battle; another hour's day-light, they would have lost their communication and been drove upon the marshes.—— On the 13th I pursued, with all the cavalry and light artillery, the enemy's van-guard, composed of from 7 to 8,000 cavalry, and dismounted chasseurs, with some artillery. We found upon the field of battle a great number of dead and dying, and notwithstanding the celerity of our pursuit, we could not reach the rear-guard till near the village of Strichou, where it made a demonstration of defending itself; but they were instantly overthrown, and owed their salvation alone to the marshes, which in these countries intersect in a parallel direction from place to place their roads, and form so many defiles, that it is impossible to come near them.——About one o'clock we arrived at Kobryn; the enemy had deployed a numerous cavalry before that town; some discharges of artillery were sufficient to drive them away. On retiring, they set fire to the bridge of Muchaven; our tiralleurs arrived in sufficient time to preserve it.——Bianchi's division occupies Kobryn; the 7th corps is encamped on the right; the Austrians on the left of that town, behind the Muchaven; the enemy are in full retreat towards Ratno and its marches.——The different reports not having reached me, I cannot very exactly estimate the enemy's loss. It at least amounts to 3,000 men killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners; that on our side consists of 1,000 men killed or wounded.

Biraeing, near Kobryn, Aug. 13, 1812.

Reports from the Staff of the 7th Corps.

REPORT OF AUG. 11.

The 7th corps set out from Pruszany at noon, to pass the defile of Kosebrod after the Austrian divisions which marched upon

Horodetzka. After having passed the defile at Kosebrod, it took the road of Bizese by Zabra, where it took a position. At the commencement of night the advanced guard advanced to Podubno, and occupied the small dike which crosses the marshes to the firm ground at Podubno, and which is not passable for artillery; it drove off the enemy's posts of cavalry which observed the passage, and established posts in advance of the marsh, which extend from beyond Horodetzka to the entry of the wood of Podubno.

REPORT OF THE 12TH OF AUGUST.

The reconnoitrings sent early into the wood of Podubuc, on the roads of Brzesc and Twele occupied the debouche of the wood upon the two roads, and made some Russian Uhlans prisoners at Kiwatice. Some patrols of infantry, passing the marshes by Zabia, took several of the enemy's horsemen, who were seeking their horses, which had run off during the night into the marshes. At eight in the morning, a strong column of the enemy's infantry, which it was afterwards known was the 9th and 15th divisions, with a brigade of cavalry, appeared on the heights between Zambosc and the farm of Podubuc, attacked the posts that had passed the dike which crosses the marshes, and forced them to fall back to the entrance of the dike: this column formed upon the heights, placed there in battery 30 pieces of cannon, and sent infantry into the marshes to possess themselves of the dike which the advanced guard defended.——The corps d'armée began its march to support the advanced guard, placed itself before Podubuc, and forced the enemy to give up the attack of the dike. The advanced guard, composed of a battalion of light infantry, a battalion of light artillery, hussars, the light horse of Polentz, and Saxon lancers, supported by the Austrian regiments of light horse of Hohenzollern and Orcily, sent by the Prince of Schwartzenberg, put itself in march to turn the marsh, traversed the wood, which the enemy had only caused to be observed by the regiment of dragoons of Czernikowski and Uhlan Tartars, and placed itself at the debouche of this wood on the road to Twele.——The first division of the 7th corps followed the movements of its advanced guard about ten o'clock, and the second division followed it to the entrance of the wood as soon as the Austrian division of General Siegenthal arrived to replace it at Podubuc. When the advanced guard, after having debouched from the wood, appeared on the flank and rear of the enemy, they caused a part of the 9th and 15th divisions to change its front, and directed on the advanced guard the fire of a numerous artillery, which dismounted several pieces of the two batteries of Saxon and Austrian light artillery.——The arrival of the first division with other artillery, supported the advanced guard; it extended itself behind the left of the enemy. The brigade of Austrian infantry of General Sillenberg, sent by the Prince Schwartzenberg to General Regnier, placed itself between the left of the first division and the extremity of the wood: that General was soon afterwards wounded, and Lieutenant-General Bianchi took the command of this brigade.——The second Saxon division, composed only of the brigade of General Saar, also passed the wood, and placed itself before the left of the Austrian brigade: it was soon attacked by the enemy, who endeavoured to take the wood. This brigade repulsed several attacks, and was seconded by the Austrian troops which occupied Podubuc, and sent tirailleurs into the marshes. It endeavoured, after having repulsed the attacks of the enemy upon the wood, to possess itself of the heights which command the dike of Podubuc.——This brigade was supported by two batteries of six pieces of cannon each, and the fire of the artillery of the first division, as also by that of the Austrian batteries placed near Podubuc; but this was the point which the enemy most obstinately defended, because they feared that if they abandoned it, the Austrian troops which were at Podubuc might pass the marshes and augment the forces which were on their flank and rear. They continually directed fresh troops against the brigade of General Saar.——A regiment of dragoons charged the second regiment of Saxon light infantry, which immediately formed with the greatest order in square, and repulsed the charge. During this time the cavalry of the advanced guard extended towards the right, nearly to the great road to Kobryn, and connected itself with the first division, which was in the same direction; but which could not advance so far.—— The enemy's cavalry extended from the elevated plain of Podubuc to Zawanies, on the road to Kobryn, and was supported by a numerous artillery and by a part of the enemy's 13th division, which remained in the morning before Horodetzka, and had come to take position at some distance from

the left of the 15th division. All this line was furnished with a very numerous artillery. The enemy's cavalry attempted a charge against the right of the cavalry, but was repulsed by the regiment of Austrian dragoons of Hohenzollern, and the Saxon light horse of Polentz, which made a very fine charge, and took several prisoners.——A moment after this charge General Frelich arrived to reinforce the cavalry of the right with two Austrian regiments of hussars. Towards evening, General Regnier caused a new effort to be made by the brigade of General Saar, to possess himself of the elevated plain of Podubuc. He caused this to be supported by an Austrian battalion of the division of General Bianchi and the tirailleurs of the first division, while the tirailleurs of the troops, which the Prince of Schwartzenberg had at Podubuc, traversed the marshes.——The elevated plain was taken possession of, but night terminated the combat, and prevented the enemy, who had then begun their retreat, from being pursued. At the same time the cavalry had orders to send out several parties and patrols towards Twele, on the road to Kobryn, and a commissary was taken, who confirmed the retreat of the enemy.

REPORT OF THE 13TH OF AUGUST.

At five in the morning, the troops began their march to attack the enemy, who were retreating on the road of Kobryn, but who had still a rear-guard on the heights between Horodetzka and Zanrlym. The right of the cavalry, which was reinforced by the Austrian regiment of dragoons of Levenchr, took its direction upon Twele, and placed itself to the left of this village, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy, who were in haste to effect it, and were briskly cannonaded on the road till the cavalry had entered Twele, where the enemy had a rear-guard of infantry, which retired as soon as it saw this movement.——The Prince of Schwartzenberg then caused the cavalry of the enemy, which was between Twele and Sulkow, to be charged, and they were pursued, retiring in the greatest disorder upon Kobryn, where, however, they did not dare to stop. A regiment of infantry, which was at Kobryn, behind the Muchawice, and had begun to burn the bridge, fled on the arrival of the hussars and Saxon light artillery. Two batteries, served by Saxon gunners on foot, which had been advanced in the morning, along with the cavalry, arrived at Kobryn as soon as the light artillery.——A great number of the enemy were killed and taken in this pursuit. Exact accounts, by which to estimate their loss in the actions of the 12th and 13th, have not yet been obtained, because the field of battle was very extensive, and the prisoners are not collected, but it cannot be estimated at less than 3,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners.——The inhabitants of Kobryn say, that a great number of wounded have passed through that place, and many still remain on the field of battle. Statements of the loss of the 7th corps have not yet been made out, but it may be estimated at 1,000 killed or wounded.——The Saxon troops displayed the greatest bravery; the brigade of General Saar fought and attacked with infinite vigour, and the division of General Lacoq supported with calmness a very great fire of artillery. The tirailleurs march with ardour upon the enemy. The artillery was perfectly well directed, and well sustained the fire of the enemy, who had a superior artillery, of which many pieces were dismounted.——The General Commander in Chief of the 7th corps of the Grand Army,

Kobryn, Aug. 13. REGNIER.

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA. —*Report of Marshal the Duke of Ragusa to the Minister at War.——Tudela, July* 31.

Monsieur—The interruption of the communications with France since the opening of the campaign having prevented me from giving you the successive accounts of the events which have passed, I shall commence this Report from the moment at which the English began operations; and I am going to have the honour to place before you in detail all the movements, which have been executed, to the unhappy event that has just taken place, and which we were far from expecting.——In the month of May, I was informed the English army would open the campaign with very powerful means. I informed the King of it, in order that he might adopt such dispositions as he thought proper, and I likewise acquainted General Caffarelli with it, that he might take measures for sending me succours when the moment should have arrived.——The extreme difficulty in procuring subsistence, and the impossibility of provisioning the troops when assembled, prevented me from having more than 8 or 9 battalions in Salamanca, but all were in readiness to join me in a few days.——On

the 12th June the enemy's army passed the Agueda: on the 14th, in the morning, I was informed of it, and the order for assembling was given to the troops. On the 16th the English army arrived before Salamanca.——In the night between the 16th and 17th I evacuated that town, leaving, nevertheless, a garrison in the forts I had constructed, and which, by the extreme activity used in their construction, were in a state of defence. I marched six leagues from Salamanca, and then having collected five divisions, I approached that town; I drove before me the English advanced posts, and obliged the enemy's army to shew what attitude it reckoned upon taking; it appeared determined to fight upon the fine rising ground and strong position of San Christoval. The remainder of the army joined me: I manœuvred round that position, but I acquired the certainty that it every where presented obstacles difficult to be conquered, and that it was better to force the enemy to come upon another field of battle, than enter into action with them upon ground which gave them too many advantages; besides, different reasons made me desire to prolong the operations—for I had just received a letter from General Caffarelli, which announced to me that he had collected his troops, and was going to march to succour me, whilst my presence would have suspended the siege of the fort of Salamanca. Things remained in this state for some days, and the armies in presence of each other, when the siege of the fort of Salamanca vigorously recommenced. On account of the trifling distance which there was between the French army and the place, and by means of the signals agreed upon, I was every day informed of the situation of the place. Those on the 26th and 27th, informed me that the fort could hold out five days; then I decided to execute the passage of the Tormes, and act upon the left bank. The fort of Alba, which I had carefully preserved, gave me a passage over that river, a new line of operations, and an important point of support. I made dispositions for executing this passage on the night between the 28th and 29th. During the night of the 27th, the fire redoubled, and the enemy, fatigued with a resistance which to them appeared exaggerated, fired red-hot balls upon the fort. Unfortunately its magazines contained a large quantity of wood, it took fire, and in an instant the fort was in flames. It was impossible for the brave garrison who defended it to support, at the same time the enemy's attacks and the fire which destroyed their defences, magazines, and provisions, and placed the soldiers themselves in the most dreadful situation. It was then obliged to surrender at discretion, after having had the honour of repulsing two assaults, and causing the enemy a loss of more 1,300 men, viz. double their own force. This event happened on the 28th at noon.——The enemy having no further object by this operation, past the Tormes, and on the contrary, every thing indicating that it would be prudent to await the reinforcements announced in a formal manner by the army of the North, I decided on re-approaching the Douro, and passing that river in case the enemy should march towards us, and there to take up a good line of defence until such time as the moment for acting on the offensive should appear. On the 28th, the army departed and took a position on the Guarena, on the 29th, on the Trabanjos, where it sojourned.——The enemy having followed the movement with the whole of his forces, the army took a position on the Zopardiel, and on the 2d it passed the Douro, at Tordesillas, a place which I chose for the pivot of my motions. The line of the Douro is excellent. I made with detail every disposition which might render sure a good defence of this river, and I had no cause to doubt my being able to defeat every enterprise of the enemy, in case they should attempt the passage. The 3d, being the day after that we had passed the Douro, he made several assemblages of his forces, and some slight attempts to effect this passage to Pollos, a point which, for him, would be very advantageous. The troops which I had disposed, and a few cannon shot, were sufficient to make him immediately give up his enterprise. In continual expectation of receiving succours from the army of the North, which had been promised in so solemn and reiterated a manner, I endeavoured to add, by my own industry, to the means of the army. My cavalry was much inferior to that of the enemy. The English had nearly 5,000 horse, English or German, without counting the Spaniards formed into regular troops. I had no more than 2,000. With this disproportion, in what manner could one manoeuvre his enemy? How avail one's self of any advantage that might be obtained? I had but one means of augmenting my cavalry, and that was by taking the useless horses for the service of the

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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Winchester, 7th Oct. 1812.

My readers, when they have read the following Address, will, I am sure, think it natural and right, that I should devote the whole of the time between this and next Tuesday (the day of Nomination) to the important duty which I am about to perform. It has always been my opinion, that the people cannot reasonably be blamed for making a bad choice, if no other is presented to them. It has also always been my opinion, that every man should labour for the public weal in that way which he thinks most likely to prove efficacious, whether it may comport with his taste, or interest, or not. And, it being my firm conviction, that an earnest endeavour to supplant the late Members for the county in which I live is the way in which I can employ a week or two with the greatest probability of doing service to the public, I have resolved in that way to employ them, and to devote my whole time and attention to that object.

To the Freeholders of the County of Southampton.

Gentlemen,

That House of Commons, who voted that they would not inquire into a direct charge against some of their own Members for trafficking in Seats in their own Assembly; that House of Commons, who voted their approbation of the Walcheren Expedition; that House of Commons, who voted that Bank Notes are still equal in value to Guineas in the estimation of the people; that House of Commons, who have added upwards of Seventy Millions to the National Debt, and who have added nearly one-fourth to the amount of our Taxes; that House of Commons being, thank God, now no more, and an opportunity being afforded you of choosing as your Representatives men who have not concurred in such votes, I offer myself to you in that capacity. On the day of Nomination, at Winchester, I propose to do myself the honour of stating to you more fully my opinions and my views; but, I shall not omit even this occasion of assuring you, that, I will never, either by myself, or by any dependent on me, receive in any shape, or under any name, a single farthing of the people's money. I am actuated by no motive of vanity or ambition. I think it my duty to endeavour to assist in saving my native country from that total ruin which hangs over it; and, the tender of my services to you is made in the performance of that sacred duty.

I am, Gentlemen, your faithful friend,

WILLIAM COBBETT.

Botley, October 1, 1812.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

A numerous meeting of the Electors of Westminster, "Friends of Purity of Election," was on Monday held, pursuant to public advertisement, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, for the purpose of considering of proper persons to be returned to Parliament as Representatives of the City of Westminster.

Mr. STURCH having been called to the chair, addressed the assembly as follows; —"Gentlemen Electors, the advertisement which I now hold in my hand, and which has been published in several of the newspapers, sufficiently expresses the intention with which this meeting has been called, by a few of those persons who advocated the cause of Parliamentary Reform at the last election.—*(Mr. Sturch here read the advertisement)*.—Gentlemen, it will be seen by the terms of this notice, that this was not intended to be a meeting of the Electors in general, but only of that description of Electors who are friends to the Purity of Election—the friends of corruption and undue influence are not to be understood as having been invited; and if, therefore, there be any person present who is not friendly to reform—if there be any person within hearing who wishes that corruption may be able to keep its ground—who prefers the wide-wasting desolation of war, the government of incapable Ministers, and the

consequent decay of trade and prosperity, to liberty, security, and peace—it may be proper to remind such person, that he comes without being invited.—*(Applause.)* —Gentlemen, I persuade myself, that all those who are now assembled, are of a very different description indeed. I persuade myself, that, while you are all zealously attached to the Constitution, every heart beats high with the love of freedom and independence *(applause)*—which constitutes the very life and soul of purity of election. I am convinced, that all who are now assembled, are clearly of opinion, that, if this country, in its present deplorable state of distress, is to be saved at all, it must be by the adoption of those principles which were manfully supported by the Electors during the last struggle.—*(Applause.)*—Gentlemen, it is the pleasure of His Majesty's Ministers, at this time, to indulge us with an opportunity of electing our Representatives for the ensuing Parliament, which they might, if they pleased, have put off for a year longer, and which they would have put off, if they thought it would have answered certain purposes, which it is not now necessary for me to state. We do not exercise this invaluable right so often as we are entitled to do. By the words of ancient statutes, and from the very reason of the thing, we should exercise the right of election "once in the year, and oftener, if need be."—*(Applause.)*—These are the express words of the statute. But by an Act of modern times, which cannot be too much reprobated—which is, in fact, little short of treason against the liberties and constitution of the country, we are restrained in the exercise of that right, which is granted but once in seven years, unless, as in the present instance, we are permitted to make use of it, by the special grace and favour of His Majesty's Ministers.—*(Laughter.)*—This, however, is no reason at all why we should neglect a duty, when it devolves on us. The duty we have to perform on the present occasion, is to select two gentlemen to represent us in Parliament, whom we shall have every reason to believe will be the firm supporters of that portion of liberty which we now enjoy, and the pledged advocates of those rights and privileges of which we have been forcibly and unjustly deprived. It is not for me to dictate what you are to do. I have only to state what I apprehend to be the general principle on which we are to proceed. There is one thing to which I must not omit calling your attention, that all elections, like other things, are necessarily attended with expense. It is true, that the expense has lately been very much reduced. At the last election, no disbursements were made, except those which were absolutely necessary. By a late Act of Parliament, the expenses to the candidates are clearly defined, and what cannot be demanded is also pointed out. According to that Act it appears, that even when there is no contest whatever, we cannot walk over the course, without incurring an expense of 800l. This we consider as a great hardship and one, small as the sum may seem, that ought to be remedied; and I hope to see the day when this obnoxious act will be repealed. The debt thus incurred must fall either on the *electors* or the *elected*. Now, our principle has been to send our Representatives to Parliament free of expense—which is the true principle of the constitution; because no man should have the pretence to say, that, having purchased his interest in Parliament, he was obliged to reimburse himself by selling his vote to the Minister. And, if we were to abandon that principle for one moment, we should have undone all our work—obliterated, and, he might add, annihilated, the great and glorious example which, five years ago, we set to the electors of Great Britain and Ireland—and which is doing so much good in various parts of the United Kingdom.—I hold it, therefore, necessary, that this principle should be steadily adhered to, and that the sum of 800l. should be subscribed. When I consider the smallness of the sum, contrasted with the great number of electors, I conceive it very easy to defray the expense, by each elector advancing a trifle towards that object; and I hope that no man, who prides himself on being an elector, who feels the dignity of his situation, and desires to be fairly represented in Parliament, will refuse to put down his mite towards the creation of a proper fund. As most of you are, like myself, men of business, I will not detain you much longer. I will not relate what you yourselves did five years ago—it is fresh in your recollection. You then demanded and obtained the service of a man, exactly of the description I noticed in the beginning of this address—the firm defender and supporter of those rights and liberties which we still possess, and the strenuous advocate for a restoration of those which we have lost. Perhaps it may be said, that being placed by you in the situation of chairman, I ought to speak impartially; but I should

be unworthy of the honour you have done me, if I affected to conceal the first wish of my heart. I sincerely hope, that of all the Electors, who, five years ago, gave their vote in favour of the Honourable Baronet, there is not one now living who will not be ready, if it should be again necessary, to come forward on this occasion, and do the same. And to them, I trust, I may be able to add thousands of others, who, since that time, have had an opportunity of examining and scrutinizing the parliamentary conduct of Sir Francis Burdett—*(applause)*—and must have seen in it all that could render a Representative respectable, or endear him to the hearts of his Constituents. He has displayed extraordinary talents, incorruptible integrity, undaunted courage, and the most sound constitutional principles—*(Applause)*.—I understand, that, with regard to your last Representative, Sir Francis Burdett, he does not come forward, soliciting your votes, as a candidate. I am told for I have had no communication with Sir Francis, that he considers it the duty of the Electors to look out for, and support, such persons as they think best calculated to represent them, and not the business of Candidates to push themselves personally forward. I will not take upon me to say whether this is or is not a correct principle; but, if Sir Francis Burdett conceives it to be right, he, as an honest man, must act upon it. The same feeling does not appear to sway the Noble Lord (Cochrane), who, for the purpose of proving his political principles, has written two letters, which have come into the hands of Mr. Brooks, the gentleman so well known as the treasurer of the former election. Those letters were addressed "To the Gentlemen composing the Committee for promoting the Purity of Election," and contained an explanation of his Lordship's political opinions and sentiments, which, I suppose, the meeting would wish to have read. Having stated the object in view, if any gentleman has a proposition to make, I shall be very happy to hear him."

Mr. HARRIS then rose and said, having undertaken to submit certain Resolutions to the Meeting, he was under the necessity of throwing himself on their indulgence, and trusted that they would not impute to presumption, his thus coming forward on so important an occasion. He felt himself placed in a most awkward situation, in addressing them, when there were so many older, wiser, and better men in the room. He would, however, endeavour to acquit himself to the satisfaction of the assembly, whom he could assure, that he had undertaken the task for the benefit of his country, and not from any private aim or gratification of his own. —— would, in a very few days, be called on to elect two persons to represent them in the ensuing Parliament, which was at all times a very important duty, but particularly so at the present period, when we were threatened by an overwhelming taxation at home, and by an implacable enemy abroad. At such a time they were imperatively called on to examine scrupulously those persons whom they sent to Parliament—for there, and there only, the evil can be cured. It was stated by their worthy Chairman, with great force and propriety, that the persons elected ought not to be loaded with expense. This position was perfectly correct; for if Members of Parliament impaired their fortunes in expensive contests, what could their Constituents expect, but that they would endeavour to pay themselves out of the pockets of the people, by selling themselves to Ministers? They should not, therefore, send their representatives in on such conditions, but perfectly free, to prevent the smallest excuse for a dereliction of their duty. They certainly possessed the ability, and they had exercised it, of sending their Representatives into Parliament without putting them to any expense. He doubted not that the Electors of Westminster would, on this occasion, set a good example to the country in general.—Books were then open in the room, and some money had already been subscribed; and he trusted every man, according to his means, would endeavour to further the great object they had in view. Mr. Harris then proceeded to read the Resolutions.

1st, That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be conducted according to the principles of old English Freedom, which declares that Elections should be free and without corruption.

2d, That the City of Wesminster will not disappoint the expectation of the Country, but, following up the great example it has set, return its Representatives *to* Parliament free of expense.

3d, That Subscriptions be entered into to defray the expenses of the ensuing Election, and that Samuel Brooks, Esq. be Treasurer of the Fund; to the support of which it is the bounden duty of every Elector and friend to purity of Election to contribute.

It was almost unnecessary for him to say a word in praise of the individual to whom the next Resolution referred. His conduct in Parliament had been such as justly entitled him to their unanimous choice and support.

4th, That Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. having with unshaken firmness invariably expressed the sense of the people in evil report and good report, and lent his best assistance to restore to them those inestimable blessings of the Constitution, of which they have been deprived, by a long series of fraud and hypocrisy, by endeavouring to obtain for them a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament, and maintaining the right to *Trial by Jury* in all cases whatever, even at the cost of PERSONAL IMPRISONMENT, is a fit and proper person to be again returned one of the Representatives in Parliament for the City of Westminster.—*(Loud and reiterated applause).*

Before he read the 5th Resolution, which related to Lord Cochrane, he thought it would be proper that the two letters, explanatory of his Lordship's political principles, should be read, which was accordingly done by Mr. Richter.

The first was dated the 28th of Sept. 1812, and set forth that his Lordship had never used the trust reposed in him to his private advantage, or to promote the interests of those with whom he was connected by the bonds of consanguinity or friendship. It then proceeded to point out the good effects which would have resulted from a compliance with his Lordship's motion (soon after he had been returned to Parliament) for a list of the places and pensions held by Members of the House of Commons and their relations. It next adverted to his Lordship's exertions to carry into effect the provisions of the Acts relative to prize concerns, by which two-thirds of the navy now employed would be rendered more efficient than the whole at present is. And concluded by attributing his Lordship's absence from the House of Commons solely to ill health. The second letter is dated Sept. 30. In this his Lordship pledges himself to vote, on all occasions, for Parliamentary Reform, and to support every measure for the abolition of sinecures. With respect to the Catholic Question, his Lordship says—"So long as its (the Catholic Religion's) inquisitorial auricular confession and its principles, so favourable to despotism, prevailed on the Continent, I was hostile to it; but, I am now inclined to grant the Claims of the Catholics of Ireland, provided they are content to receive the privileges of Englishmen, and to relinquish their predilection in favour of the jurisdiction of the Pope, which they seem anxious to establish in that part of these kingdoms."—On the subject of a Naval Officer being a Representative for Westminster, he observes—"One half of the taxes levied on the people of England is disbursed on the navy—for objects which the ability of all the civil Members of Parliament cannot detect to be erroneous, from the inspection of accounts," and thence infers the necessity of having persons acquainted with nautical affairs in the House of Commons. And, lastly, on the subject of flogging, he says—"I am no advocate for flogging; although I maintain, from a knowledge of facts, that your fleets could not be governed at present if the power did not exist—a power which will cease to be abused when Parliamentary influence shall cease to place fools and boys in command."

After the applause excited by his Lordship's letters had subsided, Mr. Harris read the two following Resolutions:—

5th, That the Right Hon. Lord Cochrane, by his manly support of Sir Francis Burdett, and his prompt attention to the wishes of the Electors at the time of his Commitment to the Tower by the late House of Commons; for his assertion of the Right of the People to Trial by Jury, and having pledged himself to assist in procuring a full, fair, and free representation of the People in Parliament, the correction of the gross and scandalous corruptions and abuses in various departments of the Government, and the enjoyment of religious liberty, is a fit and proper person to represent this City in Parliament.

6th, That the Resolutions of this Meeting be communicated to Sir F. Burdett and Lord Cochrane by the Chairman.

The Resolutions were then put by the Chairman, *seriatim*. The four first were carried unanimously;—on the fifth being proposed,

Major CARTWRIGHT rose and spoke to the following effect:—"I am not aware of any necessity that I shall be under of opposing the resolution declaratory of the fitness of Lord Cochrane to be one of your Representatives; but notwithstanding the many pledges given to this Meeting, I think we want from him one other pledge, of more importance than all the others—

in one of those pledges to which I allude, he makes mention of certain plans, suggested by him for the annoyance of the enemy, and which plans it is probable will require the personal attendance abroad of his Lordship to carry into execution. At a crisis like the present, highly as I estimate the zeal, the courage, the enthusiasm, the character, the professional skill of my Lord Cochrane, I can by no means consent to dispense with the services of the Noble Lord in Parliament; because it is my opinion that, in the next Parliament, the struggle is to be made, that shall decide whether our political liberties shall stand or fall. It is, therefore, of great importance to know if Lord Cochrane would leave England in case he should be ordered abroad by the Minister, for I hope you are all convinced that the great battle, that battle on which your *all* depends, is to be fought, not in the Mediterranean, but in St. Stephen's chapel.—*(Applause.)* I am not preaching doctrines that I do not practise. I was a naval officer, and in the American war I refused to serve, and threw up my commission, because I considered that service incompatible with my other duties—*(Applause)*.—Should Lord Cochrane be returned as one of your representatives, I have two powerful reasons for objecting to his being employed on foreign service. The first is, that the Minister would gain a very able officer to assist in the prosecution of this *rotten-borough war;* and that he would by the same stroke lop off one of the arms of representation in Westminster.—*(Applause.)*—Should the Noble Lord be in the room, I hope he will appear, and give the meeting an answer on the subject.—*(Applause)*—[Lord C. did not appear, and the Major proceeded]—I have not been much in the political world of late; but I am informed that gentlemen from distant counties have been invited to become Candidates for the City of Westminster (Mr. Sturch the Chairman said *No!*)—Well, then, I have but one other observation to make, and that renders me still more anxious to see Lord Cochrane in the room. A relation of his Lordship lately called on me, and informed me that a frigate was fitting out to carry his Lordship to the Mediterranean, as his health was so precarious that he could not possibly live in England. The Major then moved a Resolution—

"That Lord Cochrane be called on to pledge himself not to quit England on any consideration, in case of being elected to Parliament as one of the Representatives of Westminster."

Mr. Walker seconded the Resolution.

Mr. Richardson rose to oppose the Resolution. He said, he did not presume to stand before them as an orator.—*(Laughs and hisses.)*—Gentlemen might oppose his being heard; but though he could not display much oratory, he could speak his opinions.—*(Interruption.)*—The resolution of the venerable Mover goes to snatch a man from a profession, which, however honourable in itself, he has exalted!—to rob him of that glory which awaits him, and which he has so dearly earned!—to destroy the fair prospects of fame and fortune, which have led him through a laborious life of peril and privation—nay, more, it calls on him to disgrace himself, by abandoning a profession in which the Noble Lord has reaped so much honour himself, and has contributed, in so large a proportion, to the glory of the nation! He proceeded to observe, that such a pledge would be an inducement to Ministers to give the Noble Lord a ship, as soon as he was returned to Parliament, so that his Lordship would be obliged to resign his *commission* or *his seat*, and thus perhaps be prevented from serving his country in either capacity.

Mr. Walker supported the motion. If there were two duties to be performed, one abroad and one at home; the latter, he conceived, would be paramount. It was very properly stated by the Gentleman who preceded him, that Westminster ought not to be deprived of one of its arms. They must all recollect the upright conduct of Lord Cochrane in the House of Commons, in opposing the insult offered to the Electors of Westminster, in the person of their other Representative; but what would have been the consequence if he had not been on the spot? Who, then, could have spoken their sentiments?

Mr. Gibson opposed the motion—If, as Lord Cochrane stated, there was a system of corruption in every department of the State, and if, by going abroad, he might not only serve his country against the enemy, but devise means of rectifying abuses in the profession which he so greatly ornamented, he could see no just reason why he should be deprived of his seat in Parliament. It would be most preposterous to find fault with him under such circumstances—when, perhaps, he was achieving a greater benefit than he could

have effected even in the House of Commons.

Major Cartwright's motion was then put and negatived. After which the fifth Resolution was carried almost unanimously.

On the sixth Resolution being proposed—

Major Cartwright said, that, previous to the question being put, he wished to move a Resolution, which, if carried, should be inserted before that which they had just heard read. Although the motion he had before submitted was negatived, he flattered himself that what he was about to propose would meet their approbation. It had been carried, that Lord Cochrane was a proper person to represent them in Parliament; but it certainly could not be their intention, if his Lordship were elected, and afterwards sent out of the country, to do without one of their Representatives. He should, therefore, propose—

"That Lord Cochrane, if elected, be requested to pledge himself to resign his seat in the Commons' House of Parliament, by accepting of the Chiltern Hundreds, in case he should be ordered out of the kingdom in his naval capacity."

Mr. Gibbon said, Lord Cochrane had shewn, in his address, that, even abroad, he could be of essential benefit to the country. He would, therefore, oppose a Resolution, which narrowed and confined his exertions. If they were to fetter men in this manner, they would ultimately find no candidate willing to serve them. Would it be just, if the great Lord Nelson, or Marquis Wellington, held seats in the House of Commons, that, while they were pursuing the interests of their country abroad, they should be deprived of the honour of a seat in the Parliament at home?

Mr. Walker supported the motion.

Major Cartwright said, that the Gentleman (Mr. Gibbon) who had lately addressed them, seemed to have an objection to Members of Parliament given pledges; but he could inform him, that the Lord High Chancellor, and every man who accepted a situation under Government, gave a pledge, by taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Therefore, pledges were the doctrine of the law and the constitution. The [illegible] of military and naval officers in the House of Commons had grown out of that system which was called the Rotten-borough Parliament. If the people had the fair exercise of the elective franchise, there would be very few Officers sitting in Parliament, liable to be sent out of the country at the shortest notice. The least the people could expect was, that they should not suffer by it. The Officer, if ordered abroad, had his option. Let him, if he pleased, pursue the career of honour and ambition; but let not the people lose sight of the necessity of having their Representatives ready on the spot, prepared to oppose every attack on their liberties. He need scarcely point out to them the encroachments which had been made on their liberties, when they saw their country under a military Government, and the law carried into execution by the point of the bayonet. Major C. then entered at some length into the circumstances attending the arrest of thirty-eight persons, who had assembled at Manchester, to petition for Reform—these men, he said, were falsely accused by an informer, and the friends of despotism eagerly darted on their prey. They were sent to gaol; not by the ordinary operation of the law, not by the intervention of constables, but by the agency of a military force. They, however, gained a victory over their false accuser, and the current of Reform was only impeded for the moment. When this was the case, when such base acts were publicly known, was it not important that their Representatives should be ready to protect their rights? He, therefore, thought this pledge was not too much to expect from a Member of Parliament, and he would not give his vote for any man who would not accede to it.

Mr. Harris said, if this pledge were demanded of Lord Cochrane, and he agreed to it, he certainly would not vote for him. He was astonished to hear such a proposition; it went to drive Lord Cochrane from a noble profession, to which he was an honour.

Mr. Richardson was of opinion, from the nature of the proposed condition, that there was not a sincere wish to elect Lord Cochrane. If such a pledge were tendered to his Lordship, and he accepted of it, he (Mr. R.) would neither vote for him, nor would he ask a single friend to do so.

After a few words from the Chairman and Major Cartwright, the Resolution proposed by the latter was carried.

The sixth Resolution was then agreed to.

Mr. [illegible] next proposed—

"That the Committee who conducted the Election for Westminster in 1807, be requested to carry the Resolutions of this Meeting into effect, and the individuals of

this Meeting will give their best assistance to the same end."—Agreed to.

The thanks of the Meeting were then voted to the Chairman, after which the assembly immediately broke up.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Battle of Salamanca.

(Continued from page 446.)

army, or such as belonged to individuals who had no right to have them, or to such who had a greater number than they are allowed. I did not hesitate making use of this means, the imminent interest of the army and the success of the operations being at stake. I therefore ordered the seizure of such horses as were under this predicament, and I likewise seized a great number which were with a convoy coming from Andalusia, all upon estimation of their value, and making payment for them. This measure, executed with security, gave us, in the space of eight days, 1,000 more horsemen, and my cavalry united amounted to more than 3,000 combatants. Meanwhile I no less hoped to receive succours from the army of the North, which continued its promises, the performance of which appeared to have commenced, but of which we have not hitherto seen any effect.——The 8th division of the army of Portugal occupied the Asturias; these troops were completely isolated from the army; by the evacuation of the provinces of Leon and Benavente they were without succours, and without any communication with the Army of the North; because on the one side the Trindadores, who should have come from Bayonne, could not be sent to Gijon; and, on the other side, the General in Chief of the Army of the North, although he had formally promised so doing, had caused himself to be dispensed with, throwing a bridge over the Deba, and there to establish posts. This division had been able to bring only very little ammunition, for want of means of carriage, and this was in part consumed; nor did they know how to replace it. Its position might every moment become more critical, and the enemy seriously occupied himself with it, inasmuch as if it were still thus isolated, it would remain entirely ignorant of the important events which were taking place in the plains of Castille. General Bonnet, calculating on this state of matters, and considering, according to the knowledge he has of the country, that it is much easier to enter, than depart out of it, according as the enemy might oppose the entrance or departure, he decided on evacuating this province, and so taking a position at Reynosa; there having learnt that the Army of Portugal was in presence of the English army, and that they were on the point of engaging, he did not hesitate on putting himself in motion and rejoining me.——Strongly impressed with this important succour, and the augmentation which my cavalry was about to receive, not having learnt any thing positive further concerning the Army of the North, and being besides informed of the march of the army of Gallicia, which in the course of a few days would necessarily force me to send a detachment to repulse them, I thought it my duty to act without delay. I had to fear that my situation, which was become much ameliorated, might change by losing time, whilst that of the enemy would, by the nature of things, become better every moment; I therefore resolved on repassing the Douro, but this operation is difficult and delicate; it cannot be undertaken without much art and circumspection in presence of an army in condition for battle. I employed the days of the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th July in making a number of marches and countermarches, which deceived the enemy. I feigned an intention to turn by Toro and turned by Tordesillas, making an extremely rapid march. This movement succeeded so well that the whole army could pass the river, move to a distance from it, and form itself without meeting a single enemy.——On the 17th the army took a position at Navarre del Rey. The enemy, who was in full march for Toro, could only bring two divisions with celerity to Tordesillas de la Orden; the others were recalled from different parts, to reunite themselves. On the 18th, in the morning, we found these two divisions at Tordesilles de la Orden. As they did not expect to find the whole army joined, they thought they might, without peril, gain some time. Nevertheless, when they saw our masses coming forward, they endeavoured to effect their retreat to a plain which commanded a village to which we were marching. We had already reached them. If I had had a cavalry superior or equal to that of the enemy, these two divisions would have been destroyed. We did not, however, pursue them the less, and with all possible vigour, and during

three hours' march, they were overpowered by the fire of our artillery, which I caused to take them in the rear and flank, and which they could with difficulty answer, and protected by their numerous cavalry, they divided themselves to reascend the Guarena, in order to pass it with greater facility.——Arrived upon the heights of the valley of Guarena, we saw that a portion of the English army was formed upon the left bank of that river. In that place the heights of that valley are very rugged, and the valley a middling breadth. Whether it was necessary for the troops to approach the water on account of the excessive heat, or whether it was from some other cause of which I am ignorant, the English General had placed the greater part of them in the bottom of the valley, within half cannon shot of the heights of which we were masters; I therefore, upon arriving, immediately ordered a battery of 40 pieces of artillery to be placed, which in a moment forced the enemy to retire, after having left a great number of killed and wounded upon the place. The army marched in two columns, and I had given the command of the right column, distant from that of the left three quarters of a league, to General Claussel. Arrived upon this ground, General Claussel, having few people before him, he thought he was able to seize upon the two rising grounds upon the left bank of the Guarena, and preserve them; but this attack was made with few troops; his troops had not halted, and scarcely formed; the enemy perceived it, marched upon the troops, which he had thus thrown in advance, and forced them to retreat.——In this battle, which was of short duration, we experienced some loss. The division of dragoons which supported the infantry, vigorously charged all the English cavalry; but General Carree, a little too far advanced from the 13th regiment, fell into the enemy's power.——The army remained in its position all the night of the 19th; it even remained in it all the day of the 20th. The extreme heat, and the fatigue experienced on the 18th, rendered this necessary to assemble the stragglers.

At four in the evening the army resumed their arms, and defiled by the left to proceed up the Guarena, and take a position in front of Almo. My intention was, at the same time, to threaten the enemy, and continue to proceed up the Guarena, in order to pass it with facility, or if the enemy marched in force upon the higher Guarena, to return by a rapid movement upon the position they should have abandoned. The enemy followed my movement. On the 20th, before day, the army was in motion to ascend the Guarena.——The advanced guard rapidly passed that river at that part where it is but a river, and occupied the commencement of an immense piece of ground, which continues without any undulation to nearly Salamanca. The enemy endeavoured to occupy the same ground, but could not succeed: then he attempted to follow a parallel rising ground, connected with the position they had just quitted, and which every where offered them a position, provided I should have marched towards them. The two armies thus marched parallel with all possible celerity, always keeping their masses connected, in order to be every moment prepared for battle. The enemy thinking to be beforehand with us at the village of Cantalpeno, directed a column upon that village, in the hope of being before us upon the rising ground which commands it, and towards which we marched; but their expectations were deceived. The light cavalry, which I sent thither, and the 8th division, which was at the head of the column, marched so rapidly that the enemy were obliged to abandon it. Besides the road from the other plain approaching too close to ours, and that which we had having the advantage of commanding it, with some pieces of cannon, judiciously placed, greatly annoyed the enemy, for a great part of the army was obliged to defile under this cannon, and the remainder was obliged to repass the mountain to avoid it. At last I put the dragoons in the enemy's track.——The enormous number of stragglers which were left behind would have given us an opportunity of making [illegible],000 prisoners, had there been a greater proportion between our cavalry and theirs, but the latter disposed so as to arrest our pursuit, to press the march of the infantry by blows from the flat sides of their sabres, and to convey those who could no longer march, prevented us. Nevertheless, there fell into our hand between 3 and 400 men and some baggage. In the evening the army encamped upon the heights of Aldea Rubia, [illegible] its posts upon the Tormes. The [illegible] pied the position of San [illegible]——On the 21st, having been informed that the enemy did not occupy Alba de Tormes, I threw a garrison into it. The same day I passed the river in

two columns, taking my direction by the skirts of the woods, and establishing my camp between Alba de Tormes and Salamanca. My object in taking this direction was to continue the movement by my left, in order to drive the enemy from the neighbourhood of Salamanca and fight them with greater advantages. I depended upon taking a good defensive position, in which the enemy could undertake nothing against me, and, in short, come near enough to them to take advantage of the first faults they might make and vigorously attack them.——On the 22d, in the morning, I went upon the heights of Calbaraca de Azeva to reconnoitre the enemy. I found a division which had just arrived there, others were in march for the same place. Some firing took place, for the purpose of occupying the posts of observation, of which we respectively remained masters. Every thing announced that it was the enemy's intention to occupy the position of Tesares, which was a league in the rear of that in which he then was, distant a league and a half from Salamanca. They, however, assembled considerable forces upon this point, and as their movement upon Tesares might be difficult, if all the French army was in sight, I thought it right to have it ready to act as circumstances required.——There were between us and the English some isolated points, called the Aropiles. I ordered General Bonnet to occupy that which belonged to the position we ought to take; his troops did so with promptitude and dexterity. The enemy ordered theirs to be occupied, but it was commanded by ours at 250 toises distance. I had destined this point, in the event of there being a general movement by the left, and a battle taking place, to be the part and point of support of the right to all the army.——The first division had orders to occupy and defend the plain of Calbaraca, which is protected by a large and deep ravine. The third division was in the second line, destined to support it, and the 2d, 4th, 5th, and 6th were at the head of the wood *en masse*, behind the position of Aropiles, and could march equally on all sides, whilst the 7th division occupied the left head of the wood, which formed a point extremely uneven, and of very difficult access, and which I had lined with 20 pieces of artillery. The light cavalry was charged to clear the left, and place itself in advance of the 7th division. The dragoons remained in the second line to the right of the army. Such were the ... sitions made towards the middle of the ...——The enemy had his troops parallel to me, extending his right by leaning towards the mountain of Tesares, which always appeared to be his point of retreat.——There was in front of the plain occupied by the ...ery another vast plain, easy of defence, ... immediate effect on ...nts. The possession ... the means, in case I ...rived towards the evening, of carrying myself on the enemy's communications on Tammames. This post, which was otherwise well occupied, was impregnable, and in itself completed the position which I had taken. It was, besides, indispensably necessary to occupy it, seeing that the enemy had reinforced his centre, from whence he might push forward *en masse* on this plain, and commence his attack by taking this important point.——In consequence, I gave orders to the 5th division to take position on the right extremity of this plain, the fire from which exactly crossed that from Aropiles, to the 7th division, to place itself in a second line to support this, to the 2d to hold itself in reserve to the latter, and to the 6th to occupy the plain at the head of the wood, where a large number of pieces of artillery were yet remaining.——I gave like orders to General Bonnet to cause the 122d to occupy a point situated between the great plain and the point of Aropiles, which defended the entrance of the village of Aropiles; and, finally, I gave orders to General Boyer, Commandant of the Dragoons, to leave a regiment to clear the right of the General, and to push the three other regiments to the front of the wood, on the flank of the second division, in such manner as to be able, in case the enemy should attack the plain, to attack them by the right of this plain, in the mean while that the light cavalry should charge his left. The most part of these movements were performed with irregularity. The fifth division, after having taken the post assigned to them, extended itself on its left without any cause or reason. The seventh division, which had orders to support it, marched to its position, and, in short, the second division was still in the rear. I felt all the consequences which might result from all these irregularities, and I resolved on remedying them myself on the spot, which was a very easy matter; the enemy as yet not having made any movement at all. At the same time I received the report of the enemy having caused fresh troops to pass from his left to his right; I ordered the 3d and 4th divi-

sions to march by the skirts of the wood, in order that I [illegible] se them as I found needful. It was half past four o'clock, and I went to the place which was to be the object of a serious dispute, but at this moment a shell struck me, and b[illegible] my right arm, and made two large [illegible] in my right side. I thus became inca[illegible] of taking any kind of part in the command.——The previous time which I should have employed in rectifying the placing of the troops on the left, was fruitlessly passed; the absence of the Commander gives birth to anarchy, and from thence proceeds disorder; meanwhile the time was running away without the enemy undertaking any thing. At length, at five o'clock, the enemy, judging that the situation was favourable, attacked this ill-formed left wing with impetuosity. The divisions engaged repulsed the enemy, and were themselves repulsed in their turn, but they acted without concert and without method. The division which I had called to sustain the first, found themselves in the situation of taking part in the combat without having foreseen it.——Every General makes extraordinary efforts to supply by his own particular dispositions, those which are in the whole requisite, but if he can attain it in part, yet he cannot effect it completely. The artillery covered itself with glory, performed prodigies of valour, and in the midst of our losses, caused the enemy to suffer enormously. He directed his attacks against Aropiles, which was defended by the brave 120th regiment, and was there repulsed, leaving more than eight hundred dead on the spot. At length the army retires, evacuates the plains, and retires to the skirts of the wood. There the enemy makes fresh efforts. The division of Foy, which, by the nature of the business, was charged with the covering of the retrograde movement, was attacked with vigour, and constantly repulsed the enemy. This division merits the greatest eulogy, as does likewise its General. From this moment the retreat was effected towards Alba de Tormes, without being disturbed by the enemy. Our loss amounts to about 6,000 men hors de combat.——We have lost nine pieces of cannon, which being dismounted, could not be carried off. All the rest of the baggage, all the park of artillery, all the materials belonging to the army, have been brought away.——It is difficult, M. le Duc, to express to you the different sentiments which agitated me at the fatal moment when the wound which I received caused my removal from the army. I would with delight have exchanged this wound for the certainty of receiving a mortal stroke at the close of the day, to have preserved the faculty of command, so well did I know the importance of the events which had just taken place, and how necessary the presence of the Commander-in-Chief was at the moment when the shock of the two armies appeared to be preparing, to give the whole direction to the troops and to appoint [illegible] movements. Thus one unfortunate moment has destroyed the result of six weeks of wise combinations, of methodical movements, the issue of which had hitherto appeared certain, and of which every thing seemed to presage to us that we should reap the fruit. On the 23d the army made its retreat from Alba de Tormes on Penaranda, taking its direction towards the Douro. The whole of the enemy's cavalry harassed our rear, composed of the cavalry of the first division. This cavalry fell back, and left the division too much exposed, but it formed itself in squares to resist the enemy. One of them was broken; the others resisted, and especially that of the 69th, which killed 200 of the enemy's horse, by the push of the bayonet. After this time they made no attempt on us.——General Clausell has the command of the army, and takes such measures as circumstances require. I am going to have myself transported to Burgos, where I hope by repose and care taken, to recover of the severe wounds I have received, and which afflict me more from the dire influence which they have had on the success of the army, than from the sufferings which they have caused me to endure.——I cannot do sufficient justice to the bravery with which the Generals and Colonels have fought; to the good disposition which animated them in that difficult circumstance. I ought particularly to mention General Bonnet, whose reputation has been so long established. [illegible] should likewise name General Taupin, who commanded the sixth division; General Clausell, though wounded, did not quit the field of battle, but to th[illegible] end gave an example of great personal [illegible]avery. The Ge[illegible] [illegible] Terlet, and Colonel Digeon commanding the reserve of artillery, [illegible]arly distinguished themselves.——[illegible]ay, unfortunate as it has been, there are a multitude of traits worthy of being noticed, and which honour the French name. I will collect them, and solicit from his Majesty rewards for the brave men who have deserved them.——I ought not to de-

fer mentioning the gallant conduct of the brave Sub-Lieutenant Guillemat, of the 118th regiment, who sprung into the enemy's ranks to obtain a flag, which he seized, after having cut off the arm of the person who carried it; he has brought this flag into our ranks, notwithstanding the severe bayonet wounds he has received.——We have to regret the loss of the General of Division Fuey, dead of his wounds; of General Thomieres, killed upon the field of battle; and of General Desgraviers. Generals Bonnet and Clausell, and the General of Brigade Menne, are wounded.——I beg your Excellency to receive the assurance of my high consideration, &c.

(Signed with the left hand)
THE MARSHAL DUKE OF RAGUSA.

After the first movements of the English army, his Catholic Majesty, under whose orders were placed all the French armies in Spain, was determined to unite all the disposable troops he had belonging to the army of the centre, to march at the same time with the Marshal Duke of Ragusa against the enemy.——On the 20th July his Majesty had in effect assembled a considerable corps, at the head of which he had advanced between the 21st and 24th of July to Arevalo.——The retreat of the Army of Portugal having taken place before his Majesty could join it, he was obliged to confine himself to checking Lord Wellington's army, which he has successfully done by this diversion. The greater part of the enemy's forces having marched upon the army of the centre, his Catholic Majesty at first thought of covering Madrid, and sending from it the persons most attached to his service, and the most important objects. A considerable convoy, escorted by Darmagnac and Palombini's divisions, have been fortunately conducted towards Valencia.——On the 13th August the King had his head-quarters at Villa Robledo. The intention of his Majesty was to unite the troops of the Army of the Centre, according to circumstances, either with the Army of the South or the Army of Arragon, to fight the English with advantage.

SEVILLE TAKEN.——DOWNING-STREET, *Sept. 23.—A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been this day received at Earl Bathurst's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Major-General Cooke, dated Cadiz, August 30, 1812.*

CADIZ, Aug. 30, 1812.

My Lord,—Since my letter of yesterday's date, reporting the entry into Seville of the allied corps under General La Cruz and Colonel Skerrett; I have received a dispatch from the latter, of which I transmit a copy herewith, and a return of the killed and wounded of the British detachment. I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. COOKE, Major-General.

SEVILLE, *Aug.* 28, 1812.

Sir,—I have the honour to report the movements of the detachment under my orders since the date of my last. The result of which, the capture of the city of Seville by assault, defended by eight French battalions and two regiments of dragoons intrenched, will, I trust, be considered as honourable to the allied arms and serviceable to the cause of Spain.——On the 24th instant, General Cruz Mourgeon, commanding the Spanish troops, and myself, judged it advisable to make a forward movement on Seville; for this purpose it was advisable to force the enemy's corps of observation of three hundred and fifty cavalry and two hundred infantry, at St. Lucar la Mayor. I marched from Manzanilla with eight hundred troops, composed of the 1st regiment of guards, the 87th, and the Portuguese regiment, Brigadier-General Downie, accompanied with six hundred Spanish troops. The Spanish column attacked on the right, and the British and Portuguese on the left. The French were driven through the streets with precipitation, leaving some killed, wounded, and prisoners. We took post at San Lucar without the loss of a man.——On the 26th inst. Gen. Cruz and myself having judged that it would be attended with the most beneficial effects, both on the public opinion and in saving the city from being plundered, if the French could be precipitated in their retreat from Seville, the allied troops, in consequence, marched for this purpose, and arrived at the heights of Castillejos de la Cuesta, immediately above Seville, on the morning of the 27th, at six o'clock.——The Spanish troops formed our advance. The French advance was driven in; the cavalry retired, leaving the infantry in the plain, which last were charged by the Spanish cavalry, who made many prisoners.——The Spanish troops attacked a redoubt on our left, and lost a good many men. The columns advanced into the plain, by which movement this redoubt was turned, and its communication cut off; the Spanish troops under General Cruz took the right, and made a detour to arrive and attack on that flank of Triana (the suburbs of Seville). I ordered the redoubt to be

masked by a detachment of the 20th Portuguese regiment, and advanced a field-piece with some troops, to keep in check the enemy's fire at one of the gates of the city opposite to us, and after giving sufficient time for the Spanish column to arrive, the British and Portuguese troops advanced to the attack in front; the cavalry and artillery advanced at a gallop, supported by the grenadiers of the guards, and the infantry following.——The enemy abandoned the gate: we entered the suburbs, and advanced near to the bridge of Seville with as much rapidity as possible, in hopes of preventing its destruction, which would have rendered it extremely difficult for us to succeed. We were checked by the fire of grape-shot and musketry at the turning of the street. The grenadiers of the guards advanced to our support, and drove every thing before them. At this moment part of the Spanish column arrived; we advanced to the bridge under a heavy fire; Captain Cadoux, of the 95th, with great judgment, made a flank movement on our left; Captain Roberts, of the artillery, brought up with rapidity two guns; a heavy fire of cannon and musketry was soon brought to bear on the enemy, who were driven from their position on the other side of the river, and from the bridge, which they had only in part destroyed. The grenadiers of the guards, and some Spanish troops, led the columns that crossed the bridge. A general rout ensued, and the enemy were driven through the streets, which were strewed with their dead, and pursued at all points, leaving behind them valuable captures of horses, baggage, and money.——It is difficult for me to express the joy of the people of Seville. The inhabitants, under the fire of the French, brought planks to lay across the bridge; and their acclamations and vociferous marks of joy, added to the immense crowd, rendered it extremely difficult for the officers to advance through the streets with their columns.——The vast extent of this city, the exhausted state of the troops who had advanced in double quick time for three miles, and the want of cavalry, rendered it impossible to continue the pursuit beyond the town. Such was the rapidity of our attack, that this victory over a French division, and the passage of a bridge which the enemy had materially destroyed, with his infantry and artillery, formed on the banks of the river, was achieved with a loss that appears almost incredible.——I have only to regret the loss of one officer, Lieutenant Brett, [illegible] artillery, who was killed, gallantly [illegible]ting his gun at the bridge. The int[illegible]pidity of this valuable officer was [illegible] by the whole detachment.——The [illegible] the enemy must have been very great. We have taken several officers, and, I believe, near two hundred prisoners.——The conduct of every officer and soldier has been above praise; where all have behaved well, it is difficult to distinguish; I must, however, mention the detachment of the King's German Legion, commanded by Cornet Wieboldt; the artillery, by Captain Roberts; detachment of 95th, by Captain Cadoux; and the grenadiers of the 1st regiment of guards, by Captain Thomas. To Colonel Maitland, 1st regiment of guards (second in command), I am much indebted from the commencement of this service; and in the attack of Seville his military talents, intrepidity, and zeal, were particularly conspicuous. I am also much indebted to Lieutenant Colonel Colquitt, commanding a detachment of the 1st regiment of guards; to Lieutenant Colonel Prior, commanding a detachment 20th Portuguese regiment; and to Major Maclain, commanding a detachment 87th regiment.——The exertions of Captain Wynyard (Coldstream Guards), Assistant Adjutant General, and Lieutenant Reid, Royal Staff Corps, Staff Officers attached to the detachment, have been indefatigable. Captain Bunbury, 20th Portuguese regiment, Brigade Major, and Lieutenant Smith, Royal Engineers, were at this time detached on other service.——During the whole of this attack, our allies, the Spaniards, have rivalled the conduct of the British and Portuguese troops; and General Cruz Murgeon, by his military talents and bravery, has principally contributed to the successful result of the day.——Enclosed is a return of the killed and wounded.——During last night a division of 7 or 8,000 French troops passed by. Our attack has saved the city from the devastations and contributions with which it was threatened.——Captain Wynyard is the bearer of this dispatch, who will inform you of any further particulars you may require.

I have the honour, &c.

J. B. Skerrett.

P. S. A return of the guns and military stores taken, will be sent as soon as the quantity can be ascertained. Two of the field-pieces which the enemy advanced against us, fell into our hands.

Northern War.—*Fifteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.—Slawkovo, 27th Aug.* 1812.

The General of division Zayoncheick, who commanded a Polish division at the battle of Smolensk, was wounded. The behaviour of the Polish corps at Smolensk astonished the Russians, who used to despise them. They were struck with their steadiness, and the superiority which they displayed over themselves.——At the battles of Smolensk and Valoutina, the enemy lost twenty Generals killed, wounded, or taken, and a very great number of officers. The number of men killed, taken, or wounded, on these occasions, may amount to from 25 to 30,000 men.——On the day after the battle of Valoutina, his Majesty gave the 12th and 21st regiments of infantry of the line, and the 7th regiment of light infantry, a number of decorations of the Legion of Honour, to be bestowed on the Captains, Lieutenants, Subalterns, and Soldiers. The selections were made on the field, in a circle before the Emperor, and were confirmed with acclamations by the troops.——The following are the names of those who obtained this honourable distinction:—[Here follows a list of the respective individuals.]—Number of decorations granted, to the 12th regiment 30; 21st do. 25; 7th light do. 32—Total, 87. ——The enemy's army, in retiring, burns the bridges and destroy the roads, in order to retard the march of the French army as much as possible. On the 21st, they had repassed the Borysthenes at Slob Pniwa, always closely followed by our advanced guard.——The commercial establishments at Smolensk were quite untouched on the Borysthenes, in a fine suburb, to which the Russians set fire, for the sole purpose of retarding our march a single hour. Never was war conducted with so much inhumanity: the Russians treat their own country as they would that of an enemy. The country is fine, and abundantly supplied with every thing. The roads are admirable.——Marshal the Duke of Tarentum continues to destroy Dunabourg. The wooden materials, palisades, &c. which were immense, served to make feu-de-joie in honour of the 15th of August.——Prince Schwartzenberg writes from Ossiati, on the 17th, that his advanced guard has pursued the enemy on the road to Divin, that he has taken some hundreds of prisoners, and obliged the enemy to burn his baggage. General Regnier, however, who commands the advanced guard, has succeeded in seizing 800 baggage-waggons, which the enemy could neither carry off nor destroy. The Russian army, under Tormasow, has lost almost all its baggage.—The equipage for the siege of Riga has begun to move from Tilsit for the Dwina.——General St. Cyr has taken a position on the Drissa. The rout of the enemy at the battle of Polotsk on the 18th was complete. The brave Bavarian General Deroy was wounded on the field of honour, at the age of 72, after nearly 60 years' service. His Majesty has nominated him a Count of the Empire, with a revenue of 30,000 francs. The Bavarian corps behaved with much bravery. His Majesty has granted it rewards and honours.——The enemy gave out that he would make a stand at Doroghobouj. He had, according to custom, thrown up earth and constructed batteries. The army having shewn itself in order of battle, the Emperor repaired thither; but the enemy's General thought better of it, beat a retreat, and abandoned Doroghobouj, a *city* containing ten thousand souls and eight steeples. Head-quarters were there on the 26th, and on the 27th at Slawkovo. The advanced guard is close to Viasma.——The Viceroy manœuvres on the left, at two leagues from the great road; the Prince of Eckmuhl on the great road; and Prince Poniatowski on the left bank of the Osma.——The capture of Smolensk appears to have had a sad effect on the spirits of the Russians. It was called *Smolensk-the-sacred; Smolensk-the-strong; the key of Moscow;* besides a thousand other common sayings. *Whoever has Smolensk, has Moscow,* say the peasants. ——The heat is excessive; it has not rained for a month.——The Duke of Belluno, with the 9th corps, 30,000 strong, has set out from Tilsit for Wilna. This corps is to form the reserve.

Sixteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army. Viasma, Aug. 31.

The head-quarters of the Emperor were, on the 27th, at Slawkovo; on the 28th, near Senlovo; on the 29th, in a Castle one league in the rear of Viasma; and on the 30th at Viasma; the army marching in three columns—the left, formed by the Viceroy, proceeding by Kanoouhkino, Znamenkoi, Kosterentkovo, and Novoe—the centre formed by the King of Naples, the corps of the Prince of Eckmuhl, the Duke of Elchingen and the Guards, marching on the grand road, and the left by the Prince Poniatowski marching on the left bank of the Osma by Volosk, Louchke,

Pokroskoe, and Slonckino.——On the 27th the enemy wishing to rest on the Osma, opposite the village of Riebke, took a position with his rear-guard. The King of Naples directed his cavalry on the left of the enemy, which amounted to 7 or 8,000 cavalry. Several charges took place, all to our advantage. A battalion of the enemy was penetrated by the 4th regiment of Lancers. A hundred prisoners were the

(To be continued.)

SURRENDER OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

London Gazette Extraordinary, Oct. 6.

War Department, Downing-street, Oct. 6, 1812.

Captain Gore, Aid-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Governor in Chief of His Majesty's Provinces in North America, arrived this morning with dispatches from the Lieutenant-General, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, of which the following is an extract and a copy:—

Montreal, Aug. 16.

My Lord,—I feel the greatest satisfaction in transmitting to your Lordship a letter which I have this day received by express from Major-General Brock, announcing to me the surrender of Fort Detroit, on the 16th inst. by Brigadier-General Hull, with the army under his command, exceeding two thousand five hundred men, together with twenty-five pieces of ordnance.——In my dispatches of the 17th and 24th inst. I had the honour of detailing to your Lordship the operations which had taken place in Upper Canada, in consequence of the invasion of that province by the army of the United States. Brigadier-General Hull having crossed the Detroit river on the 12th of last month, with 2,500 men, consisting of regular cavalry and infantry, and militia, bringing with him several field-pieces; and having driven in the militia towards Amherstburg, first advanced to Sandwich, and afterwards approached Amherstburg, with a part of his army to the river Canard, about five miles from the fort, where he was foiled in three attempts to cross that river, and suffered a considerable loss. The garrison of Amherstburg consisted at that time of a subaltern's detachment of the Royal Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Troughton; of a detachment of 300 men of the 41st regiment, under the command of Captain Muir; and of about as many of the Militia; the whole under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Saint George, Inspecting Field Officer of Militia in the district.——General Brock, relying upon the strong assurances I had given him, of a reinforcement as prompt and as effectual as the circumstances under which I was placed by this new war would permit me to send, adopted the most vigorous measures for the safety of that part of the frontier which had been attacked. In these measures he was most opportunely aided by the fortunate surrender of Fort Michilimachinack, which giving spirit and confidence to the Indian tribes in its neighbourhood, part of whom assisted in its capture, determined them to advance upon the rear and flanks of the American army, as soon as they heard that it had entered the province.——The certainty of the expected reinforcements, and the weakness of the enemy on the Niagara frontier, had in the mean time induced General Brock to detach from the garrison of Fort George 50 men of the 41st regiment, under Captain Chambers, into the interior of the country, for the purpose of collecting such of the Indians and Militia as might be ready to join him, and afterwards advancing upon the left flank of the enemy. Sixty men of the same regiment were also detached from that garrison to Amherstburg, and 40 to Long Point, to collect the Militia in that quarter. Having made these dispositions, and having previously sent forward Colonel Proctor, of the 41st regiment, to Amherstburg, where he arrived and assumed the command on the 26th of last month, General Brock proceeded himself from York on the 5th instant, for Fort St. George and Long Point on Lake Erie, which last place he left on the 8th following for Amherstburg, with forty rank and file of the 41st regiment, and 260 of the Militia forces.——Whilst General Brock was thus hastening his preparations for the relief of Amherstburg, the prospects of the American army under General Hull were becoming every day more unfavourable, and their situation more critical. The intelligence of the fall of Michilimachinack had reached them, which they knew must expose them to an attack of the Indians on one quarter, at the same time that they were threatened on another by the force approaching under Captain Chambers. An Indian tribe of the Wyandots, whom they had in vain attempted to bribe, aided by a detachment of the 41st regiment from Amherstburg, had succeeded in cutting off their supplies on the opposite side of the

river, and in intercepting their dispatches, which described in very strong terms their apprehensions and despondency. The losses they had sustained in their different actions upon the Canard river, as well as those for protecting their supplies, together with the mode of warfare pursued by the Indians, had greatly discouraged and dispirited them, and had convinced General Hull how hopeless any attempt would be to storm Fort Amherstburg, without great reinforcements and a battering train.——It was under these circumstances, at this critical period, and when the enemy were beginning to consult their security by intrenching themselves, that General Brock entered Amherstburg with a reinforcement, which he was fortunately enabled to do on the 12th instant, without the smallest molestation, in consequence of our decided naval superiority on the lakes. To his active and intelligent mind, the advantages which the enemy's situation afforded him over them, even with his very inferior force, became immediately apparent; and that he has not failed most effectually to avail himself of those favourable circumstances, your Lordship will, I trust, be satisfied, from the letter which I have the honour of transmitting.——Having thus brought to your Lordship's view the different circumstances which have led to the successful termination of the campaign on the western frontier of Upper Canada, I cannot withhold from Major-General Brock the tribute of applause so justly due to him for his distinguished conduct on this occasion, or omit to recommend him, through your Lordship, to the favourable consideration of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, for the great ability and judgment with which he has planned, and the promptitude, energy, and fortitude with which he has effected the preservation of Upper Canada, with the sacrifice of so little British blood in accomplishing so important a service.——My Aid-de-camp, Captain Gore, will have the honour of delivering to your Lordship this dispatch; and, as he is well qualified to give your Lordship information respecting the military resources of this command, I shall beg leave to refer your Lordship to him for farther particulars.——I have the honour, &c.

GEORGE PREVOST.

Head-quarters, Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812.

Sir,—I hasten to apprize your Excellency of the capture of this very important post. Two thousand five hundred troops have this day surrendered prisoners of war, and about twenty-five pieces of ordnance have been taken without the sacrifice of a drop of British blood. I had not more than seven hundred troops, including militia, and about six hundred Indians, to accomplish this service. When I detail my good fortune, your Excellency will be astonished. I have been admirably supported by Colonel Proctor, the whole of my Staff, and I may justly say every individual under my command.

Believe me, &c.

ISAAC BROCK, Major-General.

To his Excellency Lieut.-General Sir George Prevost, Bart.

Head-quarters, Montreal, Sept. 1. 1812.

My Lord,—Since I had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship my letter of the 26th ult. in charge of my Aid-de-Camp, Captain Gore, I have received from Major-General Brock a dispatch, of which the enclosed is a copy, containing the particulars of Brigadier-General Hull's invasion of Upper Canada, which has terminated most gloriously to His Majesty's arms, in that officer's defeat and surrender, as a prisoner of war, with the whole of the north-western army, together with the fort Detroit, and 33 pieces of ordnance.——I forward this dispatch express, in the expectation of its reaching Captain Gore previously to his leaving Canada, which, with the colours of the 4th United States' regiment accompanying it, I trust that officer will have the honour of delivering to your Lordship.——I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE PREVOST.

To the Right Hon. Earl Bathurst.

Head-quarters, Detroit, August 17.

Sir,—I have had the honour of informing your Excellency, that the enemy effected his passage across the Detroit river on the 12th ult. without opposition, and that after establishing himself at Sandwich, he had ravaged the country as far as Moravia town. Some skirmishes occurred between the troops under Lieut.-Col. St. George and the enemy upon the river Canard, which uniformly terminated in his being repulsed with loss. I judged it proper to detach a force down the river Thames, capable of acting in conjunction with the garrison of Amherstburg offensively; but Captain Chambers, whom I had appointed to direct this detachment, experienced difficulties that frustrated my intentions. The

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBLTT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts, to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and *sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall, that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England, that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops, and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXII. No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1812. [Price 1s.

To the Freeholders of the County of Southampton.

Gentlemen,

Our triumph yesterday was as complete as even I could have wished; for, though the Sheriff did, at last, decide the *disputed* point as to the *shew of hands* against me, there was, I believe, not a single individual present, who was not convinced that a majority of the numerous assemblage were in my favour; or rather, in favour of the honour and freedom of the country. ——In the course of my address to you, and which you received in a manner which convinced me that success must finally attend our exertions, I made many *assertions*, which assertions, I will, in my next Number, prove to be *strictly true*. I am now absent from my books and papers; but, in my next, I will not only go fully into all the matters here alluded to; but will also lay before you a plan for effecting an emancipation from the trammels which now disgrace the Freeholders of this county. In the mean while, Gentlemen, I am

Your faithful friend,

WILLIAM COBBETT.

Winchester, October 14, 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.——*Sixteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(Continued from page 475.)

result of this small affair. The positions of the enemy were carried, and he was obliged to quicken his retreat.——On the 28th, the enemy was pursued. The advanced guards of three French columns came up with the rear guard of the enemy; they exchanged several cannon shot. The enemy was driven every where.——General Count Caulincourt entered Viasma on the 29th, at day-break.——The enemy had burned the bridges, and set fire to several quarters of the city. Viasma is a town of 15,000 inhabitants; there are 4,000 burghers, merchants, and artisans; there are 32 churches. Considerable resources in flour, soap, drugs, &c. and large magazines of brandy were found.——The Russians burnt the magazines, and the finest houses in the town were on fire at our arrival. Two battalions of the 25th were employed with much activity in extinguishing them. We got it under and saved three quarters of the town. The Cossacks before they left it committed the dreadfullest pillage, which has made the inhabitants say, that the Russians think Viasma will be no longer under their dominion, since they treat it in so barbarous a manner. All the population of the towns retires upon Moscow. It is said there are now one million and a half of souls in that great city. They fear the result of these crowds. The inhabitants say that General Kutusow has been appointed Commander in Chief of the Russian army, and that he took the command on the 28th.——The Grand Duke Constantine, who had returned to the army, having fallen ill, has quitted it.——A little rain has fallen, which has laid the dust that incommoded the army. The weather to-day is very fine—it will last, as they believe, to the 19th Oct., which gives us still 40 days' campaign.

Seventeenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Ghjat, Sept. 3.

The head-quarters were, on the 31st of August, at Veltchèro; on the 1st and 2d of September at Ghjat.——The King of Naples, with the advanced guard, had his head-quarters on the 1st, ten wersts in advance of Ghjat; the Viceroy had his the same distance in advance on the left; and Prince Poniatowski had pushed forward two leagues on the right. Some discharges of artillery and attacks with the same were exchanged in each direction, and a few hundreds of prisoners were taken.——The Ghjat river empties itself into the Wolga. —Thus we are in possession of the course of those waters that flow into the Caspian Sea. The Ghjat is navigable to the Wolga.——The City of Ghjat contains a population of eight or ten thousand souls. Many of the houses are built of stone and

brick. There are many parish churches, and several manufactories of linen cloth. It is perfectly clear that agriculture has made great progress in this country within the last forty years. It no longer bears any resemblance to the descriptions which are given of it. Potatoes, pulse, and cabbages grow there in abundance: the granaries are full. The present is the harvest season, and we enjoy now the same weather here as we have in France at the commencement of October.——The deserters, the prisoners, the inhabitants, all agree that the greatest confusion prevails at Moscow, and in the Russian army, which is distracted with a diversity of opinions, and has suffered enormous losses in the different actions. Some of the Generals have been changed. It appears that the opinion of the army is not favourable to the plans of Barclay de Tolli: he is accused of having made his divisions fight in detail.——The Prince of Schwartzenburg is in Volhynia: the Russians fly before him.——Some sharp affairs have taken place before Rioga; the Prussians have always had the advantage.——We have found in this place two Bulletins, which give an account of the actions before Smolensk, and of the battle of the Drissa. They have appeared sufficiently curious to be annexed to this Bulletin. When we shall receive the sequel of these Bulletins, they shall be sent to the Moniteur. It appears by their contents that the Editor has profited by those instructions he received from Moscow, "that the truth is not to be told to the Russian people, but that they are to be deceived with lies." Smolensk was set on fire by the Russians. They set fire to the suburbs on the day after the battle, when they saw our bridge established over the Boristhenes. They also set fire to Dorohoboni, to Viasma, and to Ghjat; but the French came up in time to extinguish it. This may be easily conceived. The French have no interest in burning those towns that belong to them, and in depriving themselves of the resources which they afford. The cellars have been every where filled with brandy, leather, and every species of article that is useful to an army.——If the country be wasted, if the inhabitants suffer more than a state of war warrants, the fault is in the Russians.——The army rested on the 2d and 3d in the vicinity of Ghjat.——It is positively asserted, that the enemy is employed in forming an intrenched camp in front of Mojaisk, and has established lines before Moscow.——At the battle of Krasnoi, Colonel Marbeuf, of the sixth light cavalry, was wounded with a bayonet at the head of his regiment, in the midst of a square of Russian infantry, which he had penetrated with the greatest intrepidity.——We have thrown six bridges over the Ghjat.—(*Moniteur, Sept.* 18.)

The following are the Russian articles alluded to in the Seventeenth Bulletin.

Military Intelligence.——On the 4th (16th) of August, the Emperor Napoleon, at the head of his whole army, 100,000 strong, made his appearance before Smolensk. He was received about six wersts from the city, by the corps of Lieut.-Gen. Rayewsky. The battle commenced at six o'clock in the morning, and at noon became most bloody. The courage of the Russians overcame numbers, and the enemy was overthrown. The corps of Gen. Doctorow, which had arrived to replace that of Rayewsky, attacked the enemy on the 5th (17th) at day-light, and the engagement lasted till night-fall. The enemy was repulsed at every point, and the Russian soldiers, full of that courage and intrepidity which animates them in the defence of their country, fought with desperacy, invoking the assistance of the Almighty.

But during this time the city of Smolensk was a prey to the flames, and our troops took a position between the Dnieper, the village of Peneva, and Dorogoboni.

The capture of Smolensk, which was reduced to ashes by the enemy, cost them more than 20,000 men. The inhabitants had all left it previous to the battle. The loss in killed and wounded on our side amounts to 4,000 men. The brave Generals Skalen and Bulla are amongst the former.——We have made a great number of prisoners, and whole battalions of the enemy's army were obliged to lay down their arms in order to escape death. Three regiments of Cossacks and three of cavalry overthrew sixty squadrons of the enemy's horse, commanded by the King of Naples.

Report of Lieutenant-General Count Wittgenstein to his Majesty the Emperor, dated Oswec, July 31 (Aug. 12), 1812.

I have received information from my advanced posts, that the enemy was making every effort from Polotsk to carry them, and by prisoners and deserters, that the French Grand Army was constantly receiving reinforcements of Bavarian and Wirtem-

burg troops.——I received at the same time from the Minister of War, intelligence of the junction of the two armies, together with orders to attack them immediately in flank.——I accordingly detached four squadrons under the command of Major Bedragni, whom I directed to observe every movement of Macdonald's army, and give me notice thereof. I advanced against Oudinot's corps, which I met on the evening of the 29th, four wersts from Rochoaowa.——Having immediately made the necessary arrangements, I yesterday vigorously attacked him, with the help of God.——After eight hours' constant fighting, the enemy was routed and pursued, till night came on, by his Majesty's brave troops.——We have taken three officers and 250 soldiers. The loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, has been considerable. Their cuirassiers, particularly, have suffered much, in consequence of their attempts to take our guns. I caused them to be pursued by the Hussars of Grodno, who distinguished themselves on this occasion. We have lost 400 men in killed and wounded, among whom we have particularly to lament the death of the gallant Colonel Dennissen, who commanded the 25th regiment of chasseurs, and who was killed by a cannon-ball.——I mean to pursue the enemy to the Dwina.

SURRENDER OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

London Gazette Extraordinary, Oct. 6.

(*Continued from page* 478.)

intelligence received from that quarter admitting of no delay, Colonel Proctor was directed to assume the command, and his force was soon after increased with 60 rank and file of the 41st regiment.——In the mean time, the most strenuous measures were adopted to counteract the machinations of the evil-disposed; and I soon experienced the gratification of receiving voluntary offers of service from that portion of the embodied Militia the most easily collected. In the attainment of this important point, Gentlemen of the first character and influence shewed an example highly creditable to them; and I cannot on this occasion avoid mentioning the essential assistance I derived from John M'Donnell, Esq. His Majesty's Attorney-General, who, from the beginning of the war, has honoured me with his services as my Provincial Aid-de-Camp. A sufficiency of boats being collected at Long Point for the conveyance of three hundred men, the embarkation took place on the 8th instant, and in five days arrived in safety at Amherstburg. I found that the judicious arrangement, which had been adopted immediately upon the arrival of Colonel Proctor, had compelled the enemy to retreat, and take shelter under the guns of his fort; that officer commenced operations by sending strong detachments across the river, with a view of cutting off the enemy's communication with his reserve. This produced two smart skirmishes on the 5th and 9th instant, in both of which the enemy's loss was very considerable, whilst our's amounted to three killed, and thirteen wounded; amongst the latter I have particularly to regret Captain Muir and Lieutenant Sutherland, of the 41st regiment; the former an officer of great experience, and both ardent in His Majesty's service. Batteries had likewise been commenced opposite Fort Detroit, for one eighteen-pounder, two twelve, and two five-and-an-half-inch mortars; all of which opened on the evening of the 15th (having previously summoned Brigadier-General Hull to surrender); and although opposed by a well-directed fire from seven twenty-four pounders, such was their construction, under the able directions of Captain Dixon of the Royal Engineers, that no injury was sustained from its effect.——The force at my disposal being collected in the course of the the 15th, in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, the embarkation took place a little after day-light on the following morning, and by the able arrangements of Lieut. Dewar of the Quarter-Master-General's Department, the whole was, in a short time, landed without the smallest confusion at Spring Well, a good position, three miles west of Detroit. The Indians, who had in the mean time effected their landing two miles below, moved forwards and occupied the woods, about a mile and an half on our left.——The force, which I instantly directed to march against the enemy, consisted of 30 Royal Artillery, two hundred and fifty 41st regiment, fifty Royal Newfoundland regiment, four hundred Militia, and about six hundred Indians, to which were attached three 6-pounders and two 3-pounders. The services of Lieut. Troughton, commanding the Royal Artillery, an active and intelligent officer, being required in the field, the direction of the batteries was intrusted to Captain Hall, and the ma-

rine department; and I cannot withhold my entire approbation of their conduct on this occasion.——I crossed the river, with an intention of waiting in a strong position the effect of our force upon the enemy's camp, and in the hope of compelling him to meet us in the field; but receiving information upon landing, that Col. M'Arthur, an officer of high reputation, had left the garrison three days before, with a detachment of 500 men, and hearing soon afterwards that his cavalry had been seen that morning three miles in our rear, I decided on an immediate attack. Accordingly the troops advanced to within one mile of the fort, and having ascertained that the enemy had taken little or no precaution towards the land-side, I resolved on an assault, whilst the Indians penetrated his camp. Brigadier-General Hull, however, prevented this movement, by proposing a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of preparing terms of capitulation. Lieutenant-Colonel John M'Donnell and Captain Glegg were accordingly deputed by me on this mission, and returned within an hour with the conditions which I have the honour herewith to transmit. Certain considerations afterwards induced me to agree to the two supplementary articles.——The force thus surrendered to His Majesty's arms cannot be estimated at less than 2,500 men. In this estimate, Colonel M'Arthur's detachment is included, as he surrendered, agreeably to the terms of capitulation, in the course of the evening, with the exception of 200 men, whom he left escorting a valuable convoy at some little distance in his rear; but there can be no doubt the officer commanding will consider himself equally bound by the capitulation.——The enemy's aggregate force was divided into two troops of cavalry; one company of artillery regulars; the fourth United States regiment; detachments of the 1st and 3d United States regiments, volunteers; three regiments of the Ohio Militia; one regiment of the Michigan territory.——Thirty-three pieces of brass and iron ordnance have already been secured.——When this contest commenced, many of the Indian nations were engaged in active warfare with the United States, notwithstanding the constant endeavours of this Government to dissuade them from it. Some of the principal Chiefs happened to be at Amherstburg, trying to procure a supply of arms and ammunition, which for years had been withheld, agreeably to the instructions received from Sir James Craig, and since repealed by your Excellency.——From that moment they took a most active part, and appeared foremost on every occasion; they were led yesterday by Colonel Elliott and Captain M'Kee, and nothing could exceed their order and steadiness. A few prisoners were taken by them during the advance, whom they treated with every humanity; and it affords me much pleasure in assuring your Excellency, that such was their forbearance and attention to what was required of them, that the enemy sustained no other loss in men than what was occasioned by the fire of our batteries.——The high sense I entertain of the abilities and judgment of Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, induced me to appoint him to the most important command at Niagara; it was with reluctance I deprived myself of his assistance, but had no other expedient; his duties as head of the Quarter-Master-General's department were performed to my satisfaction by Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls, Quarter-Master-General of the Militia.——Captain Glegg, my Aid-de-Camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch to your Excellency: he is charged with the colours taken at the capture of Fort Detroit, and those of the 4th United States Regiment.——Captain Glegg is capable of giving your Excellency every information respecting the state of this province; and I shall esteem myself highly indebted to your Excellency to afford him that protection, to which his merit and length of service give him a powerful claim.——I have the honour to be, &c.

Isaac Brock, Major-Gen.

P. S. I have the honour to enclose a copy of a Proclamation, which I issued immediately on taking possession of this country.——I should have mentioned in the body of my dispatch the capture of the Adams; she is a fine vessel, and recently repaired, but without arms.

Camp at Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812.

Capitulation for the Surrender of Fort Detroit, entered into between Major-Gen. Brock, commanding His Britannic Majesty's Forces, on the one part, and Brigadier-General Hull, commanding the North-western Army of the United States, on the other part.

Art. I. Fort Detroit, with all the troops, regulars as well as militia, will be immediately surrendered to the British forces under the command of Major-General Brock, and will be considered prisoners of war, with the exception of such of the militia of the

Michigan territory who have not joined the army.—II. All public stores, arms and all public documents, including every thing else of a public nature, will be immediately given up.—III. Private persons and property of every description will be respected.—IV. His Excellency Brigadier-General Hull, having expressed a desire that a detachment from the state of Ohio, on its way to join his army, as well as one sent from Fort Detroit, under the command of Colonel M'Arthur, should be included in the capitulation, it is accordingly agreed to. It is, however, to be understood, that such part of the Ohio militia as have not joined the army will be permitted to return to their homes, on condition that they will not serve during the war; their arms will be delivered up, if belonging to the public. —V. The garrison will march out at the hour of twelve this day, and the British forces will take immediate possession of the fort.

J. Macdonell, Lieut.-Col. Militia, P. A. D. C.
J. B. Glegg, Major, A. D. C.
James Miller, Lieut.-Col. 5th U. S. Infantry.
E. Brush, Colonel commanding 1st Regiment of Michigan Militia.

Approved,
W. Hull, Brig.-Gen. commanding the N. W. Army.
Approved, Isaac Brock, Major-Gen.

An Article Supplementary to the Articles of Capitulation, concluded at Detroit, the 16th Aug. 1812.

It is agreed, that the officers and soldiers of the Ohio Militia and Volunteers shall be permitted to proceed to their respective homes, on this condition, that they do not serve during the present war, unless they are exchanged.

W. Hull, Brig. Gen. commanding U. S. N. W. Army.
Isaac Brock, Major-Gen.

An Article in addition to the Supplementary Article of Capitulation, concluded at Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812.

It is farther agreed, that the officers and soldiers of the Michigan Militia and Volunteers, under the command of Major Wetherall, shall be placed on the same principles as the Ohio Militia and Volunteers are placed by the supplementary article of the 16th inst.

W. Hull, Brig. Gen. commanding N. W. Army U. S.
Isaac Brock, Major-Gen.

Return of Ordnance taken in the Fort and Batteries at Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812.

Iron ordnance—9 twenty-four pounders, 8 twelve-pounders, 5 nine-pounders, 3 six-pounders. Brass ordnance—3 six-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 1 three pounder, 1 eight-inch howitzer, 1 five and half inch ditto.—Total of ordnance, 33.

Felix Troughton,
Lt. Com. Royal Artillery.

N. B. No time to take an inventory of ordnance stores, &c. and no return could be procured from the American officer.

Proclamation by Isaac Brock, Esq. Major-General, commanding His Majesty's Forces in the Province of Upper Canada, &c.

Whereas the territory of Michigan was this day, by capitulation, ceded to the arms of His Britannic Majesty, without any other condition than the protection of private property; and wishing to give an early proof of the moderation and justice of His Majesty's Government, I do hereby announce to all the inhabitants of the said territory, that the laws heretofore in existence shall continue in force until His Majesty's pleasure be known, or so long as the peace and safety of the said territory will admit thereof; and I do hereby also declare, and make known to the said inhabitants, that they shall be protected in the full exercise and enjoyment of their religion, of which all persons, both civil and military, will take notice, and govern themselves accordingly. —All persons having in their possession, or having any knowledge of any public property, shall forthwith deliver in the same, or give notice thereof to the officer commanding, or Lieut.-Col. Nicholl, who are duly authorized to receive and give proper receipts for the same.—Officers of Militia will be held responsible, that all arms in possession of the militia-men be immediately delivered up, and all individuals whatever who have in their possession arms of any kind will deliver them up without delay.—Given under my hand, at Detroit, this 16th day of August, 1812, and in the 52d year of His Majesty's reign.

Isaac Brock, Major-Gen.

SUBLIME HUMBUG.

Of all the instances, in which the people of England have been deceived as to the events of the war, the most complete is recorded in the following documents; to wit,

1st, An article published in the London Courier of the 7th of Oct. 1812; 2d, An Extraordinary Gazette, published by the Government on the same day, with Lord Cathcart's Letter; 3d, three Articles from St. Petersburgh, published in the Courier of the same day; 4th, Two Russian Bulletins relating to the battle of *Mojaisk* (or Brodino); 5th, Two French Bulletins, giving an account of the same battle, and of the arrival of Napoleon in Moscow.

No. I.

A great Victory gained by the Russians!!

——A very different account, thank Heaven! is given of this battle from that communicated in the French Bulletin. The Russians claim a signal victory, and have celebrated it at Petersburgh by the discharge of 101 guns, and by TE DEUM, at which all the Royal Family assisted. They report that Davoust was killed, and Murat and Ney taken. The 18th Bulletin informed us that "Davoust had received no injury," but said nothing of Murat and Ney having been taken; nor did it make the slightest mention of any French Generals made prisoners, though we have no doubt there were. Buonaparté *confessed having had six Generals killed, and seven or eight wounded.* Montbrun or Caulincourt, who were killed, may have been mistaken for Davoust.

No. II.

The London Gazette Extraordinary.

Foreign Office, Oct. 7, 1812.—A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from his Excellency Viscount Cathcart, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of the Emperor of All the Russias.

St. Petersburgh, Sept. 13, 1812.

My Lord,—I am most happy in having to begin my correspondence from St. Petersburgh, by announcing that the arms of his Imperial Majesty have been victorious in a most obstinate and general action, fought on the 7th September, at the village of Brodino, between Mojaisk and Tjate, on the great road from Smolensk to Moscow.——It appears that Buonaparté had concentrated his forces after the affair of Smolensk.——Prince Koutousoff, on his part, had selected a position, and had established his forces in its vicinity.——On the 4th September the enemy made a reconnoissance in force, and was driven back with loss.——On the 5th September, the French attacked the left, and were repulsed with considerable slaughter, both in the action and in the retreat, and with the loss of seven or eight pieces of ordnance.——On the 6th September nothing of consequence took place; but Prince Koutousoff brought up his reserves, completed his dispositions, and added several intrenchments and batteries on his left.——On the 7th September, under cover of a thick mist, the French again attacked the left with great impetuosity, and with all the means and successions of fresh troops that they have hitherto employed in their most desperate exertions.——They were received by the divisions of grenadiers belonging to the left wing, commanded by Prince Bagration; and the centre of the Russian line having in its turn attacked the mass directed against the left, the affair became general.——Prince Koutousoff dates his dispatch from the field of battle.——The enemy are stated to have covered their retreat by the Wirtemberg infantry, and by large corps of cavalry.——General Platow, however, with the Cossacks, followed them, and killed or took great numbers.——The enemy retreated upwards of thirteen versts. I have detained this dispatch two days, in expectation of further events, and of a more detailed report; but as letters have been received as late as the 9th September, I have thought it expedient to transmit, in its present form, the account of an affair which must for ever add lustre to the military achievements of this empire, and which, though it may not be decisive, must at least prove a most important feature in the history of this war.——I have seen letters from distinguished officers of great experience; they consider this as by far the most dreadful and destructive engagement they ever witnessed, infinitely beyond that of Prussian Eylaw.——Several General Officers have been wounded, besides those named, and the loss of officers of other ranks is stated to have been in proportion to that of the men. I have not heard the Russian loss estimated at less than 25,000 men.——The loss of the French should be infinitely greater, because of the pursuit, and because the fire of their artillery ceased at an early hour, while that of the Russians continued as long as the guns could be brought to bear.——The new raised troops from Moscow were brought up, and appear to be perfectly efficient. Those who were

engaged behaved well. The right was not much called upon; and of the Guards one battalion only is stated to have sustained any loss.——Reports have been received of the junction of the head of the army from Moldavia with General Tormazoff's corps, which, with another corps, consisting of several divisions, which has joined that officer, will amount to an army of eighty thousand men, of the best description.——The corps of eighteen thousand men which embarked at Helsingfors, has landed at Revel, and is by this time near Riga, which will lead to an immediate reinforcement of General Wittgenstein's corps.——Too much praise cannot be given to the national spirit which animates all ranks of the Russians, especially those properly so called, and the most sanguine expectations which were formed of their conduct have been exceeded.——It appears that much reliance was placed by Buonaparté on the effects of his attempts *to introduce French principles, and a popular cry of emancipation and liberty; but that they have been received as an artifice to destroy their liberty and their religion;* and it is very confidently asserted, that he has given very strong marks of indignation against those upon whose reports of the disposition of the people he relied.——I have enclosed herewith translations of the Bulletins of the affairs of the 5th and 7th September, new style.——The accounts of the battle of the 7th reached the Emperor early on the morning of his name-day, which is always celebrated with religious and other ceremonies, and illuminations. *His Imperial Majesty immediately sent an Aid-de-Camp to notify it to me;* and after divine worship in the Cathedral, in presence of their Imperial Majesties and the whole Court, an officer was ordered to read the Bulletin aloud, which gave the populace an opportunity of expressing their exultation.——A corps of militia, of ten thousand men, received their colours this morning, and are to march in two days from hence.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CATHCART.

No. III.

St. Petersburgh, Aug. 30, *O. S. (Sept.* 11*).*

We have, thank God! glorious news from the interior. No news of the battle is published yet, and consequently we cannot discriminate what is official from what is only report. Certain it is, that a general and bloody battle was fought on the 26th, O. S. (7th Sept.) not very far from Moscow, in which the whole of the two grand armies were engaged, and the enemy's completely defeated. It is said the image of the VIRGIN MARY was brought from the Cathedral of Moscow, and placed in front of the Russian army before the battle. General Koutouzoff and all his officers then pledged themselves, by a solemn oath, to conquer or die. This ceremony operated on the Russian army like electricity, and the attack instantly commenced, with an impetuosity beyond all example. The slaughter of the enemy is said to be immense, and he was already driven fifteen wersts from the field of battle, when the dispatch was sent off, which was done before any account of the number of killed, wounded, and prisoners could be made up, that the account might reach the Emperor yesterday, being St. Alexander's day.——This intelligence arrived just as the Imperial Family were going to church, and it may easily be imagined with what grateful feelings the TE DEUM (always sung on that day) was celebrated.——The victory was announced to the public by the discharge of 101 great guns from the citadel, and the town illuminated in the evening. ——It is said that Davoust is among the killed, Murat and Ney among the prisoners.

St. Petersburgh, 12*th Sept. N. S.*

At ten o'clock a Courier had arrived from Prince Koutouzoff, dated 111 wersts in the neighbourhood of Mojaisk, that he had been attacked by the French at Borodina, and, in a general engagement, the French were repulsed at all points, leaving 25,000 killed and wounded, and 16,000 prisoners. The official Bulletin was expected to be printed every moment, and it was with difficulty they could make the Russians take any prisoners. When the Courier had left the field of battle, the Russians had broken through the centre of the French army, which retired precipitately three wersts, and Platoff was in pursuit with the Uhlans and Cossacks.——This is the report of the Minister to the people. The important victory was announced by the firing of guns from the citadel.

St. Petersburgh, Sept. 13.

This moment has been published the official account, that General Koutouzoff has totally defeated the French, and taken 20,000 prisoners, among whom are the Viceroy of Italy and Marshal Ney. Davoust is dead.——Another account says,

that the battle was fought 20 wersts from Moscow, on the (27th ult.) 8th Sept. It is said that Murat is among the prisoners. ——Various other letters from St. Petersburgh have been received; they all agree that the result of the battle was in favour of the Russians. It is stated in some of them that the French lost 100 pieces of cannon. One of them concludes with observing, that the rejoicings at St. Petersburgh on account of the victory was excessive; he says he could not write for the roaring of cannon.

No. IV.

(Translation.)—Bulletin A.

Prince Koutouzoff, General of Infantry, Commander in Chief of all the armies, reports to his Imperial Majesty as follows, from the village of Brodino, under date of the 6th September ——After my last most humble report to your Imperial Majesty, in which I announced that I was waiting the attack of the enemy in the position of Brodino, the 5th September, the enemy directed a very strong force against our left flank, which was commanded by Prince Bagration Observing the impetuosity with which the main force of the enemy threw themselves upon this point, I judged it necessary, in order to fix his attack, to direct it against the heights, which had been previously fortified. The engagement lasted, with great obstinacy, from two o'clock until very late at night; and your Majesty's troops displayed on that day the bravery which I had observed from my first joining the army The second division of cuirassiers being obliged to make its second attack in the dusk, particularly distinguished itself, and in general all the troops, so far from losing an inch of ground, defeated the enemy on every side, with much greater loss than they sustained themselves eight guns were taken, of which three, being rendered totally useless, were left on the field ——Many officers deserve to be individually named to your Majesty, a list of whom I shall forthwith have the happiness of transmitting, for the present I confine myself to giving your Majesty a precis.

(Translation.)—Bulletin B.

General Prince Koutouzoff, Commander in Chief of the armies, makes most respectfully to his Imperial Majesty the following report from the field of battle at the village of Brodino, the 8th of September.

Since my report of the attack which the enemy had made on the 5th instant, with a considerable force upon the left flank of our army, nothing of importance was undertaken against us during the whole of the 6th. But yesterday, at day-break, that is to say, about four o'clock in the morning, the enemy, availing himself of the foggy weather, again directed the whole of his forces against our left flank.——The battle became general, and lasted until night. the loss on both sides is great; that of the enemy, to judge from his terrible attacks upon our fortified position, must greatly have surpassed ours. Your Imperial Majesty's troops fought with incredible valour. The batteries passed from the possession of one party to that of the other, and the result was, that the enemy, with his superior force, has, in no one part, gained an inch of ground. I remained at night master of the field of battle. So soon as I shall have recruited my troops, supplied my artillery, and augmented my forces by reinforcements from Moscow, I shall, trusting in the assistance of the Almighty, and the incredible valour of the army, see what I can undertake against the enemy.——Prince Bagration, to our great regret, has been wounded in the foot by a ball. Lieutenant Generals Toutschkoff, Prince Gortschakoff, Major-Generals Buchmsteff, Counts Woronzoff and Kretoff, have been wounded. We have taken from the enemy some prisoners, some guns, and a General of Brigade. It is still night; and I have not been able to procure any more details ——His Imperial Majesty, in acknowledgment of the distinguished services of the General of Infantry, Prince Koutouzoff, has been pleased to appoint him Marshal General, and to grant to him 100,000 roubles, and also five roubles to each soldier who has had a share in this memorable battle.

No. V

Eighteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.—Mojaisk, Sept. 10, 1812.

On the 4th the Emperor set out from Ghjat, and encamped near the post of Gritneva.——The 5th, at six o'clock in the morning, the army put itself in motion. At two in the afternoon, we perceived the Russians formed with their right upon Moskwa, the left upon the heights on the left bank of the Kologha. At 1,200 toises in advance of the left, the enemy had begun to fortify a fine height, between two woods, where they had placed 9 or 10,000 men. The Emperor having reconnoitred

it, resolved not to lose a moment, and to carry this position. Orders were given to the King of Naples to pass the Kologha, with the division Compans and the cavalry. Prince Poniatowski, who had marched on the right, was in a condition to turn the position. At four o'clock the attack commenced. In one hour the enemy's redoubt was carried, with the cannon; the enemy's corps driven from the wood, and put to flight, leaving the third part on the field of battle. At seven in the evening the firing ceased.——On the 6th, at two o'clock in the morning, the Emperor surveyed the enemy's advanced posts: the day was passed in reconnoitring. The enemy were in a position much contracted. Their left was weakened by the loss of the position on the day before; backed by a large wood, supported by a fine height, crowned by a redoubt, planted with twenty-five pieces of cannon. Two other heights, crowned with redoubts at 100 paces from each other, protected their line, as far as a large village which the enemy had destroyed, to cover the ridge with artillery and infantry, and to support the centre. Their right extended behind the Kologha, in the rear of the village of Borodino, and was supported by two fine heights, crowned with redoubts, and fortified with batteries. This position appeared strong and favourable. It was easy to manœuvre, and to oblige the enemy to evacuate it, but that would have been renouncing our object, and the position was not judged sufficiently strong to render it necessary to avoid fighting. It was easy to perceive that the redoubts were but half formed, the fosse shallow, and neither palisaded nor defended with chevaux-de-frise. We reckoned the enemy's force at about 120 or 130,000 men. Our forces were equal, but the superiority of our troops was not doubtful.——On the 7th, at two in the morning, the Emperor was surrounded by the Marshals in the position taken the evening before. At half past five o'clock, the sun rose without clouds: it had rained the preceding evening. "This is the sun of Austerlitz," said the Emperor. Though but the month of September, it was as cold as a December in Moravia. The army received the omen. the drum beat, and the following order of the day was read:——"Soldiers! there is the field of battle you have so much desired! henceforth victory depends on you: it is necessary to us: it will give us plenty, good quarters for the winter, and a speedy return to your country. Behave yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, Vitepsk, at Smolensk; and that the latest posterity may speak of your conduct this day with pride—that it may say of you, 'He was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow.'—At the Imperial Camp, on the heights of Borodino, 7th Sept. three o'clock *a. m.*"——The army answered with reiterated acclamations. The ground on which the army stood was spread with the dead bodies of the Russians killed the preceding day.——Prince Poniatowski, who was on the right, put himself in motion to turn the forest on which the enemy rested his left. The Prince of Eckmuhl marched on the skirt of the forest, the division Compans at the head. Two batteries of 60 cannon each, commanding the enemy's position, had been constructed in the night.——At six o'clock, General Count Sorbier, who had armed the battery on the right with the artillery of the reserve of the guard, commenced the fire, General Pernetty, with thirty pieces of cannon, put himself at the head of the division Compans (4th of the 1st corps), who skirted the wood, turning the head of the enemy's position. At half past six General Compans was wounded; at seven the Prince of Eckmuhl had his horse killed. The attack advanced; the musketry commenced. The Viceroy, who formed our left, attacks and carries the village of Borodino, which the enemy could not defend; that village being on the left bank of the Kologha. At seven the Marshal Duke of Elchingen put himself in motion, and under the protection of sixty pieces of cannon, which General Foucher had placed the evening before against the enemy's centre, bore upon the centre. A thousand pieces of cannon spread death on all sides.——At eight o'clock the positions of the enemy were carried, his redoubts taken, and our artillery crowned his heights. The advantage of position which the enemy's batteries had enjoyed for two hours, now belonged to us. The parapets which had been occupied against us during the attack, were now to our advantage. The enemy saw the battle lost, which he thought had only commenced. A part of his artillery was taken; the rest was withdrawn to his lines in the rear. In this extremity he attempted to restore the combat, and to attack with all his masses those strong positions which he was unable to protect. Three hundred pieces of French cannon placed on these heights, thundered upon his masses, and his soldiers died at the foot of those parapets which they had

raised with so much labour, and as a protecting shelter.——The King of Naples, with the cavalry, made various charges. The Duke of Elchingen covered himself with glory, and displayed as much intrepidity as coolness. The Emperor ordered a charge of the front, the right in advance; this movement made us masters of three parts of the field of battle. Prince Poniatowski fought in the wood with various success.——There still remained to the enemy his redoubts to the right. General Count Morand marched thither, and carried them; but at nine in the morning, attacked on all sides, he could not maintain himself there. The enemy, encouraged by this advantage, made his reserve and his last troops advance to try his fortune again. The Imperial Guards formed a part of them. He attacked our centre, which formed the pivot to our right. For a moment it was feared that he might carry the village which was burnt; the division Friant advanced thither: 80 pieces of French cannon immediately arrest, and then annihilate the enemy's columns, which stood for two hours in close order under the chain-shot, not daring to advance, unwilling to retire, and renouncing the hope of victory. The King of Naples decided their uncertainty. He caused the 4th corps of cavalry to make a charge, who penetrated through the breaches which our cannon-shot had made in the condensed masses of the Russians, and the squadrons of their cuirassiers; they dispersed on all sides. The General of Division, Count Caulincourt, Governor of the Emperor's Pages, advanced at the head of the 5th regiment of cuirassiers, overthrew every thing, and entered the redoubt on the left by its gorge. From this moment there was no longer any uncertainty. The battle was gained. He turned upon the enemy the 21 pieces of cannon which were found in the redoubt. Count Caulincourt, who had distinguished himself in this fine charge, has terminated his career. He fell dead, struck by a bullet; a glorious death, and worthy to be envied.—— It was now two in the afternoon; the enemy had lost all hope; the battle was ended, the cannonade still continued; the enemy fought for retreat and safety, but no longer for victory.——The loss of the enemy is enormous; from 12 to 13,000 men, and from 8 to 9,000 Russian horses, have been counted on the field of battle: 60 pieces of cannon and 5,000 prisoners have remained in our power.——We have had 2,500 killed, and thrice that number wounded. Our total loss may be estimated at 10,000 men; that of the enemy, at from 40 to 50,000. Never was there seen such a field of battle. Out of six dead bodies, there were five Russians for one Frenchman. Forty Russian Generals were killed, wounded, or taken; General Bagration was wounded.——We have lost the General of Division Montbrun, killed by a cannon-ball; General Count Caulincourt, who was sent to occupy his place, was killed by a shot of the same kind, an hour afterwards.——The Generals of Brigade Compere, Plauzanne, Marion, and Huart, were killed; seven or eight Generals were wounded, the most of them slightly. The Prince of Eckmuhl has received no injury. The French troops covered themselves with glory, and displayed their great superiority to the Russian troops.——Such, in a few words, is a sketch of the battle of Moskwa, fought a few leagues in the rear of Mojaisk, and twenty-five leagues from Moscow, near the little river Moskwa. We fired 60,000 cannon-shot, which are already replaced by the arrival of 800 artillery carts, which passed Smolensko previous to the battle. All the woods and villages from the field of battle to this place are covered with dead and wounded. We have found here 2,000 killed or amputated Russians. A number of Generals and Colonels are prisoners.——The Emperor was never exposed; neither the foot nor horse guards were engaged, or lost a single man. The victory was never uncertain. Had the enemy, when driven from his intrenchments, not endeavoured to retake them, our loss would have been greater than his; but he destroyed his army by keeping it, from eight o'clock till two, under the fire of our batteries, and in obstinately attempting to regain that which was lost. This was the cause of his immense loss.——Every one distinguished himself. The King of Naples, and the Duke of Elchingen, were peculiarly conspicuous.—— The artillery, and particularly that of the guards, surpassed itself. The actions which have rendered this day illustrious shall be made known in detailed reports.

"Monsieur Bishop of ——, the passage of the Niemen, of the Dwina, the Borysthenes, the combats of Mohilow, of the Drissa, of Polotsk, of Ostrowno, of Smolensko, and, in fine, the battle of Moskwa, furnish so many respective reasons for addressing thanks to the God of armies; our will, therefore, is, that on receiving this present letter, you concert measures with those to whom it of right belongs. Assemble my

people in the churches to chant prayers, conformably to the usage of the Church in similar circumstances. This letter having no other object, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.——From our Imperial quarters at Mojaisk, the 10th of Sept. 1812.

"By the Emperor, NAPOLEON.

"The Minister Secretary of State,
"Count Daru."

Report to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

Sire,—The result of the examination of the prisoners, of whom the greater part are ignorant recruits, or men taken before the close and off the field of battle, as well as almost all of them wounded with bullets, and the greater part dying, has afforded me the following information with regard to some divisions of the enemy's army.—1st. The 12th division, forming part of the 7th corps, composed of the infantry regiments of Smolensko, Narva, Alexopol, and New Ingria, as well as of the 6th and 41st regiments of foot chasseurs, and commanded by Major-General Palitzin, who had succeeded General Kulbakin, wounded at Mohilow, received its recruits, which were drawn from depots, and brought up by Miloradowitz on the 3d instant, in consequence of which the regiments of infantry were raised to 800 each, and the chasseur regiments to 1.200, which makes the strength of this division to have amounted, before the battle, to 4,800 men, exclusive of two companies of artillery, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, from 6 to 12 pounders.——On the day of the battle of the 7th of September, this division was stationed in the centre of the first line. About two in the afternoon it had already sustained great losses, and was in want of ammunition. A Lieutenant of the regiment of Alexopol, named Peter Voronin, who, having been sent to the reserve to demand more, lost his way among the brush-wood, and was taken after the retreat of the army, declares, that General Rajewsky, commanding the corps d'armée, received a severe contusion, which obliged him to quit the field of battle, and that the General in Chief, Prince Bagration, was wounded. All the prisoners of this division agree in stating, that it lost more than half of its number; that its confusion was complete at the time of its retreat; and that it owed its safety solely to Platow and Uvaroff, who covered it. Those of the 41st chasseurs say, that there scarcely remained 50 men to each company.——2d. The 1st division of grenadiers, consisting of the grenadiers of the body guard, of St. Petersburgh, Ekaterinoslay, Taurida, Pawlowski, and Arakschezeff, commanded by Count Strogonoff, and forming part of the 3d corps d'armée, was on the extremity of the left, in the rear of the battery, where it suffered considerably by the fire of the artillery; it was flanked by two squadrons of cuirassiers, which equally suffered without being brought into action. The respective strength of these grenadier regiments amounted, before the battle, to from 8 to 900 men.——Their loss is estimated at one-third, which they ascribe to the cowardice of the officers, who abandoned their ranks, and concealed themselves in the brush-wood.——Two regiments of chasseurs attached to this division, which were stationed in advance, were dispersed; their loss is unknown.——A soldier, named Gregoriot de Pskow, who has served for nine years in the regiment of St. Petersburgh, declares, that he never saw his regiment give way as it did on this occasion. He says, that before the battle, Gen. Koutouzoff rode along their line, and harangued his troops, which, however, did not produce much effect. This man adds, that he heard Major Dalin, the commandant of his regiment, say, that about mid-day Beningsen had gone 40 versts beyond Mojaisk, to prepare there the means of defence: he believes that he went to Little Viasma.——It was not known what had become of Tutsckow, the Commander in Chief of the 3d corps, or of the 3d division of Kanowitzin, which formed part of it.——3d. The 2d division of grenadiers, consisting of the regiments of Astracan, Fanagoria, Kioff, Moscow, Little Russia, and Siberia, commanded by Prince Charles of Mecklenburgh, and forming part of the 8th corps of Borosdin, was stationed on the 5th of September at the great redoubt, which was taken on the same day, and where it lost its cannon, a Colonel, and more than the half of its men. The regiments of this division were quite full on arriving at Smolensko; but they had not more than 1,000 each on the 5th, before the action; and numbered not more than from 7 to 800 each, on the morning of the 7th, when they were in the village which they were charged to defend, in advance of the batteries of the left flank. It was at this time that the Prince of Mecklenburgh was wounded.——4th. The 2d corps of Bagavout had manœuvred on the 6th and 7th, in order to advance to the left of the line, to support the 3d corps. All

the prisoners assert, that not one half of it returned to Mojaisk.——The musketeer regiments of Minsk, Tobolsk, Volhynia, and Krementschug, as well as the 4th and 34th chasseurs of the 4th division, commanded by the Prince of Wirtemburg, amounted to 800 men each; and after the battle, none of them could muster 400: it was the same with the regiments of Raizan, Beloserskyi, Biesk, and Wilmanstradt, as well as the 30th and 48th chasseurs of the division of Alsoufieff.——A subaltern of the regiment of Raizan, named Prohoroff, declares, that his Colonel, Avens, was killed; and that during the retreat, he saw on the bank of the river, the General in Chief Tutsckow wounded, as well as the Colonel of the grenadiers of Moscow. This corps had few officers killed, but many wounded. ——5th. The 24th division of the 6th corps, which was stationed in the grand central battery, mustered after the battle only 30 men each company, though two days before they amounted to 100 each in the regiments of Shirwansk, Butinkas, Usa, and Tomsk; while the companies of the 19th and 40th chasseurs amounted to 115 men each, by means of recruits drawn from Novogorod Sewersky. ——6th. The 2d division of the guards, composed of the Ismailoff and Lithuanian regiments of grenadiers, and of two chasseur regiments of the guards, and of Finland, under the orders of General Lawroff, were stationed in line in the rear of the three batteries on the left of the centre. These regiments suffered considerably from the artillery; but that of Ismailoff having advanced with the bayonet, was so vigorously charged by the cavalry, that not more than 40 men of each company were left to it. General Krapowitski, commanding a brigade, and the Colonel of the regiment of Ismailoff, were there wounded.

SOKOLNICKI, Gen. of Division,
Charged with a special service.

Mojaisk, Sept. 10, 1812.

Nineteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army. Moscow, Sept. 16.

After the battle of the Moskwa, the French army pursued the enemy upon Moscow, by the three routes, Mojaisk, Svenigorod, and Kalouga.——The King of Naples was on the 9th at Koubinskoe, the Viceroy at Rouza, and Prince Poniatowski at Feminskoe. The head-quarters were on the 12th transferred from Mojaisk to Peselina; on the 13th they were at the castle of Berwska; on the 14th, at mid-day, we entered Moscow. The enemy had raised on the Sparrow Mountain, two wersts from the city, some redoubts, which he abandoned. ——The city of Moscow is as large as Paris; it is an extremely rich city, full of palaces of all the nobles of the empire. The Russian Governor, Rostapchin, wished to ruin this fine city when he saw it abandoned by the Russian army. He had armed 3,000 malefactors, whom he had taken from the dungeons; he also summoned together 6,000 satellites, and distributed arms among them from the arsenal.

Our advanced guard, arrived in the centre of the city, was received by a fire of musketry, which issued from the Kremlin. The King of Naples ordered a battery of a few pieces of cannon to be opened, dispersed this rabble, and took possession of the Kremlin. We have found in the arsenal 60,000 new muskets, and 120 pieces of cannon on their carriages. The most complete anarchy reigned in the city; some drunken madmen ran through its different quarters, and every where set fire to them. The Governor Rostapchin had caused all the merchants and shopkeepers to be carried off, through whose instrumentality order might have been re-established. More than 400 French and Germans were arrested by his orders; in fine, he had taken the precaution of carrying off the firemen with the fire-engines; so that the most complete anarchy has desolated this great and fine city, and the flames are devouring it. We have found in it considerable resources of every kind. The Emperor is lodged in the Kremlin, which is in the centre of the city, like a kind of citadel, surrounded by high walls. Thirty thousand wounded or sick Russians are in the hospitals, abandoned, without succour, and without nourishment.

The Russians acknowledge that they lost fifty thousand men in the battle of the Moskwa. Prince Bagration was mortally wounded. A list has been made of the Russian Generals wounded or killed in the battle: it amounts to between forty-five and fifty.

Twentieth Bulletin of the Grand Army. Moscow, Sept. 17.

The Russians have celebrated *Te Deum* for the battle of Polotsk. *Te Deums* have been sung for the battles of Riga, for the battle of Ostrowno, and for that of Smolensko. According to the Russian accounts, they were every where conquerors, and they drove the French to a great distance

from the field of battle. It was then, amidst the strains of the Russian *Te Deums*, that the army arrived at Moscow. There they thought themselves conquerors, at least the populace thought so, for well-informed persons knew what was passing.——Moscow is the *entrepot* of Asia and of Europe. Its warehouses were immense; every house was provided for eight months with necessaries of every description. It was only the evening before, and the day of our entrance, that the danger became known. We found in the house of the miserable Rostopchin some papers, and a letter half written; he fled without finishing it.——Moscow, one of the finest and richest cities in the world, is no more. On the 14th the Russians set fire to the Exchange, to the Bazar, and the Hospital. On the 16th a violent wind arose. Three or four hundred ruffians set fire to the city in 500 different places at the same moment, by order of the Governor Rostopchin. Five-sixths of the houses were built of wood; the fire spread with a prodigious rapidity; it was an ocean of flame. Churches, of which there were 1,600—above 1,000 palaces, immense magazines, nearly all have fallen a prey to the flames. The Kremlin has been preserved.——Their loss is incalculable for Russia, for her commerce, and for her nobility, who had left all there. It is not over-rating its value to state it at many milliards.——About 100 of these incendiaries have been apprehended and shot: all of them declared that they acted under the orders of Rostopchin, and the Director of the Police.——Thirty thousand sick and wounded Russians have been burnt. The richest commercial houses in Russia are ruined. The shock must be considerable. The clothing, the magazines, and the equipments of the Russian army have been consumed. They have thus lost every thing; they would remove nothing, because they always thought it impossible for us to reach Moscow, and because they were willing to deceive the people. When they saw all in the hands of the French, they conceived the horrible project of destroying by fire this first capital, this holy city, the centre of the empire; and they have reduced to beggary 200,000 respectable inhabitants. This is the crime of Rostopchin, executed by felons liberated from the prisons. The resources which the army had found are consequently much diminished; however, we have collected, and are still collecting a number of necessaries. All the cellars are untouched by the fire, and the inhabitants, during the last twenty-four hours, saved many articles. They endeavoured to stop the progress of the flames, but the Governor had taken the horrid precaution to carry off or destroy all the engines.——The army is recovering from its fatigues; it has abundance of bread, potatoes, cabbages, and other vegetables, meat, salted provisions, wine, brandy, sugar, coffee, and, in short, provisions of all sorts.——The advanced guard is twenty wersts on the road to Kassau, by which the enemy is retreating. Another French advanced guard is on the road to St. Petersburgh, where the enemy has not a single soldier.——The temperature is still that of autumn; the soldiers have found, and continue to find, a number of pelisses and furs for the winter. Moscow was the depot of those articles.

RUSSIAN BULLETINS.

Official Intelligence from General Barclay de Tolli, dated Umolze, 9, (21) Aug. 1812.

After my last official report to your Imperial Majesty, very important events have taken place respecting the positions of the army.——On the 3d (15th) August, a report was received from Major-General Newerauskye, that the enemy, who advanced in great force towards Krasnow, had pushed on his advanced guards to Lady; in the mean time I also received information that Napoleon had left Witepsk, and concentrated his whole force near Balomoutzchy, Orocha, and Dubrowna.——In consequence of this, it was immediately determined that the 2d army should march to Smolensk, and after uniting all its corps on the left bank of the Dnieper, halt. The 1st army was to approach Smolensk, or act offensively, should the enemy divide his forces. On the night of the same day Lieutenant-General Rajewski reported that Major-General Newerauskye, after having been attacked by a superior force, had found himself under the necessity of retreating, after having suffered considerable loss, and that he was only 7 wersts from Smolensk. All the other accounts agreed in stating that the enemy with his whole force were passing to the left bank of the Dnieper, in consequence of which, without loss of time, I immediately put the army in motion, and in the night of the 4th (16th) arrived near Smolensk, just as the enemy were making a heavy attack on

Lieut.-General Rajewski's corps. This affair has already been made known to your Majesty by the Commander-in-Chief of the 2d army, and serves as a new proof of the invincible courage of your Majesty's troops.—Having ascertained that the enemy concentrated their whole force at one point, and had even drawn Prince Poniatowski's corps to their assistance, it was to be supposed, his real intention was to anticipate us in Dorogubush, or any other point by which he might obtain possession of the Moscow road. Taking this into consideration, we determined, together with Prince Bagration, that the 7th army should occupy Smolensk, and remain on the right bank of the Dnieper, and by that means cover the march of the 2d army to Dorogubush. In the night between the 4th and 5th (16th and 17th) this plan was executed.——The 6th corps, to which was attached the 3d division of infantry, took possession of Smolensk and all the outposts.——The 2d army, which put itself in motion on the same night, took its position 15 wersts from Smolensk, and sent the irregular troops towards Jilnœ and Rosbowl to observe the enemy. Meanwhile the enemy concentrated their whole force, and brought 150,000 men against Smolensk.——On the 5th (17th), at one p. m. they attacked our troops, who were drawn up on the road from Krosno and other points round Smolensk, but after an engagement, which continued without intermission for three hours, they were repulsed at every point. At 5 p. m. after bringing a strong column of their forces, and an uncommonly numerous artillery forward, they attacked the city in every direction, but all their efforts and endeavours were vain; although they drove back our advanced troops even to the ruins of the walls of Smolensk, and appeared determined to storm the city, our valiant troops not only defeated them back to such a distance, that at night our advanced guards were placed without the walls. The attack of the enemy was very impetuous, but they received their recompense in their loss, which was so incredibly great that ours bear no proportion to it, although we had 4,000 killed or wounded.——Our intention in defending Smolensk was to arrest the enemy, and prevent their arrival at Jilna and Dorogubush, and thereby give Prince Bagration time to arrive, without opposition, at the latter place; the further defence could have been no longer useful, but only on the contrary have occasioned the loss of our valiant soldiers; for which reason, after having successfully repulsed a severe attack, I determined, in the night between the 5th and 6th (17th and 18th) to leave it; but still keeping possession of the suburbs, called St. Petersburgh, and with the whole army take possession of the heights opposite Smolensk, and to appear as if waiting their attack.——The enemy, after garrisoning the town, skirmished the whole day with our Yagers, who were posted in the suburbs of which during the whole evening; they attempted to take possession, but were constantly driven back. Nevertheless, during the night they succeeded in throwing a bridge across above the suburbs and in repairing the old one in the suburbs.——At 7 p. m. when no further attack from the enemy was expected, a part of the army which formed the 2d column of the 2d and 3d corps of the cavalry, and 5th and 6th of infantry, and a part of Major-General Newerowkye, under General Docktorow, put themselves in motion, and continued their march through Sakilena, Bisklow, &c. At 9 p. m. the first column, consisting of the 2d, 3d, and 4th divisions of infantry, and of the first four of reserve of cavalry, under the command of Lieut.-General Kutusow, marched by the way of Krachatschens, Gedonow, &c. to the high road of Dorogubush, but the troops under the command of Major-General Baraskorf who garrisoned the Petersburgh suburbs, marched on the 7th (19th) two hours after midnight, and formed the rear-guard of the front column. ——General Platow detached part of his light troops, and formed a chain of detachments from Smolensk to Porilschiji, in such a manner, that we could approach with both columns to the Dnieper, and that these detachments should approach each other and form a mass, which could be freely used on all sides. On the retreat of Major-General Korf, at three p. m. the enemy began to pursue, and at the same time detached a great part of his troops in the high road to Moscow, and scarcely had the 2d corps passed the village of Gidennowo, where the road divides, one of which leads to Moscow, and the other to Bridichens, to which the first column marched when the enemy drove back the rear-guard, which was on the high Moscow road, and whilst they were furiously advancing to take possession of those points which the rear-guard of Major-General Korf's division had to pass. To prevent any danger to this General's detachment, which co-

vered the retreat of the army on the main road, and was still at six wersts' distance from the second corps, I ordered Major-General Prince Wirtemberg to defend this post with some troops of the 4th division, and the necessary quantity of artillery, till Major-General Korf should arrive with his detachment. Notwithstanding the immense superiority of the enemy, the Prince of Wirtemberg kept possession of this post till Major-General Korf, with his detachment, joined him, and then protected our retreat.——The enemy, who did not succeed in this operation, now began to force Major-General Korpon's corps, which we posted along the great road to Moscow, and to pass troops from the left to the right of the Dnieper, above his position, to become masters of the points which lead to the great road before the arrival of the 2d corps. The 3d and 4th corps were already drawn up in order of battle at this place, but in order to detain the enemy, the advanced guard, under Major-General Tutschkow, was sent against them.——It was already four wersts from the high road, on which the 2d division of cavalry and Major-General Korf's detachment must pass. Not long after, Major-General Tutschkow was much pressed by the enemy, and was supported by the 3d and 4th divisions of cavalry, in order to assist in repelling the furious attacks of the enemy.——At six, p. m. the enemy attacked Major-General Tutschkow with their whole force, consisting of Davoust's, Ney's, a part of the Viceroy of Italy's, and with the cavalry of the King of Naples' corps, endeavouring, by every possible exertion, to drive him from his position. In the mean time, Major-General Korf's detachment, and the second corps arrived on the high road, from whence I also sent a part of the troops to support General Tutschkow. This action, which lasted from one, p. m. till ten at night, was hot and bloody. Your Majesty's troops acted most gallantly, and notwithstanding the immense superiority of the enemy, kept possession of this, to us, most important point.——Our loss on this day, is very considerable, but that of the enemy greatly exceeds it. We had cavalry attached to our left flank, which, notwithstanding the superior number of the enemy's cavalry, repulsed several desperate charges. At one o'clock of the morning of the 8th (20th) the army put itself in motion, taking the direction of Solowjewo, whence yesterday a part of the troops had passed the Dnieper, and the remainder today.——The whole army will take a position in the road, half way to Dogorobush, where the 2d army yesterday arrived. The greater part of the irregular troops are on the right bank of the Dnieper, and keep up the communication with the detachment of Adjutant-General Baron Winzengerode, who has been ordered to take post at Duchawischteschine.——In these different engagements we have taken 500 officers and soldiers prisoners, and the irregular troops have during the same time made 800 prisoners.

From General Barclay de Tolli, dated the 26th August.

After dispatching my most submissive report to your Majesty on the 9th (21st) August, I received information that the enemy had crossed to the right bank of the Dnieper with his whole force, below Smolensk, and sent forward part of the 4th corps under the Viceroy of Italy, towards Duchowochtschina, and was, with the remainder, in pursuit of the Army under my command. The rear was on the 9th under the necessity of retreating entirely to the passage of the Dnieper by Soloujow. The first army, which on the evening of the 9th, marched out, the following morning took a position near the village of Uswat, on the right bank of the Usha, after having strengthened the rear-guard under General Platow, and commanded him to detain the enemy as much as possible. On the 23d a small alteration was made in our positions. The 2d Army, which had marched from Dorogobush, took a position on the left wing of the 1st Army, leaving behind it a strong detachment of infantry and cavalry near Dorogobush, on the right bank of the Dnieper, under the command of Major-General Newerouske. In the mean time both rear-guards had joined, and at every step detained the enemy, nor did they retreat towards Uswat till the evening of the 23d.——The enemy approached, reconnoitred our position, and endeavoured to turn our left flank, whilst they approached from the side of Duchowochtschina towards Dorogobush, and appeared so near that Prince Bagration feared being cut off from the road to Julna, by which, in case of misfortune, he must retreat. At night, between the 11th and 12th (23d and 24th) both armies retreated on the road to Dorogobush.——The 2d corps took a position on the right bank of the Dnieper, and Major-General Newe-

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:—"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday 'at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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TO THE

FREEHOLDERS OF HAMPSHIRE.

Letter I.

Gentlemen,

To those of you who were present at the Castle of Winchester, on the 13th instant, I ought to offer an apology for addressing upon many of the topics, on which I am now about to address you; but, as many of the Freeholders were not present upon that occasion, it appears to me necessary to repeat, in substance, much of what I then had the honour to address to the county assembled; and, with regard to those of you who were present, I owe the re-assertion and the proof of certain facts, which were stated by me, and which were denied by *Mr. George Rose*. I propose also to take this opportunity of clearly explaining to you the meaning of what has recently been published, in a letter of Sir Francis Burdett and in a letter of the Marshal of the King's Bench, relative to certain emoluments, said to be received, by the Chief Judge of the Court of King's Bench, Lord Ellenborough, and which, for obvious reasons, must be considered as not only a very interesting, but also as a very important subject.

Gentlemen, as to the meeting at Winchester, and the proceedings thereat, it will be borne in mind, and especially by the sons and daughters of corruption, FIRST, that there was a larger meeting than any man had ever before beheld at Winchester, not only upon such an occasion, but upon any occasion; SECOND, that every possible exertion had been made by the other candidates to assemble together persons to prevent, by all possible means, my voice from being heard; THIRD, that, in spite of these pre-concerted measures, I did obtain a hearing during more than an hour and a half with very little interruption; and that, FOURTH, I had, upon a show of hands, so great a number, that it was thought and asserted by many respectable gentlemen, that the show was decidedly in my favour. For my own part, I sincerely thought so, and I made a representation to the High Sheriff accordingly. He, however, had determined otherwise; and, I am far from supposing, that he did not decide according to the best of his judgment. I confess that the point was a nice one; but, I remain firmly convinced, that the majority, by the view, was for me. And, here, gentlemen, I beg you to bear in mind, that, so far from any exertions having been made to draw people together in support of me, I had not asked one single soul to vote for me, not even the tradesmen in this village, who work for me constantly, though I was apprized of their having been canvassed, on behalf of the other candidates, by a Mr. EYRE, of Landford, in Wiltshire, of whose conduct and motives I shall speak more at large upon a future occasion, and whose success, in this instance, was certainly not such as to encourage him in the pursuit of such practices.

It has, Gentlemen, always appeared to me, that, to canvass individually, especially where the person canvassed is employed by, or is a tenant of, the person canvassing, or is, in any shape, within the reach of his power, is not only a very mean, but a very base act. I do, in short, look upon it as an act of *corruption* of the worst kind; and, therefore, I have heard, with no common degree of indignation, of a Land-owner at Southampton, who, in consequence of some of his tenants having, in opposition to his requisition, voted for Mr. Chamberlayne, has given those tenants *notice to quit*. This is an act of baseness for which a man ought to be held in universal abhorrence: he endeavours first to induce men to vote contrary to their consciences; he does all that lies in his power to induce them to take a false oath; and, being unable to accomplish this detestable purpose, being unable thus to corrupt the objects of his temptation, he, in the most foul way, punishes them for their virtue.

But, Gentlemen, I beg to impress *it* upon your minds, that no apology can be offered for a tenant, who is, out of fear of his landlord, induced to give *his* vote contrary to the dictates of his own conscience. The voting at an election is a *duty*, which the

Freeholder has to perform. "That duty he owes to *his country*; and, if he does not perform it for *the good* of his country, he is guilty, at the very least, of neglect of a sacred duty." He is called upon to give his voice for the men whom, in his conscience, he believes to be most likely to be faithful representatives of the people; and, if he obey the dictates of his *interest* rather than the dictates of his *conscience*, he is, at once, a *corrupt* and a *perjured* man. He is guilty of wilful corruption and wilful perjury, if he give his vote for a man whom he does not believe will be a faithful representative of the people, a resolute guardian of their liberty and their property.

Tenants, I now address myself particularly to you; and, I beg you to consider the real character in which you appear, if you give your votes at the dictation of your landlords, and not according to your own consciences. You are as ready as any body to talk about *rotten boroughs*, and to rail against the corrupt wretches who inhabit them, and who notoriously sell their votes. But, softly with your railing! Examine into your own conduct, and see in what it differs from the conduct of those despicable men. I, for my part, have no hesitation to say, that, if any one of you give your vote at the request of your landlord, or with a view of continuing his tenant, or with that of securing any indulgence from him, you are more blamable, and more despicable, and more perfidious towards your neighbours and your country than any caitiff voter in a rotten borough. He acts a much more manly part than you; he boldly takes the bribe into his hand; you take it slyly, in the shape of abated rent, or in some other shape. No, you will say, "I *take* nothing; I merely *oblige* my landlord." Ah! you would fain cheat the world with this paltry juggle; but you will not succeed. You vote to *oblige* your landlord; yes, but *why* do you wish to oblige him? The reason is, and the reason must be, that you, by obliging him, hope to continue his tenant, or to receive some sort of indulgence from him: in plain English, you give your vote for the sake of GAIN; and, what does the bribed scoundrel of the rotten borough do more than this? The difference is, that his gain consists of money counted down, while your's comes to you in the profits of the house or land that you rent. You, therefore, are bribed as well as he; you are not less guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury than he; and, to all his sins you add the odious and loathsome sin of hypocrisy, while your landlord is guilty of corruption and of subornation of perjury; so that the transaction leaves you, a couple of wretches meriting the execration of all honest men.

In resuming my address to you, the freeholders in general, I should endeavour to lay before you a true picture of the state of our country, and to show you, that, unless we make immediate exertions to put down corruption, the total ruin of England is certain and at hand; but, lest I should not have room, I must begin with calling your attention to the points in dispute between MR. GEORGE ROSE and myself, and to the other important topic noticed at the beginning of this letter.

I told you, in the presence of Mr. Rose, that he and his sons had received 300,000 pounds of the public money. This Mr. Rose positively denied. But, Gentlemen, I re-asserted the fact, and I am now about to give you the proof in detail. Mr. Rose himself has, with the exception of about three years, been in some office or other, at the rate of not less than £4,000 a year for the last 26 or 28 years; he has had a sinecure office worth £4,946 a year ever since the month of February, 1783. The date of the grant is stated in a report laid before the House of Commons in February, 1802, and the amount is stated in a similar report of June, 1810. From the last-mentioned report, it appears, that the Right Honourable Gentleman has possessed, for *forty-two years*, another sinecure place, worth £400 a year. His son, William Stewart Rose, has a sinecure place worth £2,137 a year, according to a report laid before the House of Commons in June, 1808. In 1795, the active sturdy Old Gentleman obtained a grant in reversion of his great sinecure, to his son, G. Henry Rose, for the life of the latter. The date of the grant to W. S. Rose is not stated. Now, then, let us see how the account stands.

	£.
1st. Sinecure since 1783, at 4,946*l.* a year, 29 years. Principal and interest . . .	220,302
2d. Sinecure for 42 years, at 400*l.* a year. Principal and interest	53,200
Sinecures . . .	273,502
3d. Salary for 26 years, at 4,000*l.* a year	104,000
	377,502

I need go no further. There is no doubt in my mind, that the other sinecure would

amount to, at least, 50,000 pounds more; but, I pass it over, as well as the value of the *reversion* to the member for Southampton, which is not worth less than about £50,000, in addition to the former sums. I told you, that I included the *interest* on the sinecures; and certainly upon the fairest possible ground; because Mr. Rose has had the *use* of the money for the average of the 29 years, for instance, instead of its being used by the people who have paid it him in taxes, and in whose hands it would have been productive, if it had not gone into his hands. Suppose, for instance, that a hundred of you have paid taxes, out of which the amount of this sinecure has been taken. In that case, he has, in this one sinecure, received from each of you £30 a year during the last 29 years; and, if the said £30 had remained with you, I need not tell you to what it would have amounted by this time. Therefore, in estimating his gains, you must take into view, the accumulating interest of the money he has received. I have, however, not done this in the case of his *salary;* for, though I do not see any reason for his having received a quarter part so much, it was as a *salary* that he received it; and, at any rate, I wish always to keep within the bounds of truth in the statements that I make to the public.

Now, Gentlemen, you will be able to judge between "the Right Honourable "George Rose" and me; you will be able to judge which of us is most entitled to credit. I told you, that, in principal and interest, he and his sons had received £300,000 of the public money; and, I have shown you, that, notwithstanding his positive denial of the fact, he *himself*, leaving out of sight his *patronage*, has received £377,502, upwards of two-thirds of which sum he has received from *sinecure offices.* And yet, he had the assurance, the matchless impudence, to put it to you, whether he had not as *good a title* to what he had thus received *as I had to the profits of my writings!* Aye, and I dare say, that he thinks he has as good a title to his £273,502 pounds, the profit of his sinecures, as any of you have to the profits of your farms or your shops. This is, however, all in character; and, indeed, when a man has, for so many years, been huzzaed by the people of a county, while his pockets have been crammed in this way, he may well entertain a contempt for their understandings. Upon this occasion, however, he seems to have presumed too much upon your supposed ignorance and servility. The hootings and hissings which saluted his ears on the 13th of October will be remembered by him to his last breath. I counted the hats that were raised for him when he retired, and I would willingly make oath, that, out of the eight or nine thousand persons present, only seven raised their hats to express their approbation of him, one of whom was a person whom I have since discovered to be COX (Greenwood's Cox) the *army agent!* This disapprobation of Mr. Rose was perfectly voluntary. I had collected no persons. I had requested nobody to be present. The people came, as far as they were for me, of their own accord. It was impossible that any undue influence should prevail on my side. Therefore, the hootings, the hissings, the scoffings, all the marks of hatred and of contempt, with which the Right Honourable Gentleman was received, were the pure effect of the feelings of the county.

Reserving some further observations on the conduct of Mr. Rose for a future letter, I now beg leave to call your attention to the point in dispute between SIR FRANCIS BURDETT and the MARSHAL OF THE KING'S BENCH, with regard to certain sums of money received, or said to be received, by the Chief Judge of the King's Bench, LORD ELLENBOROUGH. In the course of my address to you, at Winchester, I took the liberty to refer to a letter, lately addressed to the Electors of Westminster by Sir Francis Burdett, and it must have stung our enemies to the soul to hear the shouts of applause with which that name, so dreadful to corruption, was received.

In the letter, to which I referred you, there is, however, an assertion respecting the Chief Judge above-mentioned, which has been flatly and even solemnly *contradicted* by a Mr. JONES (of whose rise and progress more hereafter), who calls himself, and who, doubtless, is, "*Marshal of* "*the Prison of the King's Bench.*"

Gentlemen, this is a matter deeply interesting to you and to the whole nation. All men should, when they speak seriously, speak truth, and especially when they are preferring accusations; and, though I must confess, that it would be extremely mortifying to me to be obliged to show that Sir Francis Burdett's zeal had, in such a case, carried him beyond the limits of truth; yet, I am quite sure, that even my respect for him would not induce me to shrink from my duty. In his reputation we are all

deeply interested; and, therefore, we should neglect nothing that may tend to give us correct notions with regard to every part of his public conduct.

There is, Gentlemen, *an assertion* by Sir Francis Burdett, with regard to Lord Ellenborough; and a *denial* by Mr. Jones, in defence of that Judge. But, the better to understand the whole matter, we will first take the entire paragraph of Sir Francis's letter, containing the assertion; and, after having made the necessary remarks, in the way of explanation, we will take the entire letter of Mr. Jones, and then see, from authentic documents, which is true, *the assertion*, or *the denial*.

The paragraph, in Sir Francis's letter, is as follows:——"Gentlemen, it is often "affirmed that the savings in our power to "make from sinecures and pensions would "afford no relief to the people; let us take "a few out of the numerous instances. The "House of Commons itself, in sheer places "and pensions, swallows as much as would "give fifty shillings a year to 71,224 fa- "milies; would this be nothing? would it 'not be felt by the people? Lord Arden, 'brother to the late Minister, with rever- 'sion to the late Minister himself, receives 'from his sinecures £38,574 a year; this 'is the exact sum stated; but, it is said, 'that he has besides, immense sums aris- 'ing from interest. Here is support all "the year round, at 12 shillings a week, for more than a thousand families. The same may be said for the family of Grenville. The Duke of Grafton's sinecures and pensions would maintain half as many; and, in short, it is in this way the nation is impoverished and reduced to misery. THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE ELLENBOROUGH, BESIDES 'HIS SALARY, RECEIVES IN SINE- 'CURES £8,993 A YEAR, BESIDES 'HAVING OFFICES TO SELL, AND 'PARTICIPATING IN THE EMOLU- 'MENTS OF HIS OWN JAILER. 'The sinecures of the Chief Justice would 'keep three hundred families. Mr. Gar- 'nier, the Apothecary General, has a clear '£12,000 a year, according to his own 'acknowledgment. Besides the sums given 'to the Princes out of the Droits of the 'Admiralty. The King's private pro- 'perty in the funds exempted from the In- 'come Tax; and Mr. Addington (the maker and the breaker of the Treaty of Amiens), in 1801, misapplying upwards of £50,000 (voted for the Civil List), as a Loan to the Duke of York, only a "small part of which has been repaid, and "that without interest. What noble ex- "amples they set us of making sacrifices! "and for reconciling the people to their "sufferings, from the weight of the taxes, "and the distresses of the times!"

Now, Gentlemen, suffer not yourselves to be heated by this statement; but, bring your minds cool and impartial to the great point relative to the Chief Judge, Ellenborough. Upon this point I shall make *no assertion of my own*; nor will I offer any *opinion* touching it. I will simply lay before you such facts as I happen to be in possession of; and I will take no facts which I do not draw from authentic records.

Sir Francis says, that the Chief Judge of the King's Bench, Ellenborough, besides his *salary*, receives in *sinecures*, £8,993 a year. We will inquire into this before we proceed any further. The salary is £5,500 a year; but Sir Francis talks of *sinecures*; and, Gentlemen, upon this point, Sir Francis is not quite correct; for he has stated the amount of these sinecures to be LESS than what it really is; that is to say, if the official documents that I am about to quote are not erroneous; for, according to them, the proceeds of Lord Ellenborough's sinecures are as follows:

	£.
1st. As *Chief Clerk* in his own Court, stated in a report to the House of Commons, moved for by Lord Cochrane, and dated 29th of June, 1808	7,591
2d. As *Clerk of the Errors*, for filling which office a person receives 100*l*. a year . . . . . This is stated in a report printed by order of the House of Commons, 18th June, 1811,	2,103
3d. Out of the Seal Office, as stated for the year 1810, in the last-mentioned report	281
Total of Sinecures, as stated in the Parliamentary Reports	9,975
Total, as stated by Sir Francis Burdett	8,993
Under statement by Sir Francis Burdett	982

But, Sir Francis goes on, and says, that the Chief Justice has OFFICES TO SELL! And, further, that he partici-

pates in the emoluments of his own Jailer!

Now, as touching OFFICES TO SELL, I do find recorded, in a report laid before the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed on the 15th of June, 1810, the following facts; that Lord Ellenborough, under his own hand, acknowledges to be *saleable* by the Chief Justice, the following offices: 1st, the office of Chief Clerk; 2d, that of Custos Brevium; 3d, that of Filacer Exigenter and Clerk of the Outlawries; that these three offices are, in the said last-mentioned report said to produce a receipt as follows, upon an average of years:

	£.	s.	d.
Chief Clerk	6,280	18	6
Custos Brevium . . .	2,019	7	4
Filacer, &c.	5,104	16	9
	£13,405	2	7

But, the persons filling these offices APPOINT TO OTHER OFFICES. Mind that! The *appointments* and the *yearly receipt* are, in the said report, stated as follows:

		£.	s.	d.
Chief Clerk appoints	Clerk of the Declarations .	194	0	0
	Clerk of Common Bails, &c.	229	3	10
	Clerk of the Dockets . .	851	1	6
	Clerk of the Rules on the Plea side	3,363	11	
	Clerk of the Papers on the same side	1,580	0	11
		£6,237	17	10
Custos Brevium appoints	Clerk of inner Treasury .	325	15	5
	Clerk of outer Treasury .	158	19	6
	Clerks of Nisi Prius .	1,750	15	9
	Bagbearer	85	10	0
		£2,321	0	8
Total of offices saleable by the Chief Judge, and of offices in the appointment of those who hold the saleable offices		£21,964	1	1

Thus, then, the offices, which Lord Ellenborough (in a letter inserted in the report before mentioned) states to be *directly* saleable, amount in their yearly receipt to the sum of £13,405, and odd, and then the holders of those offices appoint others to offices, worth the rest of the £21,964. Lord Ellenborough does not, it appears, *sell* the office of *Chief Clerk*: he keeps that in the trust of others for his own appointment; and, of course, he, as holding the office of Chief Clerk by the means of Trustees, appoints the second set of offices, which, as we see, bring in £6,237 and some odd a year; and, as the Chief Justice may sell the office of Custos Brevium, he may, of course, include in the worth of it, *the worth of the offices*, whose possessors are appointed by the Custos Brevium; and it is expressly stated in the report, that the offices held under the appointment of the Custos Brevium are considered to be *saleable*.

Well, then, Gentlemen, you are now very competent to judge of the assertions of Sir Francis, as to the *salary*, the *sinecures*, and the *saleable offices*, of the Lord Chief Justice. There now remains only the JAILER'S EMOLUMENTS, in which Sir Francis is represented as having said that Lord Ellenborough participates. The words are; that Lord Ellenborough, "besides his salary, receives in sinecures, "£8,990 a year, besides having offices "to sell, and PARTICIPATING IN "THE EMOLUMENTS OF HIS OWN "JAILER." To this last assertion it is, that Mr. WILLIAM JONES, Marshal of the King's Bench, has given a flat denial, in a Letter, which has been published, apparently, in all the London news-papers, and of which the following is a copy, as published in the TIMES news-paper.

"*To the Editor of the Times.* SIR,— "It is a duty I owe to Lord Ellenborough, "to the public, and to myself, to contra-"dict, in the most express and unequi-"vocal terms, an unreserved and groundless "assertion made by Sir Francis Burdett, "in his Address to the Electors of West-"minster, published in *The Times* of the "3d instant. On that occasion, he peremptorily accuses the Lord Chief Jus-"tice of the King's Bench, of *unduly* par-"ticipating in my official emoluments, *as* "*Marshal of the Prison of that Court.* I "accordingly declare, with all the *solem-*"*nity suited to a public asseveration of this* "*serious nature*, that *no one does partici-*"*pate, or ever has participated, with me,* "*in any way whatever, in the advantages* "*or benefits which I derive from my situa-*"*tion;* and that, consequently, the charge "made by Sir Francis Burdett, as al-"ready expressed, *is wholly without foun-*"*dation.*——I hold my office by the espe-"cial appointment of the King, under His "Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, according "to an Act of the 27th of George II., "whereby the power of granting the office "of the *Marshal of the King's Bench* is "vested in the Crown; and, in the lan-"guage of the instrument by which I have "been nominated to it, with all its pro-"fits, perquisites, privileges, and ad-

"vantages; in which, I re-assert, *no one* "*has ever participated with me.*——The "public refutation of such a charge, so "boldly made, is a duty which it becomes "me to perform, and I trust I have now "performed it.——I am, Sir, your very "obedient servant,

"Wm. JONES, *Marshal.*

"*King's Bench, Oct.* 10, 1812."

When you have well attended to the meaning of this Letter, Gentlemen, you will be so good as to attend to what I am now about to lay before you. Mr. Jones says, that Sir Francis accused Lord Ellenborough of UNDULY participating. This, as you will have observed, is not true. Sir Francis talks merely of his *participating*, without expressing any opinion as to the nature of the act. Therefore, here, at any rate, Mr. Jones is wrong. But, now to the real, substantial merits of the case. In a report, laid before the House of Commons, on the 18th of June, 1811, I find the following passage, containing minutes of Evidence, given before a Committee of the House, by this very Mr. William Jones, Marshal of the King's Bench.

"WILLIAM JONES, Esq., Marshal "to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench; "called in; and examined.——Are you "not Marshal to the Chief Justice of the "King's Bench?——I executed the office "*in the name of* Mr. EWAN LAW at "first, and afterwards in the name of Mr. "WILLIAM LAW.——(The witness "delivered in the following paper, which "was read.)——The office of Marshal to "the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of "King's Bench, has been executed by W. "Jones ever since Lord Ellenborough's "appointment to the office of Chief Jus-"tice; part of the time in the name of "Ewan Law, Esq., and the remainder in "the name of William Law, Esq. Wil-"liam Jones has *been allowed a salary of* "*£200 a year for executing the office*, and "has received and ACCOUNTED FOR "ALL THE FEES TO THE LORD "CHIEF JUSTICE, which for five years "have amounted yearly, (exclusive of W. "Jones's salary,) as follows, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
In 1805	839	8	7
1806	725	14	2
1807	771	5	6
1808	731	4	4
1809	830	0	4

Average, per annum, £780.

3d *April*, 1811. W. JONES.

"Under *what authority* do you pay over "these fees to the Lord Chief Justice of "the King's Bench?——Because I con-"ceive the Lord Chief Justice entitled to "them.——"WHY do you conceive the "Lord Chief Justice is ENTITLED TO "THE FEES OF AN OFFICE NOT "HELD BY HIMSELF?——He has the "*appointment* of the office, and if he "chooses to appoint A RELATION to it, "who receives the fees, he accounts for it "TO HIS SON; his son was NOT OF "AGE at the time it was executed in "Ewan Law's name; his son was under "age, but HE RECEIVED IT FOR HIS "SON; his son now being of age, I ex-"ecute it in the NAME OF HIS SON; "and my office requires a great deal of at-"tendance and a great deal of labour. "All the records are entered by me, and "abstracted for the Judge against the "Cause comes on. I attend him too upon "the circuit, and it is necessary he should "have a person to assist him upon that "occasion. I execute the office FOR "THE SON, now he is of age, and have "an order to execute the office for him as "his deputy.——Do you receive that or-"der from the *son himself*, or *from Lord* "*Ellenborough?*——FROM LORD EL-"LENBOROUGH; the son is ABROAD "now, or I should have it from himself. "——AND YOU CONSIDER THE "SON TO BE THE MARSHAL OF "THE KING'S BENCH?——YES, I "DO; I hold myself ANSWERABLE "TO THE SON, who is the officer, but "I PAY IT TO LORD ELLENBO-"ROUGH *in trust for the son.*——You "have neither salary nor emolument of "any kind beyond the £200 a year you "have spoken of?——None at all; last "year, on account of the number of Causes, "must be a little more than that; but I "believe with that it will not average "£800 a year. I sent my return, as "Marshal of the King's Bench last year, "to the Judges.——DO YOU AC-"COUNT FOR ANY PART OF THE "PROFITS YOU DERIVE FROM "THE OFFICE OF MARSHAL OF "THE KING'S BENCH?——I do NOT "account for a halfpenny to any person, "and it is an office of great risk."

Gentlemen, judge now for yourselves. People of England, judge now between Sir Francis Burdett and this Mr. Jones. I will add but a few words by way of explanation. Mr. Jones sometimes calls himself the *Marshal of the King's Bench*,

and, at other times, *Marshal of the King's Bench Prison;* but he no where calls himself a JAILER; while Sir Francis Burdett does call him a Jailer, in pointing him out as the person with whom the Lord Chief Justice participates in emoluments. You, Gentlemen, will be able to decide what weight ought to be given to this distinction, suppose the word *Jailer* to differ essentially in meaning from the word *Marshal*, as used in the present instance; but, I will just show you what is the real nature of Mr. Jones's office, taking my description from the Law Dictionary itself: "MARSHAL OF THE KING'S BENCH, who "hath the *custody of the King's Bench* "*Prison* in Southwark. This officer gives "attendance upon the Court, and *takes* "*into his custody all prisoners* committed "by the court; he is FINEABLE FOR "HIS ABSENCE; and NON-AT-"TENDANCE IS A FORFEITURE OF "HIS OFFICE." And yet Mr. Jones is, in the report above quoted, said to have asserted, in evidence, that the son of the Chief Justice, while an *infant*, and while *abroad*, was the *Marshal of the King's Bench!*

I shall say no more. Judge you for yourselves, Gentlemen, between Sir Francis Burdett and the person who has accused him of promulgating falsehood. But, I cannot let pass this occasion of expressing my hope, that all those, who have published the Letter of Mr. Jones will, at least, publish the above Evidence given by himself on the subject.

In my next I shall crave your attention to matters appertaining more exclusively to this county; and, in the mean while I remain your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 22d October, 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

RUSSIAN BULLETINS.

Official Intelligence from General Barclay de Tolli, dated the 26th August, 1812. —(*Continued from page* 510.)

rouske joined the 2d army, but as this advantage offered no benefit, and as the enemy were pressing hard on our rear, both armies retreated in three columns on the road to Wisma. On the 13th (25th), the 2d corps was in Komuschkrena; the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th in Tschulsua, and the 2d army in Bashona. The rear-guard of the 1st army remained within two wersts of Dorogobush, till nine at night, and the enemy annoyed them with a cannonade, and during the night retired 15 wersts. On the 14th, the 2d corps arrived at Afanassjero, and the 1st army at Simmewo; the 2d army at Lushkan; the vanguard remained at the same place as the previous day. The detachment of Major-General Baron Winzengerode remains at Pritschesty, between Duchouschene; Major-General Krasnolo is, with three regiments, on the high road from Wasma to Duchousechene.——I have the honour to inform your Majesty, that after the enemy had taken possession of Dorogobush, he followed the first army with his whole united force, and on the next day our rear-guard was vigorously attacked near Simechy: the action was warm, and lasted seven hours. Both armies, which marched in three columns, formed a junction near Weasma, where the position was so unfavourable, that I was obliged to take another near the village of Zarewosa, where I remain with both armies, waiting the enemy's attack.——My advance guard is eighteen wersts in advance. In this position the two armies were yesterday found by the Commander-in-Chief Prince Golineschischew Kutusow, on whose dispositions the further movements of these armies depend.——General Meloradowitsch with his troop yesterday approached Gstealsk.

* * *

Report of Lieutenant-General Count Wittgenstein, dated Sokolitschtscha, Sept. 3.

After my last report of the 16th of Aug. nothing took place with the enemy. He is still in the same intrenchments near Polotsk, and suffers dreadfully by hunger and loss of men in consequence. Fifty men desert from him every day.——The Commander-in-Chief of all the armies, Prince Kutusow writes as follows from head-quarters, near the village of Brodino, Sept. 4. ——The position that I had chosen in the village of Brodino, 12 wersts in advance of Moshaisk, is one of the best to be found in the plain country; the weak points of this position, which are on the left flank, I shall endeavour to amend by art; it were to be wished that the enemy would attack us in this position, in which case I should have great hopes of victory; but should he, when he finds my position strong, manoeuvre on the roads leading to Moscow, I shall put myself in march, and take a position behind Moshaisk, where all these roads meet.——With respect to the enemy it is to be remarked, that for some days he has been very cautious, and when he moves

forward, he seems to do it as it were in fear.——Yesterday Colonel Prince Kudaschew, whom I had sent with 200 Cossacks, obliged the whole cavalry of the corps of Davoust and that of the King of Naples to remain sitting on their horses for some hours.——Yesterday the enemy did not advance one step.——To-day the advanced posts of our Cossacks are distant from me about thirty wersts, and the side roads are very carefully observed.——The corps of General Miloradowitsch has joined the army under my command.——To-morrow the Moscow armed force will arrive from Moshaisk.——Lieutenant-General Konownizyn now commands the rear-guard.——Nothing of importance has happened to this corps, and the enemy is held in great respect towards us.——Yesterday some officers and sixty men were made prisoners.——According to the reports of the prisoners, the 5th battalions of the French regiments are arrived; these are the last troops he expects to receive.

UPPER CANADA.—PROCLAMATION.

The unprovoked declaration of war by the United States of America against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and its dependencies, has been followed by the actual invasion of this province in a remote frontier of the Western District, by a detachment of the armed force of the United States. The Officer commanding that detachment has thought proper to invite His Majesty's subjects, not merely to a quiet and unresisting submission, but insults them with a call to seek voluntarily the protection of his Government. Without condescending to repeat the illiberal epithets bestowed in this appeal of the American Commander to the people of Upper Canada, on the Administration of His Majesty, every inhabitant of the province is desired to seek the confutation of such indecent slander in the review of his own particular circumstances: where is the Canadian subject that can truly affirm to himself, that he has been injured by the Government in his person, his liberty, or his property? Where is to be found, in any part of the world, a growth so rapid in wealth and prosperity as this colony exhibits?—Settled not thirty years by a band of veterans, exiled from their former possessions on account of their loyalty, not a descendant of these brave people is to be found, who, under the fostering liberality of their Sovereign, has not acquired a property and means of enjoyment superior to what were possessed by their ancestors. This unequalled prosperity could not have been attained by the utmost liberality of the Government, or the persevering industry of the people, had not the maritime power of the mother country secured to its colonists a safe access to every market where the produce of their labour was in demand.

The unavoidable and immediate consequence of a separation from Great Britain, must be the loss of this inestimable advantage, and what is offered you in exchange? to become a territory of the United States, and share with them that exclusion from the Ocean which the policy of their present Government enforces—you are not even flattered with a participation of their boasted independence; and it is but too obvious, that once exchanged from the powerful protection of the United Kingdom, you must be reannexed to the dominion of France, from which the provinces of Canada were wrested by the arms of Great Britain, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, from no other motive but to relieve her ungrateful children from the oppression of a cruel neighbour: this restitution of Canada to the Empire of France was the stipulated reward for the aid afforded to the revolted Colonies, now the United States; the debt is still due—and there can be no doubt but the pledge has been renewed as a consideration for commercial advantages, or rather for unexpected relaxation in the tyranny of France over the Commercial World. Are you prepared, Inhabitants of Upper Canada, to become willing subjects, or rather slaves, to the Despot who rules the Nations of Europe with a rod of iron? If not, arise in a body, exert your energies, co-operate cordially with the King's regular forces to repel the invader, and do not give cause to your children, when groaning under the oppression of a foreign master, to reproach you with having too easily parted with the richest inheritance of this earth—a participation in the name, character, and freedom of Britons.——The same spirit of justice, which will make every reasonable allowance for the unsuccessful efforts of zeal and loyalty, will not fail to punish the defalcation of principle; every Canadian Freeholder is by deliberate choice bound by the most solemn oaths to defend the Monarchy as well as his own property; to shrink from that engagement is a treason not to be forgiven; let no man suppose, that if, in this unexpected

struggle, His Majesty's arms should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, the province will be eventually abandoned; the endeared relations of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its commerce, and the pretensions of its powerful rival to repossess the Canadas, are pledges that no peace will be established by the United States and Great Britain and Ireland, of which the restoration of these provinces does not make the most prominent condition.——Be not dismayed at the unjustifiable threat of the Commander of the enemy's forces to refuse quarter should an Indian appear in the ranks. The brave bands of natives which inhabit this colony, were, like His Majesty's subjects, punished for their zeal and fidelity, by the loss of their possessions in the late colonies, and rewarded by His Majesty with lands of superior value in this province. The faith of the British Government has never yet been violated; they feel that the soil they inherit belongs to them and their posterity, protected from the base arts so frequently devised to over-reach their simplicity. By what new principle are they to be prevented from defending their property? If their warfare, from being different from that of the white people, is more terrific to the enemy, let him retrace his steps—they seek him not—and cannot expect to find women and children in an invading army; but they are men, and have equal rights with all other men to defend themselves and their property when invaded, more especially when they find in the enemy's camp a ferocious and mortal foe using the same warfare which the American Commander affects to reprobate.——This inconsistent and unjustifiable threat of refusing quarter for such a cause as being found in arms with a brother sufferer in defence of invaded rights, must be exercised with the certain assurance of retaliation, not only in the limited operations of war in this part of the King's dominions, but in every quarter of the globe; for the national character of Britain is not less distinguished for humanity than strict retributive justice, which will consider the execution of this inhuman threat as deliberate murder, for which every subject of the offending power must make expiation.

ISAAC BROCK, Maj. Gen. and President.
Head-quarters, Fort George,
22d July, 1812.
By order of his Honour the President,
I. B. GLEGG, Capt. A. D. C.
God save the King.

From the York Gazette, Tuesday, July 28, 1812.

Yesterday, at an early hour, his Honour Isaac Brock, Esq. President, administering the Government of Upper Canada, and Major-General commanding His Majesty's Forces therein, arrived at this place from Fort George; and accompanied by a numerous suite, proceeded to the Government Buildings at four *p. m.* when he opened the present Extra Session of the Legislature, and delivered the following Speech of both Houses:—

Hon. Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

The urgency of the present crisis is the only consideration which could have induced me to call you together at a time when public, as well as private duties elsewhere, demand your care and attention.

But, Gentlemen, when invaded by an enemy whose avowed object is the entire conquest of the Province; the voice of loyalty, as well as of interest, calls aloud to every person in the sphere in which he is placed, to defend his country.——Our militia have heard that voice, and have obeyed it; they have evinced, by the promptitude and loyalty of their conduct, that they are worthy of the King whom they serve, and of the Constitution which they enjoy; and it affords me particular satisfaction, that while I address you as Legislators, I speak to men, who, in the day of danger, will be ready to assist not only with their counsel, but with their arms.——We look, Gentlemen, to our militia, as well as to the regular forces, for our protection; but I should be wanting to that important trust committed to my care, if I attempted to conceal (what experience, the great instructor of mankind, and especially of Legislators, has discovered) that amendment is necessary in our militia laws to render them efficient.

It is for you to consider what further improvements they still may require.

Hon. Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

From the history and experience of our Mother Country, we learn, that in times of actual invasion or internal commotion, the ordinary course of criminal law has been found inadequate to secure His Majesty's Government from private treachery as well as from open disaffection, and that at such times its Legislature has found it expedient to enact laws, restraining for a

limited period the liberty of individuals, in many cases where it would be dangerous to expose the particulars of the charge; and although the actual invasion of the Province might justify me in the exercise of the full powers reposed in me on such an emergency, yet it will be more agreeable to me to receive the sanction of the two Houses.—— A few traitors have already joined the enemy, have been suffered to come into the country with impunity, and have been harboured and concealed in the interior; yet the general spirit of loyalty which appears to pervade the inhabitants of this Province, is such as to authorize a just expectation, that their efforts to mislead and deceive will be unavailing. The disaffected, I am convinced, are few—to protect and defend the loyal inhabitants from their machinations is an object worthy of your most serious deliberations.

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

I have directed the public accounts of the Province to be laid before you, in as complete a state as the unusual period will admit; they will afford you the means of ascertaining to what extent you can aid in providing for the extraordinary demands occasioned by the employment of the militia, and I doubt not but to that extent you will cheerfully contribute.

Hon. Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and dispatch in our Councils, and by vigour in our operations, we may teach the enemy this lesson, that a country defended by *free men*, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and Constitution, can never be conquered.

Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada.

Legislative Council, Saturday, Aug. 1.

This day, at two o'clock, his Excellency the Governor in Chief came down in the usual state, to the Legislative Council Chamber, and being seated on the Throne, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod was sent to command the presence of the Assembly, which being come up, the Hon. Speaker of the Assembly said,—

May it please your Excellency,

His Majesty's faithful subjects, the Representatives of the Province of Lower Canada, have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to facilitate the circulation of Army Bills."——Their loyalty, and the happiness of this Province, in being connected with and powerfully protected by the British Nation, are the basis of their Constitution, and the just grounds which gave rise to the formation of the militia, and the firm determination to defend this country against the unexpected and unjust war that the United States of America have recently declared; they are, therefore, under the greatest obligation to your Excellency for having confidently communicated to them his wise precautions on the means to ameliorate and ensure, for several years, the punctual payment of the army, by the circulation of bills, the reimbursement whereof is guaranteed in England. To give them greater credit, this bill limits the sum necessary, and moreover provides for the interest, the advantages accruing therefrom, and even for the entire payment of the principal in specie in this province, which has become expressly bound for the same, at a fixed period, to any person whatever, who, from the state of his private affairs, would prefer such payment.——In full confidence, that under the present and any unforeseen circumstances, your Excellency is vested with all necessary authority, the Representatives of this Province, and their constituents, rely on the wisdom already experienced of your administration; and in the name of the Commons of Lower Canada, I have the honour to present this Bill to your Excellency, humbly requesting thereto His Majesty's royal assent.——To which Bill his Excellency was pleased to signify the royal assent in the following words:—— "In His Majesty's name, I thank his loyal subjects, accept their benevolence, and assent to this Bill."——His Excellency was then pleased to address both Houses in the following speech:—

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

"I cannot close this session without assuring you, that I have observed, with great satisfaction, the assiduity and perseverance with which you have applied yourselves to the important business which, when I first met you, I recommended to your immediate consideration; and I hope and trust that the law which has been the result of your deliberation, will be found to answer the salutary end for which it is intended.

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

I return you my hearty thanks for the

supply you have granted me with so much cheerfulness to enable me to meet the exigencies of the times.

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

I most earnestly entreat you to use, in your several stations, your utmost endeavours to assist me in promoting the happiness of His Majesty's subjects in this Province, by encouraging amongst them a spirit of subordination and of active loyalty, as the most effectual means of ensuring the continuance of those blessings which the Dispenser of all Good hath so bountifully bestowed upon them. After which, the Honourable Speaker of the Legislative Council declared the Provincial Parliament to be prorogued to Tuesday, the 15th September next.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Quebec, Aug. 6, 1812.

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces announces with great satisfaction to the troops under his command, the capture of Fort Michilimackinac, on the 17th July last, by a detachment of the 10th Veteran Battalion, aided by a party of Canadian Voyageurs, led on by some Gentlemen of the North-west Company, the whole under the command of Captain Roberts. This service has been effected in a manner highly creditable to Captain Roberts and the Officers and men employed upon the occasion, and without the loss of a man.——The Commander of the Forces takes great pleasure in also announcing to the troops, that the enemy, under Brigadier-General Hull, have been repulsed in three attacks made on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of last month, upon part of the garrison of Amherstburgh, on the river Canard, in the neighbourhood of that place, in which attacks His Majesty's 41st regiment have particularly distinguished themselves. In justice to that corps, his Excellency wishes particularly to call the attention of the troops to the heroism and self-devotion displayed by two privates, who being left as sentinels when the party to which they belonged had retired, contrived to maintain their station against the whole of the enemy's force, until they both fell, when one of them, whose arm had been broken, again raising himself, opposed with his bayonet those advancing against him, until he was overwhelmed by numbers. An instance of such firmness and intrepidity deserves to be thus publicly recorded, and his Excellency thinks that it will not fail to animate the troops under his command with an ardent desire to follow so noble an example, whenever an opportunity shall hereafter be offered them.

Twenty-first Bulletin of the Grand French Army. Moscow, Sept. 20.

Three hundred incendiaries have been arrested and shot; they were provided with fuses, six inches long, which they had between two pieces of wood; they had also squibs, which they threw upon the roofs of the houses. The wretch Rostopchin had these prepared on the pretence that he wished to send a balloon, full of combustible matter, amidst the French Army. He thus got together the squibs and other materials, necessary for the execution of his project.——The fires subsided on the 19th and 20th; three quarters of the city are burned; among other palaces that beautiful one of Catharine, which had been newly furnished: not above a quarter of the houses remain.——While Rostopchin was taking away the fire engines of the city, he left behind him 60,000 muskets, 150 pieces of cannon, more than 600,000 balls and shells, 1,500,000 cartridges, 400,000lbs. of gunpowder, 400,000lbs. of saltpetre and sulphur. It was not till the 19th that the powder, saltpetre, and sulphur were discovered at a fine establishment, half a league from the city. This is a matter of importance; we are now supplied with ammunition for two campaigns. We every day discover cellars full of wine and brandy.——Manufactures were beginning to flourish at Moscow; they are destroyed. The conflagration of this capital will throw Russia 100 years back. ——The weather is becoming rainy; the greatest part of the army is in barracks in Moscow.

Documents subjoined to the Twenty-first Bulletin.

Printed Bulletin of the Governor General of Moscow—Without Date.

Our advanced guard is near Cjat; the post occupied by our troops is very strong, and His Highness the Prince intends giving the enemy battle. Our army is equal to his in number, and will receive, in the course of a few days, a reinforcement of twenty thousand men. Our troops are all Russian, all of the same religion, all un-

der one Sovereign. They fight for the Church of God, their homes, their wives, their children, and the tombs of their fathers. ' The enemy fights for bread,—should he lose a battle, he will be obliged to fly.——Some wounded soldiers have been brought in: they are lodged in the Palace Golovni. I have been to see them, have procured them food, and given orders with respect to their accommodation They have fought for you, you should not abandon them, but assuage their sufferings by your visits and conversation.——Administer to the support even of the convicts; they are our friends and the faithful subjects of our Sovereign. How is it possible to refuse them assistance?

Proclamation of the Governor General of Moscow, published Sept. 11, on the Evening previous to the Arrival of the Emperor.

Brethren,—Our numerous army will defend their country at the risk of their lives.——Let us prevent our perfidious enemy entering Moscow; not to second the efforts of our people with all our power, would be a crime.——Moscow is our mother—she has supported you; it is from her that you have derived your wealth.——I call upon you in the name of the Mother of our Saviour, to defend the temples of the Lord, the city of Moscow, and all Russia.——Arm yourselves, each man as he can, as cavalry and infantry; provide yourselves with bread for three days; assemble beneath the banner of the cross, and proceed as quickly as possible to the three mountains. I will be with you, and we will extirpate the wretch. Glory shall be the meed of those who may die in the contest; their grateful country will preserve the memory of those who die in the cause. Those who are indisposed to do so, shall receive retribution on the day of judgment.

Proclamation of the Governor-General of Moscow, Rostopchin.

It has been reported here that I have forbidden any one to leave the city. If that were the case, soldiers would be seen stationed at the barriers, and thousands of carriages of all kinds would not have egress on all sides. I am pleased that ladies and merchants' wives should avoid inconvenience by quitting the city,—the less fear the less danger; but I blame very much the husbands, brothers, and fathers of those women, who have accompanied them without any intention of returning. It is acting ill, if they think there is danger; and they load themselves with shame, if there be none.——I will answer it upon my life, that the enemy will not enter Moscow, and for this reason: in the armies there are 130,000 chosen men, 1,800 pieces of cannon, and His Highness Prince Kutusow has been chosen by the Emperor to command the whole army. In the rear of the enemy, the corps of Generals Tormassow and Pchitchagow amount to 85,000 chosen men, infantry and cavalry.——General Miloradavitsz has arrived from Kalougat at Mojaisk with 30,000 infantry, 3,800 cavalry, and 84 guns.——Count Markow will be there in the course of three days with 24,000 men, who will be followed by 7,000 more. There are at Moscow, Klin, Zavidow, and Podolsk, 14,000 infantry; if these troops should be insufficient to defeat the perfidious enemy, I will say to you, "Come, my Muscovite friends, let us too march; we will assemble 100,000 men; we will take the image of the Holy Virgin, and 150 pieces of cannon, and we will put an end to the business at once."——The enemy has 150,000 men of his own, and such as he has been able to collect. They are now feeding on horse-flesh.——This is what I have thought proper to communicate to you, in order that some of you may rejoice, and others become tranquil, particularly on account of the expected arrival of the Emperor in his faithful capital.——Read! it is easy to comprehend all—but draw no inferences from what I have communicated.

Printed Bulletin of the Governor-General of Moscow.

Sept. 12.—I shall proceed to-morrow to confer with His Highness Prince Kutosow, in order to adopt, in conjunction with him, such means as will lead to the extermination of your enemies.——We will deprive these guests of their lives, and send them to the devil.——I will return to dinner, and we will commence our operations to grind these perfidious wretches to powder.

NORTHERN WAR.

CONDUCT OF THE RUSSIANS.——*Intelligence from the Grand Army.—Paris, Oct. 13.*

Private letters from Moscow, of the 25th Sept. contain fresh details, the authenticity

of which we will guarantee, respecting the catastrophe which happened in that city, and which we hasten to publish at a moment when every thing that comes from the North excites the greatest interest.—— We could hardly have believed, that the burning of Moscow was the result of the first movement of despair, when the impossibility of arresting the march of the French Army, forced the Russians to abandon their ancient capital. That idea was so natural, that many persons had adopted it; and although it cannot justify the conduct of the Governor Rostopchin, it a little lessens the horror which the frightful image of an immense city given up to the flames by those hands who ought to have protected it naturally inspires. Now that certain facts, which admit of no doubt, proves that this fire has been beforehand conceived, that the means of destruction were leisurely combined by deliberate reflection, astonishment and indignation know no bounds. Never was a destructive combination better combined. The Agents of Rostopchin, that is to say, 5,000 banditti to whom he had opened the prison doors, proceeded with torches in their hands to the different parts of the city; to set fire to the houses and to render the fire more destructive, they observed from what side the wind blew, to burn all the buildings to windward. In many houses were found all sorts of combustibles, which, when discovered, our soldiers found impossible to extinguish. At the moment the soldiers made this discovery, they feared some might have been placed in the Kremlin, but the most minute researches proved the contrary. It appears that in their blind obstinacy, the enemy thought they could maintain themselves for some time in that fortress, from which a few cannon shots were sufficient to drive them. It was the prompt arrival of our troops which saved the Kremlin. All these facts explain how the fire began in buildings and uninhabited houses. The superb building of the Bank was almost entirely consumed before the iron gates could be penetrated, and an entrance made. What surpasses all belief is, that when the French presented themselves to arrest the progress of the flames, a single engine could not be found. The firemen had even been obliged to quit this unfortunate city, the inevitable destruction of which was calculated with a *sang froid* which makes humanity shudder. There now remains to us the painful task of relating a trait of barbarity, with which we could have dispensed, were it not necessary that Europe should know the character and manners of that people who have often been represented as civilized. A wretched man, named Wirtigen, had been imprisoned six months for having written that within six months the Emperor of the French would be in Moscow. Upon the first news of the arrival of the French, the Governor-General brought forth the prisoner, and without any judicial form, had him executed. Rostopchin took a horrible pleasure in insulting this unfortunate. "Thou hast announced," said he to him, "that the Emperor of the French would come to Moscow; if he comes, you will not see him." By a refinement of cruelty, Rostopchin sent for the father of the victim to be a witness of his punishment. Fortunately he had fled. After reading these horrible details, which will serve to form the opinion of all Europe respecting the events which have just passed at Moscow, and when one reflects upon the efforts made by the French army under the eyes of the Emperor, to save Moscow from total destruction, very opposite sentiments will be felt, and one will be convinced that true courage is always accompanied by clemency and generosity.——Our brave men will relax from their fatigues; they have found provisions for several months: they, without doubt, have not the same resources as if they were cantoned near a city of the first order; but what remains of Moscow, is, at least, as large as Brussels, and an exact idea of their situation may be formed, by supposing that the general head-quarters are in the latter town, and the troops cantoned in the neighbourhood. Since it is evident from every thing that has passed for some years, that the ambitious projects of the Russian Government, seconded by England, must necessarily bring about war between France and Russia, there is no Frenchman who, considering his country or children's interest, that ought not to congratulate himself that it has broken out under existing circumstances. Is it not fortunate for France and Europe, that their destinies are confided to the greatest Captain of the age, to the hero whose prudence equals his activity, who abandons nothing to chance, overcomes all obstacles, and seems by his genius, to enchain fortune and command events?

Paris, Oct. 11.—Several pieces, emanating from the Governor Rostopchin have already been joined to the last Bulletins.

There are some others from the same, which are not less curious from the singularity of style. We guarantee the authenticity of them.——No. 1. (The battle which is spoken of in this piece is that of the 5th, which preceded the battle of Moskwa; a battle in which the Russians lost a redoubt, some cannon, many men, and which was, in short, the prelude to their defeat.)

Bulletin of the Governor-General of Moscow, in which he announces the battle of Borodino.

Yesterday, August 24 (Sept. 5), the enemy attacked with superior forces our left wing, commanded by Prince Bagration, but they were every where repulsed, and retired with considerable loss. The battle lasted till the night was well advanced. The second division of cuirassiers particularly distinguished itself. We have taken five pieces of cannon, and many of the enemy prisoners. Our army still occupies the same position near the village of Borodino.——No. 2. (This piece, which is dated the 11th September, is relative to the battle of Moskwa.)

Bulletin of the Governor-Gen. of Moscow.

His Serene Highness Prince Koutouzoff, in order sooner to collect all the troops which were marching to join him, has left Mojaisk to occupy a fortified place, in which, it is probable, the enemy will not speedily present themselves. We are going to send to the Prince 48 cannons, with ammunition. He says, that he will defend Moscow to the last drop of his blood, and that he is prepared to fight even in the streets of this town. The tribunals have been closed; but that that may not trouble you, my friends, affairs must be put in order. We have no need of tribunals to proceed against scoundrels; if, however, they should be necessary, I will take young men from the city and country. In two or three days I will give the signal. Arm yourselves with hatchets and pikes; and if you will do better take three-pronged forks. To-morrow I will go and see the wounded in St. Catherine's Hospital; I will cause mass to be said, and the water blessed for their speedy cure. In respect to myself, I am well; one of my eyes was affected, but now I can see perfectly well with both.

(Signed) Count ROSTOPCHIN.

Moscow, 30th Aug. (11*th Sept.*)

No. 3.—(Here is another piece, in which the Governor announces a balloon which he had caused to be made. It was under the pretext of this balloon, that he collected a great quantity of fireworks and artificers to prepare the incendiary machines of which he made use to burn the city.)——*Advice from the Governor-General of Moscow* (it is without date, but it was published in the month of August). The Emperor has confided to me the care of constructing a balloon, which shall be sufficiently strong to carry fifty men; and which can be directed with or against wind. You will one day know what will result from this balloon, and you will rejoice at it; if the weather is fine to-morrow, or the day after, I will make trial of it at my own house, I inform you of it, that in seeing it you may not think it proceeds from the scoundrel. It is, on the contrary, made for his ruin.——General Platoff, supposing that his Majesty the Emperor was already here, arrived at Moscow, and immediately repaired to my house. He, to-night, departs for the army, in order to be in time for the battle, and sing *Te Deums.*

Extract from the Moscow Gazette.

Moscow, 23d July (4*th Aug.*) 1812.—The Commandant in Chief of the Russian army, Prince Koutouzoff, conformably to the duties of a Christian, went, the evening preceding his departure for the armies, to the metropolitan church of Kasan, to implore the aid of the All-powerful. After *Te Deum*, the priest gave to this great Captain of the Russian warriors a holy cross and some blessed water. After this he performed homage to a fine image of our Lady of Kasan, enriched with ornaments of gold. The celebrated man, penetrated with faith, having received this holy offering, suspended it to his neck, fervently imploring the benediction of the All-powerful, whilst the temple, filled with an immense concourse of people, shedding tears of joy and affection, blessed the Hero ready to set out. All lifted up with veneration towards heaven their wishes and benedictions for the sacred Monarch who had deigned to confide the conduct of the brave Russian warriors to that great man, so experienced in the art of war, and the true son of his country.——All hearts were filled with a firm confidence in the Russian armies.

Letter from the Commander of all the active Armies, to the Governor of Moscow, Count Rostopchin.

I have just learned with the most profound grief, that the reports spread respecting the operations of the army by ill disposed people destroy the repose of the inhabitants of Moscow, and throws them into despair. I very humbly entreat you, Count, to assure and state to them for certain, that our troops are not yet in that state of weakness in which they endeavour to represent them; on the contrary, all our warriors, not having yet tried a general battle, cannot have descended to such a degree of weakness; and animated by that spirit of bravery which is inherent in them, they wait with the utmost impatience the moment for sealing with their blood their devotion to the august throne and their country. All our movements have hitherto been directed to guarantee Moscow, the first capital. May the All-Omnipotent bless our undertaking! Such should be the prayer of all the children of Russia.——I beg you, Count, to assure all the inhabitants of Moscow, *by my grey hairs*, that hitherto we have never had a single affair with the enemy's advanced guard in which our troops have not had the advantage, and that if there has not been a grand battle, that has depended upon my Command in Chief.

From the Monastery of Kolotskoy, Aug. 21 (*Sept.* 2), 1812.

Report of the General in Chief, Koutouzoff, to his Imperial Majesty, from the village Chilin, dated Sept. 4 (16).

After the sanguinary though victorious battle fought by your Majesty's troops on the 26th ult. (Sept. 7), I was obliged to leave my position near Borodino, for reasons of which I have already had the happiness to inform your Majesty. After that battle the armies were much weakened. Under such circumstances we approached Moscow, having daily much fighting with the enemy's advanced guard. The reinforcements which I hoped to meet with had not yet arrived. The enemy formed two new columns, one on the Borowsk, and the other on the Zwenigo roads, with the view of acting against my reserve near Moscow. In consequence of this I could not risk another battle, the issue of which would not only have been destructive to the army, but would have reduced Moscow to ashes. In this truly lamentable situation, and after consulting my Generals, amongst whom there were some of a different opinion, I was compelled to let the enemy enter Moscow, out of which all the valuables, the stores in the arsenals, and almost all other property, imperial or private, were previously conveyed, and scarcely a single inhabitant remained in the town. I take the liberty most humbly to represent to your Majesty, that the entrance of the enemy into Moscow is not yet the annihilation of the empire. I am making a movement with my army towards the Toula road. This will enable me to keep open my communications with the neighbouring Governments. Any other measure would have prevented this, and also have separated me from the armies of Tormazow and Tschichagow. I must confess that the abandonment of the capital is very hard; but considering the advantages which may accrue to us from it, and particularly the preservation of our armies, it is no longer to be lamented: and I now proceed to occupy, with my forces, a line, by which I shall command the road leading to Toula and Kalouga, annoy the whole line of the enemy extending from Smolensk to Moscow, and be enabled to cut off all reinforcements marching to join him from the rear. By thus occupying the attention of the enemy, I hope to compel him to leave Moscow, and to change his whole line of operations. ——The General Winzingerode has received orders from me to post himself on the Twer road, and to detach a regiment of Cossacks on that to Jeroslave, to protect the inhabitants from being molested by small bodies of the enemy. I am no great distance from Moscow, and as soon as I have collected my troops, I can with confidence await the approach of the enemy. As long as the army of your Imperial Majesty is entire, and animated with its known courage and zeal, the loss of Moscow is not yet the loss of the empire. For the rest, your Majesty may be assured that this event is the necessary consequence of the loss of Smolensk.——The further advices from the same quarter are from Wittgenstein to the 3d, and Essen to the 6th September, as follows:

Head-quarters, Polotsk, Sept. 3.

Since the last report I had the honour to make to your Imperial Majesty, the enemy's force opposed to me, under General St. Cyr, has made no movement of conse-

(*To be continued.*)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."——That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO THE

FREEHOLDERS OF HAMPSHIRE.

Letter II.

Gentlemen,

In my last I addressed you upon topics not immediately connected with the object of our meeting at Winchester; but, it is now my intention to speak to you upon matters, in which we, as freeholders of the county, are more directly concerned.

Of your general duty as electors, I before spoke. Let us now inquire, whether those of you did your duty, who were on the side of Messrs. Chute and Heathcote. There are many persons, who, unfortunately, have very little scruple to vote away the liberties and property of their neighbours, but, who are unwilling enough to part with their own property, or any portion of it. It does, therefore, seem to me very extraordinary, that any man, who is not a direct sharer in the public money, should have voted, or have been ready to vote, for the late members for our county. Those members had given their support to all the measures which have been so oppressive to the nation, and, to re-elect them is to express an approbation of all those measures. There is no evil, of a political nature, that any of you complain of, which those members have not assisted in producing; and, therefore, to re-elect them, is, at any rate, to deprive yourselves of the right of making future complaints upon the same score.

You complain of the weight of the Taxes, and who are they who have imposed that weight upon you? Not Messrs. Chute and Heathcote *solely*, to be sure, but they have done all they were able towards it; they have voted for all these burdens, and they have voted against every proposition for lightening those burdens. What could they do more? How was it in their power to do you more injury? What could your worst enemy have added to the acts that they have been guilty of?

I hear it said by some, that taxes are necessary to the *support of the government*, and also to the *defence of the country*. Gentlemen, let us examine this proposition. The laying of it down is of false intent; for, who has ever denied, that *some* taxes are necessary? Who has ever pretended, that the people ought to pay *no* taxes?

However, let us examine the proposition, beginning with that branch of it which relates to the *support of the government*, and we are first led to ask what is meant by *government*. Government is, or ought to be, a thing operating to the safety of the people; to the protection of the weak against the strong; and, of course, it will be found to consist in the administering of justice according to law. This is what ought to be meant when men speak of government; and not any thing which is merely to possess power over the whole of the people. The government of England, therefore, you will find to be supported chiefly *exclusive of all the national taxes*; the duties of justices, grand and petty jurors, sheriffs, coroners, peace officers, are all performed by the people without any pay; and, in the due discharge of these several duties we find protection of our persons and our properties. There remains only the King and the Judges, and the expense of supporting them will be found to amount to a very small sum, comparatively speaking. It is at the vestries, the benches of justices, the county-courts, the quarter-sessions, the assizes; here it is that we see government operating, and feel its effects; and, you well know, that these have nothing to do with the *taxes*; you well know, that all the concerns of the country are here carried on without the aid of any sums from what is called "THE GOVERNMENT," which appears, in the minds of some persons, to be a great some-thing-or-other at London, a thing that nobody has seen, or can see, and, of course, that no one can describe.

"Aye," says farmer Lickshoe, "but, "there are the *army* and the *navy*." Very true, farmer; but, though your voting may have made your sons captains and colonels, and, by that means may have drained your purse till it is nearly as empty as your head, the army and the navy form

no part of the *government of England*, properly so called. These are things separate, or, at least, they ought to be separate, from *the government*. Their sole legitimate use is the defence of the country against foreign foes; and, this will lead us to consider, whether the present taxes, employed for this purpose, are necessary.

I shall be told, that we have a most powerful enemy to contend against; that that enemy is not more powerful than he is valiant, and not more valiant than wise. This is all true; but, need we have that enemy? I say that we need not; for, that he has recently offered us such terms of peace as, in my opinion, ought to have been accepted of, and such terms as, I am afraid, we never shall be able to obtain. Gentlemen, you well know, that it has been boasted of, that we have beaten all the fleets in the world; that we have obtained the exclusive dominion of the seas; that we have stripped the enemy and his allies of all their colonies; that we have added immensely to our resources, strength, and dominions; and that our country has, by the feats of the war, been raised to the highest pinnacle of glory. Gentlemen, has not all this been said over and over again? Well, then, what has Napoleon offered us? Why, he has offered us peace, upon the basis of *leaving us in perpetual possession of all the conquests of which we boast*! Can it, then, be necessary to continue the war; can it be necessary to carry on this war at such an enormous expense; and can the taxes for the carrying on of this war be necessary?

But, what are we talking of? You are told, that the taxes are necessary for the "*defence of your country.*" Defence! What, my good credulous country-men, is it necessary for us to pay such enormous sums for our *defence* against a foreign enemy, while, at the same time, we are told, and seem to believe, that we are the greatest *conquerors* in the world? Verily, if we can be brought to believe both these propositions at once, we may, in matters of faith, boldly challenge our neighbours in the West, who are said to retain the conviction, that the moon is made of green cheese.

Gentlemen, the members, who have just been re-elected for Hampshire, have invariably voted in support of this long and ruinous war, and for all the numerous measures which have been adopted for the purpose of preventing men from speaking their minds freely against the continuance of so dreadful a scourge; and, therefore, by re-electing them, this county has given its sanction to what will, in all human probability, be productive of calamities which I shall not attempt to describe, because they may be anticipated by any man of reflection.

We are told, and many yet appear to believe, that, by continuing the war, we shall overset Buonaparté. Now, suppose that result to be probable, why should we wish it? I can see no good that it would bring to us, while I can see the probability of a great deal of evil that it might bring upon us. We have made peace with him once; and I can see no reason why we should not make peace with him again. I saw, in the Guildhall of London, the Ensigns of Buonaparté entwined, in a brilliant transparency, with the Ensigns of George the Third, waving over the head of the Lord Mayor and the King's ministers; and, I can see no reason, why the [illegible] should not be repeated.

Be this as it may, however, can any of you see *a chance of our succeeding in "oversetting Buonaparté?"* Gentlemen, let me beseech you; let me implore you, for the honour of the human form, to come to something like *a settled opinion* upon this subject; a most important one indeed; for, if there be no chance of our success in this work of oversetting, why this expenditure of money and of blood?

This war, with a trifling interval of feverish repose, has now raged for twenty long years, during which time the paupers have been more than doubled in number, and no small portion of the finest men in the country have been killed by the sword or the pestilence of war. And, what is the result *hitherto?*

We were told, that the wings of France would be clipped.——Have they been clipped?

We were told, that France would be subdued through her finances, that she would be bankrupt, and would never see gold and silver again.——Has *she* lost all her gold and silver?

We were told, a hundred times over, that the people of France would recal the Bourbons.——Have they recalled them?

We were told, that the French were abhorred by all the people in Germany, Italy, Holland, &c.——Have those nations shown that they held them in abhorrence?

We were told, at the commencement of every campaign of Napoleon, that he must be defeated.——Has he been defeated?

We were told, only a few months ago, that the Russians would put an end to him. ——Have they done so?

We were told, officially, in the London Gazette, that the Russians had defeated and routed him, and pursued him on his retreat.——Did not the next post tell us that he was at Moscow?

We have been told almost daily for the last ten years, that he and his tyranny were so much detested in France, that his life was in continual danger; in short, many times have we been told, that he was *extremely ill*, and sometimes even *dead*.—— Is he not *alive*?——And do you think that his deeds bespeak a *sick man*?

Well, then, after so much experience of the falsehood of those who wish to lead us on in approbation of the war, will you still believe that they speak truth? Will you still attach any credit to their assertions? Will you still be the dupes of their craft playing upon your bugbear fears? Gentlemen, "most thinking people of Hampshire," pray think a little, for once, upon this matter. You see Buonaparté, that Buonaparté who is represented as imagining that he sees an assassin in every one of his subjects; you see that same Buonaparté enter Amsterdam, not in a *bullet-proof coach*, but on *horseback*, exposing his body to a shot from any one of hundreds of thousands of windows. And, seeing this, will you believe, can you believe, that he is in continual fear of his life from the hands of assassins? Do, each of you, put this question to yourself: "If I thought "that every man in the country wished to "murder me, should I ride through hun-"dreds of thousands of them on horse-"back?" Put that question to yourself, and your answer to those who tell you that Napoleon is in continual dread of assassination will be ready.

But, you are told, and you long have been told, that the people of France detest him, and long for an opportunity of oversetting his power. If this were true, what opportunity could be so good as that which they have had for the last three months? He is, perhaps, three thousand miles distant from the heart of France; he has the chief part of his army and all his greatest commanders with him; there is little probability of his returning for many months; and yet, not a hand is raised against his authority. With these facts before you, will you believe, are you still to be induced to believe, that the people of France wish to overset his power? If you are, the long-snouted animals, for which our country is so much renowned, may fairly be presumed to equal in intellect their two-legged neighbours.

Amongst other things, which the hireling writers, in London and in many of the country news-papers, told you about Napoleon was, that he is become *uxorious* and *lethargic*, that is to say, foolishly *fond of his wife* and much *given to sleep*; a couple of qualities, by the bye, which do not seem to be very compatible with each other. But, do you think, that he has given proof of foolish fondness for his wife in his going to Moscow; or, of his sleepiness in the feats of a campaign, during which he has performed greater exploits than were performed either by Cæsar or Alexander during the whole of their lives? Oh! my "most "thinking" countrymen, pray do think a little of these things! These falsehoods may, to some persons, appear too ridiculous to merit serious observation; but, they serve, even more than any other of the falsehoods, to show to what an extent the system of delusion is, by the means of a hireling press, carried in this country.

It is, as I have already stated, of the utmost importance, that we should form correct notions as to the chance of oversetting the power of Napoleon, because on the ground of that chance the continuance of the war is justified. Overset his power all the world cannot, unless aided by the people of France, who are nearly thirty millions in number, who inhabit the finest soil, blessed with the finest climate in the whole world, and to whom no man of sense will deny either genius or courage. It is, therefore, worth while to consider, what *motives* the people of France can have for wishing his power to be overset; and, I beg you here to observe, that the people of France may feel very differently from *us*; that they are by no means bound to wish as *we* wish; that, indeed, their wishes may very reasonably be supposed to be the precise opposite of our wishes; and that *they* may rather like him than dislike him for being the enemy of England. The question with them will naturally be, whether they are better off now than they formerly were; and, if they find, that the change has been for their benefit, we must not suppose, that they will wish to change back again.

Proceeding upon the supposed admission of these premises, I will now, speaking to you as *farmers*, state to you one reason why the people of France may naturally wish for the continuance of the sway of Napoleon.

Formerly the farmers in France yielded TITHES to the Clergy; they yield NO TITHES under Napoleon. Now, I shall, for my part, say nothing myself about the nature and tendency of tithes; but, I will cite the opinion of an extremely "*loyal*" Lord in Sussex, I mean LORD SHEFFIELD. This nobleman, who seems to have put himself at *the* head of the Wool-growers, is, in a report of the proceedings at the Lewes Wool-fair in 1811, stated to have observed, that the farmers, and especially the Wool-growers of England *laboured under great disadvantages in a competition with neighbouring countries, where there were no tithes.* This is the public declaration of a Lord distinguished for his "*loyalty*," not less than for his knowledge in wool; and, it appears that the numerous farmers at the meeting, with voice as unanimous as that of a flock of their South Down Ewes, when called by the shepherd to a fresh piece of turnips, applauded the idea.

Now, then, Gentlemen, put it to yourselves, whether, if you, by any change in England, were freed from tithes, as the farmers in France are, you should not, upon the principle of Lord Sheffield, be very slow to risk any other change that might by possibility produce a restoration of tithes. Here, then, we have, according to Lord Sheffield, one great national good, produced by the Revolution of France; and, indeed, do we not see an account of deliberations *in Ireland* for the getting rid of tithes? Have we not heard from the great agricultural and loyal people in England the most anxious wishes expressed for the abolition of this sort of charge upon the land? And, while we hear all this, and see that the land and industry of France are free from such a burden, are we to believe, that the people of France are desirous of returning to their former state by oversetting the power of Napoleon?

If, from what has been said, or from your own reflection, you are convinced, that there is no chance of effecting the object of overthrowing the power of Buonaparté by the war, to what end, I ask you, is the war continued? It does, indeed, as it naturally must, enrich many individuals and many families; but, by what arithmetic are we to calculate its cost to the people in general? Who is able to estimate the amount of the misery that it occasions? Yet this war, with all its long train of evils, has two regular supporters in Messrs. Chute and Heathcote.

This, however, is far from being their only political sin. I know, for my part, of no measure which I deem injurious to the country, that they have not supported; and, therefore, it is, in my opinion, the boundent duty of every freeholder, and, indeed, of every man in the county, to use his utmost endeavours to prevent their being returned at the *next* election, to second which endeavours no possible exertion of mine shall be wanting.

I am not, indeed, so foolish as to believe, that, while the right of voting is confined as it now is, a successful stand is to be made against corruption; but, much may be done at any rate, and, in the mean while, it behoves all those who are really desirous of saving their country, to exert themselves in the work of *Reform*, without which, as has now been made manifest, no change for the better can be expected.

To call upon my brother freeholders to *exert themselves*, without pointing out any *mode of exertion*, would, however, be fruitless; and, therefore, I now propose to you the formation of *a Society for the purpose of promoting purity of Election, and for exposing and preventing corruption.* I must here state, that this is not an idea originating with me, but suggested by other gentlemen, who are desirous that I should communicate it to the *Freeholders* and *Inhabitants* of the county in general.

In order to put into practice an intention so honourable to those who have conceived it, it appears to me desirable, that a meeting should take place *at the George Inn at Winchester, on the first Saturday in December*, when the means may be proposed, and when the necessary rules and regulations may be settled. In the mean while I shall be glad to hear from any gentleman in the county, who may wish to co-operate in the undertaking, and who may be disposed to communicate any hint as to the best mode of proceeding.

As to myself, as connected with these transactions, I have, as I observed in my first address to you, no motives of vanity or ambition. I have declared, in the face of the world, that I never will, either by myself or by any one dependent upon me, receive a single farthing of the *public money*, in any shape whatever. There are many gentlemen better qualified than myself, in point of talents, to represent the county, and very few who are not better able to spare from their private affairs the time necessary to the due discharge of such a duty; and, whenever men of this description,

with sound principles, come forward, I shall be ready to make way for them; but, I shall never be found amongst those, who estimate a man's fitness for such a trust from the mere length of his purse or from the breadth of his acres, which, as all history and experience prove, are no security for the possession of understanding, spirit, or integrity. To all these united, wealth is, indeed, a great advantage; but, for one solitary BURDETT, what shoals do we see of HARRY MINCHINS, and of MR. ATHERLEYS, whose wife, though the Honourable daughter of a "most noble" Marquis, receives out of the Taxes a pension of two hundred pounds a year; and of SIR JAMES TILNEY LONGS, who, with that immense estate, of which so much was said some months ago, *was upon the sinecure list to the end of his life!*

I am, Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 26th October, 1812.

Address of the Proprietor of the Statesman.

TO THE PUBLIC.

"The very head and front of my offending
Hath this extent, no more."—OTHELLO.

After having endeavoured for several years to conduct the *Statesman* in such a manner as to merit public approbation, and, by every means in my power to sustain the best interests of my country, it is to be hoped that those who have honoured this Journal with a perusal, will excuse my soliciting their attention to the following narrative of my sufferings, connected with two very important objects in view, that of being an useful lesson to my contemporaries, and of proving to His Majesty's Government, and the Public at large, that I have not merited the weight of affliction which has pressed heavily upon me during the last two years of my life. ——Previous to entering into any further detail, it is but justice to say, that the national character of my countrymen has ever been, that of readily sympathizing with misfortune, from whatever cause it might spring; how grateful then must be the exercise of that virtuous feeling, when applied to those who, in supporting the cause of the People, have become objects of unrelenting resentment; and have not only been deprived of liberty and property, but all those other enjoyments, without which life becomes a melancholy existence.——If there be any, who may object to this mode of addressing the Public, I request them to recollect, that during the course of my imprisonment, it is the first time I have obtruded the whole of my case upon their notice; and as the fate of one man to-day, may be that of another to-morrow, this statement of facts, though it may produce no favourable consequences to myself, its circulation will, I trust, be calculated to benefit others.——To enter into a recapitulation of all the ex-officio prosecutions in which I have been involved, since I became Proprietor of a news-paper, might be deemed superfluous, although they were all attended with considerable expense, and great personal anxiety, as must ever be the case in similar proceedings; I shall therefore confine myself simply to those *two* which led to my imprisonment in *His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate*, for which I have already suffered upwards of twenty-one months' incarceration!—— The first ex-officio prosecution against me, was for publishing an account of the riots in Piccadilly, when Sir F. Burdett was committed to the Tower. The article was *merely a literal copy* from a Morning Paper (the *Day*), and originally written by order of one of the Proprietors, and principal Managers of that Journal, as was proved by their ostensible Editor's affidavit, when brought up for judgment.—— On the process being served upon me, I informed the Treasury Solicitor, Mr. Litchfield, that I had *copied the article* from the *Day*, and that if it contained any libellous matter, I presumed the Editor would be made responsible. He replied, that an information had also been filed against the Editor, Printer, and Publisher of that Paper, and that I was left to take what course I thought proper.——With the advice of my friends, and relying on the impartiality of my Judges, I entered a plea of *Not Guilty*, under the impression of not being accountable for the conduct or writings of others; my hopes, however, proved fallacious.——In the interval between the notice and day of pleading, I consulted the Gentleman under whose direction the article was written, who was decidedly of opinion, that it would be better to withdraw the plea of justification —and throw myself on the *lenity* of the Attorney-General, adding, that he had every reason to believe, in consequence of

his influence with persons of high rank, and various other causes, that the prosecution would never be pushed to an extremity; and, above all, that I had no reason whatever to be under any serious apprehensions of the ultimate consequences, the more especially as I had only *copied* the article from their Paper. Being [per]suaded that this Gentleman was act[uated] by the most honourable motives, I agreed to suffer judgment to go by default, and the Printer and Publisher of the *Day*, as well as myself, were ordered to come up for judgment in November Term—when the sentence of the Court was, that we should be all committed to Newgate for twelve calendar months; and at the expiration of that time, I should find security for my good behaviour in the sum of £1,000 for three years.——The *Editor* of the *Day* was not brought up for judgment till the following Term, owing to the proceedings *against* him not being in so forward a state: in the mean time he made an affidavit, to exculpate himself and criminate others, who were not included in the prosecution. The sentence upon him was, that "*he should be imprisoned in the King's Bench for twelve calendar months.*" It is, however, a well-authenticated fact, that he was permitted to live in the Rules—consequently HIS punishment was merely nominal. How far my being punished so severely for *merely copying* an article, may appear just or unjust to the Public, I cannot say; but of one thing I am certain, that when my case is laid fully before them, they will appreciate it with that humanity which distinguishes the character of Englishmen.——When my twelvemonth expired, on the 28th of November last, the measure of my troubles had again to recommence—and another year was to be passed in bondage—caused by the following circumstance:——Mr. Collyer, a respectable tradesman of Manchester, feeling himself aggrieved by the Tax Commissioners having obliged him to pay a larger sum of money than he conceived to be right, determined to lay his case before the Public; and, for that purpose prepared an advertisement, expressing the particulars of his complaint—which was accordingly published in two Manchester Journals; and, at his particular request, *afterwards* put into the *Statesman*. The Commissioners, in consequence of the publication, instituted a prosecution against all the Proprietors; when one of the Manchester Editors informed me that the author, Collyer, could unequivocally prove the allegation, or facts, stated in the advertisement. In such a case, it appeared to me the most proper line of conduct to pursue, would be to plead *Not Guilty;* and I found that the Manchester Editors had done the same. Previous to the day of pleading to the information, one of the Defendants contrived to make his peace with the Commissioners, withdrew his plea, and suffered judgment to go by default, on a promise from *them* that the prosecution should be *discontinued*, he having made an *apology;* that Gentleman also recommended me to pursue the same course.—Not entertaining the smallest doubt but that I should experience the same lenity as he had himself, I accordingly did so; and even employed an agent at Manchester to wait on Mr. Dauntsey Hulme, one of the Commissioners, and present a letter from myself, in which I offered to make a public apology for the offence, and concluded by throwing myself on their lenity. I am indebted to Mr. Hulme for having received the person I deputed with the utmost politeness; and he not only expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the step I had taken, but promised to interest himself with his colleagues upon the subject of my letter, who, he had no doubt, would agree with him in putting a stop to the prosecution against all the parties. After several subsequent interviews between Mr. Hulme and my agent, the result was, that some of the Commissioners rejected my apology, and insisted that the law should take its course. In consequence of which, *by the plea of Not Guilty having been withdrawn,* I received notice to appear for judgment, *and was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, to commence after the first period had expired*—and, at the expiration thereof, to give security for my good behaviour in the sum of £1,000 for 3 years. As to the two Manchester Editors, Messrs. Cowdroy and Harrop, neither of them were called upon; nor has any punishment whatever been passed on them, although they were the first aggressors! Surely such an extraordinary circumstance would have justified the language of complaint, yet it has never escaped me; and I now content myself with submitting the whole of my case, not only to the consideration of *Ministers*, but to an impartial and unbiassed Public.

With [illegible] to Mr. Collyer, to whom I [illegible] for my sufferings on the sub-

ject, the Public will hardly suppose, that he was not prosecuted until two Terms had elapsed; nor is it believed that he ever would have been molested, had not the peculiar hardship of my case excited the commiseration of Lord Folkestone, who kindly made it the subject of discussion in the House of Commons—but without producing any effect.——The last subject upon which I shall venture to [illegible] the Reader, relates to my affair with the Transport Board, still undecided; and, though last, it is certainly not least, in the catalogue of my misfortunes. It will probably be remembered that I appeared in Westminster Hall on the 20th of April last, to answer the charge of an Ex-officio prosecution instituted against me at the suit of the Hon. Commissioners for the Transport Board, for having published in the *Statesman*, a letter signed *Honestus*, reflecting on the conduct of the Commissioners in their treatment of the French Prisoners in this country. On that occasion I stated to the Court, my total ignorance of the letter in question, until it had absolutely appeared in the *Statesman*; and, requested their indulgence to allow me a little time, in order to discover the Author, and bring *him* forward. To effect this, I dispatched a messenger to a distant part of the country, and published several advertisements, offering a reward of £50 to any person who could give me information on the subject. All these endeavours were, however, unsuccessful; and, in the end, I resorted to the expedient of addressing the Honourable Commissioners through the medium of the *Statesman*, on the 29th of May last, and made a public apology, as an atonement for the offence given them by inserting the above Letter.——The following Affidavit has likewise been made by the late Conductor of the *Statesman*, which fully corroborates my own statement:

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

KING *v.* DANIEL LOVELL.

"George Houston, of Fleet-street, Gen-"tleman, maketh oath and saith, that he "was engaged by the above-named De-"fendant, Daniel Lovell, as Editor of the "*Statesman* News-paper, in the month "of May, one thousand eight hundred and "eleven, and has had the chief manage-"ment of that Paper ever since. And "further saith, that all —— and Com-"munications addressed to the Editor, are "opened by this Deponent. And further "saith, that he, after mature delibera-"tion, verily believes, that the Defen-"dant, Daniel Lovell, was unacquainted "with the contents of a certain letter ad-"dressed to the Editor of the *Statesman*, "under the signature of '*Honestus*,' re-"flecting upon the conduct of the Honour-"—— Commissioners of the Transport "Board, previous to its being published "in the *Statesman*, on the nineteenth day "of March last. And further saith, that "he, this Deponent, received another "letter, dated Oakhampton, twenty-fifth "of March last, signed '*A Friend to* "*Truth*,' in answer to and in refutation "of the former one, signed '*Honestus*,' "which he, this Deponent, did not com-"municate to the said Defendant, Daniel "Lovell, and consequently, he was wholly "ignorant of the contents thereof, until "the fifteenth day of April last, when he, "this Deponent, informed the said De-"fendant, Daniel Lovell, thereof, who "directed it to be immediately inserted in "the *Statesman*, which was accordingly "done the same day.

"GEORGE HOUSTON.

"Sworn by the Deponent, George
"Houston, this third day of July,
"1812, at my Chambers in Ser-
"jeants' Inn, before me,

"J. BAILEY."

To enumerate the various privations I have endured since my confinement—the decay of health—the immense loss of property—and the inexpressible distraction of mind, inseparable from my unfortunate condition, would, I think, sicken the heart of any one possessed of common feeling. I will not, therefore, enter into a recapitulation of that which relates simply to myself; and, in concluding this Address, without entering into any disquisition on the Liberty of the Press, I shall merely observe, that the foregoing statement is a plain and unadorned record of facts, and a necessary justification of myself. I became the Proprietor of an independent Journal from the purest motives, for which I have the satisfactory testimony of my own conscience. And although my sentence has been attended with the *loss of liberty, property,* and *friends*, yet one consolation will accompany me through [illegible] of never having wantonly, or upon slight grounds, injured the feelings or character of any individual; or, in a single instance, recanted any popular prin-

ciple, or betrayed the Public Cause, which it has hitherto been uniformly my pride and practice to defend.

D. LOVELL.

State Gaol, Newgate, Sept. 16.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.

CONDUCT OF THE RUSSIANS.— *Intelligence from the Grand Army.*

(*Continued from page 542.*)

quence. I understand it has received some reinforcements from Marshal Victor, who has arrived with the army of reserve from the banks of the Vistula, and that it is the intention of the French Generals to attempt to drive me from the positions I now occupy. The enemy's troops labour under great privations, owing to their distance from their magazines; he is deficient in tents and camp equipage, and the soldiers' rations have been reduced. I still communicate with General Essen, who informs me that the enemy have made no material progress in the siege of Riga. Marshal Macdonald is kept in a constant state of alarm by the enterprises of the garrison, and the expeditions undertaken against his rear.

WITTGENSTEIN.

Gen. Essen details in his dispatch the late successful sorties of the garrison, which have been already published. His dispatch concludes thus:——The French have hitherto confined themselves to a strict blockade of this fortress; but though their heavy artillery has arrived at Mittau, they do not make preparations to commence the siege in form. At present they have actually fortified the positions they hold as if they were afraid of being attacked; or rather as if we were the besiegers and they the besieged. They expect to derive facilities in their approaches to this place from the cold weather; but as I am informed that their troops already complain of the hardships they endure, they will be retained with difficulty in the depth of winter in so arduous a duty. ——The Prussian officers whom I have made prisoners tell me that they are restrained from quitting the service by the threats that their families would be imprisoned, their property confiscated, and themselves outlawed. Both officers and men have likewise long arrears of pay, which are withheld to bind them to the service. ——I have rendered this fortress as defensible as time and circumstances would admit, and am determined to defend it to the utmost of my power. With the blessing of God, the enemy never shall obtain possession of it, but find a grave beneath its walls.——I cannot conclude without bearing testimony to the conduct of the English naval officers and seamen, our brave allies: they have performed the most essential services to his Imperial Majesty in this quarter. Their courage prompts them to undertake the most hazardous enterprises, which their skill and foresight enable them to execute with success. In every danger they are foremost, and in every difficulty capable of counselling. I have derived great assistance from them.

Riga, Sept. 6. VON ESSEN.

FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC.

[*By order of his Imperial Majesty.*]

It is with a heavy heart we are compelled to inform every son of the country, that the enemy entered Moscow on the 3d (15th) of Sept. The glory of the Russian empire, however, is not thereby tarnished. On the contrary, every individual is inspired with fresh courage, firmness, and hope, that all the evils meditated against us by our enemies, will eventually fall upon their own heads. The enemy has not become master of Moscow, by overcoming or weakening our forces; the Commander in Chief, by the advice of a Council of War, has found it expedient to retire at a moment of necessity, in order by the best and most effectual means to turn the transient triumph of the enemy to his inevitable ruin. However painful it may be to Russians, to hear that the original capital of the empire is in the hands of the enemy of their country, yet it is consolatory to reflect that he is possessed merely of bare walls, containing within their circuit neither inhabitants nor provisions. The haughty conqueror imagined that on his entrance into Moscow he would become the arbiter of the whole Russian empire, when he might prescribe to it such a peace as he should think proper; but he is deceived in his expectations: he will neither have acquired the power of dictating, nor the means of subsistence. The assembled and daily increasing forces of the districts of Moscow, will not neglect to block up every avenue, and to destroy such parties as may be detached for the purpose of collecting provisions; until the enemy shall perceive that his hopes of astonishing

the world by the capture of Moscow were vain, and he be compelled to open a passage for himself by force.——His situation is as follows:—He entered Russia with 300,000 men, the principal part consisting of natives of different kingdoms, serving and obeying him, not from free will—not in the defence of their respective countries—but solely from terror. The half of this multifarious army has been destroyed partly by our brave troops, partly desertion, and partly by hunger and sickness with the remainder he is to come to Moscow. His audacious irruption, not only into the very heart of Russia, but into its ancient capital, will, without doubt, gratify his ambition, and give him cause of boasting; but the character of that measure must be determined by its result.——He has not entered a country where every step he takes inspires all with terror, and bends both the troops and the inhabitants to his feet. Russia is unaccustomed to subjection and will not suffer her laws, religion, freedom, and property to be trampled upon. she will defend them to the last drop of her blood. Hitherto the general zeal against the enemy clearly evinces how powerfully our empire is guarded by the undaunted spirit of its sons. Thus, no one despairs; nor is this a time to despair, when every class of the empire is inspired with courage and firmness—when the enemy, with the remainder of his daily decreasing forces, at a distance from home, in the midst of a numerous people, is surrounded by our armies, one of which stands before him, and the other three are endeavouring to cut off his retreat, and to prevent him from receiving any fresh reinforcements—when Spain has not only thrown off his yoke, but also threatens to invade his territories—when the greatest part of Europe (exhausted and enslaved by him), serving him involuntarily, is anxiously and impatiently awaiting the moment when she shall tear herself from his heavy and insupportable chains—when his own country sees no end to the torrents of its blood shed for his ambition.——In the present disastrous state of human affairs, will not that country acquire eternal fame, which, after encountering all the inevitable declarations of war, shall at last, by patience and intrepidity, succeed in procuring an equitable and permanent peace, not only for itself, but also for other Powers; nay, even for those who are unwillingly fighting against us? It is gratifying and natural for a generous nation to render good for evil.——Almighty God! turn thy merciful eye to thy supplicating Russian church. Vouchsafe courage and patience to thy people struggling in a just cause, so that they may thereby overcome the enemy; and in saving themselves, may also defend the freedom of Kings and nations.

AMERICAN WAR.

Hon. Wm. Eustis, Secretary of the Department of War.

Fort George, Aug. 26, 1812.

Sir,—Enclosed are the articles of capitulation, by which the Fort of Detroit has been surrendered to Major-General Brock, commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces in Upper Canada, and by which the troops have become prisoners of war. My situation at present forbids me from detailing the particular causes which have led to this unfortunate event. I will, however, generally observe, that after the surrender of Michilimackinac, almost every tribe and nation of Indians, excepting a part of the Miamies and Delawares, north from beyond Lake Superior, west from beyond the Mississippi, south from the Ohio and Wabash, and East from every part of Upper Canada, and from all the intermediate country, joined in open hostility, under the British standard, against the army I commanded, contrary to the most solemn assurances of a large portion of them, to remain neutral; even the Ottawa chiefs from Arbecrotch, who formed the delegation to Washington the last summer, in whose friendship I know you had great confidence, are among the hostile tribes, and several of them distinguished leaders. Among the vast number of chiefs who led the hostile bands, Tecumseh, Marpolt, Logan, Walk-in-the-Water, Split-log, &c. are considered the principals. This numerous assemblage of savages, under the entire influence and direction of the British commander, enabled him totally to obstruct the only communication which I had with my country. This communication had been opened from the settlements in the State of Ohio, two hundred miles through a wilderness, by the fatigues of the army, which I marched to the frontier on the river Detroit. The body of the lake being commanded by the British armed ships, and the shores and rivers by gun-boats, the army was totally deprived of all communication by water. On this extensive road it depended for transportation of provisions, military stores

medicine, clothing, and every other supply, on pack-horses. All its operations were successful until its arrival at Detroit, and in a few days it passed into the enemy's country, and all opposition seemed to fall before it.——One month it remained in possession of this country, and was fed from its resources. In different directions detachments penetrated sixty miles in the settled part of the province, and the inhabitants seemed satisfied with the change of situation which appeared to be taking place: the militia from Amherstburg were daily deserting, and the whole country, under the control of the army, was asking for protection. The Indians generally, in the first instance, appeared to be neutralized, and determined to take no part in the contest. The fort of Amherstburg was eighteen miles below my encampment. Not a single cannon or mortar was on wheels suitable to carry before that place. I consulted my officers whether it was expedient to make an attempt on it with the bayonet alone, without cannon to make a breach in the first instance. The council I called was of the opinion it was not. The greatest industry was exerted in making preparation, and it was not until the 7th of August that two 24-pounders and three howitzers were prepared. It was then my intention to have proceeded on the enterprise. While the operations of the army were delayed by these preparations, the clouds of adversity had been for some time, and seemed still thickly to be gathering around me. The surrender of Michilimackinac opened the northern hive of Indians, and they were swarming down in every direction. Reinforcements from Niagara had arrived at Amherstburg, under the command of Colonel Proctor. The desertion of the militia ceased. Besides the reinforcements that came by water, I received information of a very considerable force under the command of Major Chambers, on the river Le French, with four field-pieces, and collecting the militia on his route, evidently destined for Amherstburg; and in addition to this combination and increase of force, contrary to all my expectations, the Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottowas, Pottawatamies, Munsees, Delawares, &c., with whom I had the most friendly intercourse, at once passed over to Amherstburg, and accepted the tomahawk and scalping knife. There being now a vast number of Indians at the British post, they were sent to the river Huron, Brownstown, and Maguago, to intercept my communication. To open this communication, I detached Major Vanhorne, of the Ohio Volunteers, with 200 men, to proceed as far as the river Raisin, under an expectation he would meet Capt. Brush, with 150 men, volunteers from the state of Ohio, and a quantity of provisions for the army. An ambuscade was formed at Brownstown, and Major Vanhorne's detachment defeated, and returned to the camp without effecting the object of the expedition.——In my letter of the 7th inst. you have the particulars of that transaction, with a return of the killed and wounded. Under this sudden and unexpected change of things, and having received an express from General Hall, commanding opposite the British shore on the Niagara river, by which it appeared that there was no prospect of any co-operation from that quarter, and the two senior officers of the artillery having stated to me an opinion that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to pass the Turkey river and river Aux Cannard with the 24-pounders, and that they could not be transported by water, as the Queen Charlotte, which carried eighteen 24-pounders, lay in the river Detroit, above the mouth of the river Aux Cannard, and as it appeared indispensably necessary to open the communication on the river Raisin and the Miami, I found myself compelled to suspend the operations against Amherstburg, and concentrate the main force of the army at Detroit. Fully intending at that time, after the communication was opened, to recross the river, and pursue the object at Amherstburg, and strongly desirous of continuing protection to a very large number of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, who had voluntarily accepted it under my proclamation. I established a fortress on the banks of the river, a little below Detroit, calculated for a garrison of 300 men.——On the evening of the 7th and morning of the 8th instant, the army, excepting the garrison of 250 infantry and a corps of artillerists, all under the command of Major Denny, of the Ohio volunteers, recrossed the river, and encamped at Detroit. In pursuance of the object of opening the communication, on which I considered the existence of the army depended, a detachment of 600 men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Miller, was immediately ordered. For a particular account of the proceedings of this detachment, and the memorable battle fought at Maguago, which reflects the highest honour on the American arms, I refer you to ... [illegible] ...e 13th of August, a...

of which is enclosed, marked G.——Nothing, however, but honour was acquired by this victory; and, it is a painful consideration, that the blood of seventy-five gallant men could only open a communication as far as the points of their bayonets extended. The necessary care of the sick and wounded, and a very severe storm of rain, rendered their return to camp indispensably necessary for their own comfort. Captain Brush, with his small detachment, and the provisions, being still at the river Raisin, and in a situation to be destroyed by the savages, on the 13th inst. in the evening, I permitted Colonels M'Arthur and Cass to select from their regiment four hundred of their most effective men, and proceed in an upper route through the woods, which I had sent an express to Captain Brush to take, and had directed the militia of the river Raisin to accompany him as a reinforcement. The force of the enemy continually increasing, and the necessity of opening the communication, and acting on the defensive, becoming more apparent, I had, previous to detaching Colonels M'Arthur and Cass on the 11th inst. evacuated and destroyed the fort on the opposite bank. On the 13th, in the evening, General Brock arrived at Amherstburg about the hour Colonels M'Arthur and Cass marched, of which at that time I had received no information. On the 15th, I received a summons from him to surrender fort Detroit, of which the paper marked A. is a copy. My answer is marked B. At this time I had received no information from Colonels M'Arthur and Cass. An express was immediately sent, strongly escorted, with orders for them to return. On the 15th, as soon as General Brock received my letter, his batteries opened on the town and fort, and continued until evening. In the evening all the British ships of war came nearly as far up the river as Sandwich, three miles below Detroit. At day-light on the 16th (at which time I had received no information from Colonels M'Arthur and Cass, my expresses sent the evening before, and in the night, having been prevented from passing by numerous bodies of Indians), the cannonade recommenced, and in a short time I received information that the British army and Indians were landing below the Spring Wells, under the cover of their ships of war. At this time the whole effective force at my disposal at Detroit did not exceed 800 men. Being new troops, and unaccustomed to a camp life—having performed a laborious march—having been engaged in a number of battles and skirmishes, in which many had fallen, and more had received wounds, in addition to which, a large number being sick, and unprovided with medicine and the comforts necessary for their situation, are the general causes by which the strength of the army was thus reduced. The fort at this time was filled with women, children, and the old and decrepit people of the town and country: they were unsafe in the town, as it was entirely open and exposed to the enemy's batteries. Back of the fort, above or below it, there was no safety for them on account of the Indians. In the first instance, the enemy's fire was principally directed against our batteries; towards the close, it was directed against the fort alone, and almost every shot and shell had their effect.——It now became necessary either to fight the enemy in the field, collect the whole force in the fort, or propose terms of capitulation. I could not have carried into the field more than 600 men, and left any adequate force in the fort. There were landed at that time of the enemy, a regular force of much more than that number, and twice the number of Indians. Considering this great inequality of force, I did not think it expedient to adopt the first measure. The second must have been attended with a great sacrifice of blood, and no possible advantage; because the contest could not have been sustained more than a day for want of powder, and but a very few days for the want of provisions. In addition to this, Colonels M'Arthur and Cass would have been in a most hazardous situation. I feared nothing but the last alternative. I have dared to adopt it. I well know the high responsibility of the measure, I take the whole of it on myself. It was dictated by a sense of duty, and a full conviction of its expediency. The bands of savages which had then joined the British force were numerous beyond any former example. Their numbers have since increased, and the history of the barbarians of the North of Europe does not furnish examples of more greedy violence than these savages have exhibited. A large portion of the brave and gallant officers and men I commanded would cheerfully have contested until the last cartridge had been expended, and the bayonets worn to the sockets. I could not consent to the useless sacrifice of such brave men, when I knew it was impossible for me to sustain my situation. It

was impossible in the nature of things that an army could have been furnished with the necessary supplies of provisions, military stores, clothing, and comforts for the sick, on pack-horses, through a wilderness of 200 miles, filled with hostile savages. It was impossible, Sir, that this little army, worn down by fatigue, by sickness, by wounds, and death, could have supported itself, not only against the collected force of all the northern nations of Indians, but against the united strength of Upper Canada, whose population consists of more than twenty times the number contained in the territory of Michigan, aided by the principal part of the regular forces of the province, and the wealth and influence of the North-West and other trading establishments among the Indians, which have in their employment, and under their entire control, more than 2,000 white men.——Before I close this dispatch, it is a duty I owe my respectable associates in command, Colonels M'Arthur, Findley, Cass, and Lieut.-Colonel Miller, to express my obligations to them, for the prompt and judicious manner they have performed their respective duties. If aught has taken place during the campaign which is honourable to the army, these officers are entitled to a large share of it. If the last act should be disapproved, no part of the censure belongs to them. I have likewise to express my obligation to Gen. Taylor, who has performed the duty of Quarter-master-General, for his great exertions in procuring every thing in his department which was possible to furnish for the convenience of the army; likewise to Brig.-Major Jessup, for the correct and punctual manner in which he has discharged his duty; and to the army generally for their exertion, and the zeal they have manifested for the public interest. The death of Dr. Foster soon after he arrived at Detroit, was a severe misfortune to the army; it was increased by the capture of the Chachega packet, by which the medicine and hospital stores were lost. He was commencing the best arrangements in the department of which he was the principal, with the very small means he possessed. I was likewise deprived of the necessary services of Capt. Partridge by sickness, the only officer of the corps of engineers attached to the army. All the officers and men are gone to their respective homes, excepting the 4th United States' regiment and a small part of the 1st, and Capt. Dyson's company of artillery. Capt. Dyson's company was left at Amherstburg, and the others are with me prisoners—they amount to about 340. I have only to solicit an investigation of my conduct, as early as my situation and the state of things will admit, and to add the further request, that the Government will not be unmindful of my associates in captivity, and of the families of those brave men who have fallen in the contest.—I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

W. HULL, Brig.-General,
Commanding the North Western
Army of the United States.

Hon. W. Eustis, Secretary of the
Department of War.

Letter from Commodore Rodgers to the Secretary of the Navy.

United States frigate President,
Boston, Sept. 1, 1812.

Sir—I had the honour yesterday of informing you of the arrival of the squadron, and now to state the result and particulars of our cruise.——Previous to leaving New-York on the 21st of June, I heard that a British convoy had sailed from Jamaica for England on or about the 20th of the preceding month, and on being informed of the declaration of war against Great Britain, I determined in the event of Commodore Decatur joining me with the United States, Congress, and Argus, as you had directed, to go in pursuit of them.——The United States, Congress, and Argus, did join me on the 21st, with which vessels, this ship, and the Hornet, I accordingly sailed in less than an hour after I received your orders of the 18th of June, accompanied by your official communication of the declaration of war.——On leaving New York I shaped our course south-easterly, in the expectation of falling in with vessels by which I should hear of the before-mentioned convoy, and the following night met with an American brig which gave me the sought-for information; the squadron now crowded sail in pursuit, but the next morning was taken out of its course by the pursuit of a British frigate that I since find was the Belvidera, relative to which I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed extract of my journal; after repairing as far as possible the injury done by the Belvidera to our spars and rigging, we again crowded all sail, and resumed our course in pursuit of the convoy, but

did not receive further intelligence of it until the 29th of June, on the western edge of the Bank of Newfoundland, where we spoke an American schooner, the master of which reported, that he had two days before passed them in lat. 43. long. 55. steering to the eastward: I was surprised to find that the convoy was still so far to the eastward of us, but was urged, however, as well by what I considered my duty, as by inclination to continue the pursuit.——On the 1st July, a little to the eastward of Newfoundland bank, we fell in with quantities of cocoa-nut shells, orange-peels, &c., which indicated that the convoy were not far distant, and we pursued it with zeal, although frequently taken out of our course by vessels it was necessary to chase, without gaining any further intelligence until the 9th July, in lat. 45. 30. long. 23. we captured the British private armed brig Dolphin, of Jersey, and was informed by some of her crew that they had seen the convoy the preceding evening, the weather was not clear at the time, but that they had counted 85 sail, and that the force charged with its protection consisted of one two-decker, a frigate, a sloop of war, and a brig.

This was the last intelligence I received of the before-mentioned convoy, although its pursuit was continued until the 13th of July, being then within 18 or 20 hours sail of the British Channel.——From this we steered for the Island of Madeira, passed close by it on the 21st July; thence near the Azores, and saw Corvo and Flores; thence steered for the Banks of Newfoundland; and from the latter place (by the way of Cape Sable) to this port, it having become indispensably necessary, by the time we reached our own coast, to make the first convenient port in the United States, owing, I am sorry to say, to that wretched disease the scurvy having made its appearance on board of the vessels, most generally to a degree seriously alarming. ——From the western part of the banks of Newfoundland to our making the Island of Madeira, the weather was such, at least six days out of seven, as to obscure, from our discovery, every object that we did not pass within four or five miles of, and indeed for several days together the fog was so thick as to prevent our seeing each other, even at cable's length asunder, more than twice or thrice in the 24 hours.——From the time of our leaving the United States until our arrival here, we chased every vessel we saw, and you will not be a little astonished when I inform you that, although we brought to every thing we did chase, with the exception of four vessels, we only made seven captures and one re-capture.——It is truly an unpleasant task to be obliged to make a communication thus barren of benefit to our country; the only consolation I individually feel on the occasion being derived from knowing that our being at sea obliged the enemy to concentrate a considerable portion of his most active force, and thereby prevented his capturing an incalculable amount of American property that would otherwise have fallen a sacrifice.——I am aware of the anxiety you must have experienced at not hearing from me for such a length of time, but this I am sure you will not attribute in any degree to neglect, when I inform you, that not a single proper opportunity occurred from the time of leaving the United States until our return.——Mr. Newcomb, who will deliver you this, you will find an intelligent young man, capable of giving such further information as you may deem of any moment. He will at the same time deliver you a chart, shewing the tract in which we cruised: annexed is a list of vessels captured, re-captured, and burnt.——The four vessels we chased and did not come up with, were the Belvidera, a small pilot-boat schooner, supposed to be an American privateer, the hermaphrodite brig privateer Yankee, which we lost sight of in a fog, but whose character we afterwards learnt, and a frigate supposed to be British, that we chased on the 28th ult. near the shoal of George's Bank, and should certainly have come up with, had we have had the advantage of two hours more day-light.——On board of the several vessels of the squadron there are between 80 and 100 prisoners, taken from the vessels we captured during our late cruise: the government not having any agent for prisoners here, I shall send them to Commodore Bainbridge, to be disposed of in such manner as best appears with the interest of the United States, and which I hope may meet your approbation.—With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

John Rodgers.

The Hon. Paul Hamilton,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington.

List of vessels captured, re-captured, and destroyed.

July 2. Brig Traveller, 277 tons, J. Amory, master, of Newcastle, E. 10

men, bound from the Bay of Fundy, owned by Geo. Watson, Mat. Dunn, Geo. Dunn, and John Stoger, cargo of timber.—burnt.

July 4. Brig Duchess of Portland, 6 guns, 12 men, of Newcastle, E. bound to Newcastle, N. S. in ballast—burnt.

July 9. Brig Dolphin, 241 tons, 12 guns, and 25 men, Philip Cabbott, of Jersey, Eng. bound from Jersey to Newfoundland, in ballast and some cargo, owned by Winter and Nicoll—sent into the United States.

July 24. Ship John, of Lancaster, 16 guns and 30 men, bound from London to Martinique, in ballast—sent into the United States.

Aug. 2. Brig Argo, 165 tons, 10 guns and 10 men, W. Middleton, master, of London, laden with cotton, fustic, and about 8,000 dollars in gold—ordered for the United States.

Aug. 17. Schooner Adeline, of London, 10 men, bound from Hayti to London, laden with coffee—ordered for the United States.

Aug. 25. Schooner Betsey, of Marblehead, from Naples, laden with brandy, re captured from the Guerriere, who had ordered her for Halifax,—4 men and a midshipman (prize-master)—ordered her for the United States.

JOHN RODGERS.

Extract from the Journal of Commodore Rodgers.

After describing the first ineffectual attempts of the *President* upon the *Belvidere*, the American Commander thus proceeds:—I now endeavoured, by altering course half a point to port, and wetting our sails, to gain a more effectual position on his starboard quarter, but soon found myself losing ground. After this a similar attempt was made at his larboard quarter, but without any better success, as the wind at this time being very light, and both ships sailing so nearly alike, that by making an angle of only half a point from the course, she steered, enabled him to augment his distance. No hope was now left of bringing him to close action, except that derived from being to windward, and the expectation the breeze might favour us first: I accordingly gave orders to steer directly after him, and to keep our bow chase guns playing on his spars and rigging, until our broadside would more effectually reach him. At five, finding from the advantage his stern guns gave him, that he had done considerable injury to our sails and rigging, and being within point blank shot, I gave orders to put the helm to starboard, and fire our main deck guns; this broadside did some further damage to his rigging, and I could perceive that his fore-top-sail yard was wounded, but the sea was so very smooth, and the wind so light, that the injury done was not such as materially to affect his sailing. After this broadside our course was instantly renewed in his wake (under a galling fire from his stern-chase guns, directed at our spars and rigging), and continued until half-past six; at which time, being within reach of his grape, and finding our sails, rigging, and several spars, particularly the main-yard, which had little left to support it except the lifts and braces, very much disabled, I again gave orders to luff across his stern, and gave him a couple of broadsides.——The enemy at this time finding himself so hardly pressed, and seeing while in the act of firing our head sails to left, and supposing that the ship had in a measure lost the effect of her helm, he gave a broad yaw, with the intention of bringing his broadside to bear: finding the *President* answered helm too quick for his purpose, he immediately re-assumed his course, and precipitately fired his 4 after main-deck guns on the starboard side, although they did not bear upon us at the time by 25 to 30 degrees, and he now commenced lightening his ship by throwing overboard all his boats, waste anchors, &c. &c., and by this means was enabled by a quarter before seven to get so far a-head as to prevent our bow chase guns doing execution, and I now perceived with more mortification than words can express, that there was little or no chance left of getting within gun-shot of the enemy again. Under every disadvantage of disabled spars, sails and rigging, I however continued the chase with all the sail we could set, 'till at half-past eleven *p. m.* when perceiving he had gained upwards of three miles, and not the slightest prospect left of coming up with him, I gave up the pursuit, and made the signal to the other ships as they came up to do the same.——During the first of the chase, while the breeze was fresh and sailing by the wind, I thought the whole of the squadron gained upon the enemy. It was soon discoverable, however, the advantage he acquired by sailing large, and this I conceive he must have derived in so great a degree by start-

ing his water, as I could perceive upwards of an hour before we came within gun-shot, water running out of his scuppers. ——While in chase, it was difficult to determine whether our own situation or that of the other vessels of the squadron was the most unpleasant. The superior sailing of the *President* was not such (off the wind) as to enable us to get upon the broadside of the enemy; the situation of the others was not less irksome, as not even the headmost, which was the *Congress*, was able at any time to get within less than two gun-shots distant, and even at that but for a very little time.——In endeavouring to get along side of the enemy, 16 persons were killed and wound by the bursting of our own gun.

Twenty-second Bulletin of the French Grand Army. Moscow, Sept. 27.

The Consul-General Lessips has been appointed Intendant of the Province of Moscow. He has organized a Municipality and several Commissions, all composed of inhabitants of the country.——The fires have entirely ceased. We every day discover magazines of sugar, furs, clothes, &c. The enemy's army appears to retire upon Kalouga and Toula. Toula contains the greatest manufactory of arms which there is in Russia. Our advanced guard is upon the Pakra.——The Emperor is lodged in the Imperial Palace of the Kremlin. We have found in the Kremlin several of the ornaments used at the Coronation of the Emperors, and all the flags taken from the Turks for upwards of one hundred years. The weather is nearly the same as at the end of October at Paris. It rains a little, and we have had some white frosts. ——We are assured that the Moskwa, and the rivers of the country, do not freeze before the middle of November. The greater part of the army is cantoned at Moscow, where it rests from its fatigues.

The following Bulletin was on Thursday issued by Government:—

Foreign Office, Oct. 22, 1812.

Dispatches were this morning received from General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. dated St. Petersburgh, Oct. 3, containing the following particulars:—

Reports have been received from the army, to the North of Moscow, up to the 28th ult. inclusive, by which it appears that the advanced posts of that army patrol daily to within a few wersts of Moscow, on all the roads leading to the northern, eastern, or western direction, and that French parties have not ventured far on any of them; wherever such parties have been met, [illegible] have been driven in, or cut to pieces.

The main army, under Prince Kutosow, occupies a strong position to the South of Moscow, at the distance of little more than 20 wersts. It commands all the roads leading in a southern direction; and communicates with the patrols of the northern corps, in the eastern and western roads. Several French detachments, and convoys of [illegible] and ordnance stores have been [illegible] on the Smolensko road, and detachments from the main army have been successful on other quarters, particulars of which are not yet received.

A powerful Russian force is assembling to the westward, of which the Moldavian army forms a part. Count Wittgenstein has had several brilliant affairs with the enemy on the Dwina, and a corps from Riga took possession of Mittau on the 30th of September—the enemy every where retiring before it.

Several supplies, intended for the French army, have been taken in that quarter. The French have burnt the greater part of Moscow, which they found stript, and evacuated by most of its inhabitants—the Steward of the Foundling Hospital being the most eminent public functionary they found in the city.

The army is reinforced, and the zeal of all ranks of the people continues to be manifested by contributions and personal voluntary service.

The Chief of the Staff, Baron De Wintzingerode, reports, under date of the 25th of September, as follows:

Upon the roads of St. Petersburgh, of Dmetriefsk, of Jaroslaft, and of Wolodimir, all is well; and the enemy has made no movement in advance. My vanguard towards Moscow remains as in my last report; and Colonel Jalowaisky who commands it, has reported to me, that the Sotnik Pschenitchnikoff, who had advanced from Tchenoy Gras towards Moscow, met with the enemy near the village of Nikols, and having charged his advanced guard made thirty prisoners. At Nikols there are only some cavalry of the enemy, the patrol of his infantry having retired to Moscow.

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the COURIER;——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*; part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knap-* "*sacks* was the ground of the complaint that ex-"cited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—— That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings, that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register, that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the two, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Baxter of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf, that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England, that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells, that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LIVERPOOL ELECTION.——This election, at which Messrs. Brougham, Creevey, Canning, Gascoygne, and Tarleton were candidates, and which has ended in the choosing of Messrs. Canning and Gascoygne, has given rise to the making and publishing of some speeches of Mr. Canning, which merit attention.——These speeches have been made at dinners given to him by the corrupt crew through whose influence he has been returned; and, it is worthy of remark, that he has shown a greater fondness for speech-making at Taverns than any of those, whom he and his associates have heretofore reproached for such a practice. ——I have now before me his speeches made at the dinner of the 26th of October, some parts of which are well calculated to call forth the indignation of every man who has left in him any regard for the honour and happiness of the country.——He was well aware, that his treaters consisted principally of those men, who have thriven, and who still thrive, upon THE WAR; and, therefore, he took the opportunity not only to justify (as far as he was able) the continuance of the war, but also to applaud the measures which first produced it, and which had prolonged it.——In doing this, he put forward assertions and arguments, which, though perfectly congenial with the taste and interests of his hearers, demand our serious reprobation.——"Commerce," he said, "and peace were linked together. "And it had been endeavoured to be insinuated by his opponents, that they alone "could be the faithful guardians of their "interests. He admitted this as a general "principle. Lovers of peace! who were "not lovers of peace? In the abstract, "who were *lovers of war*, of *famine*, or of "*pestilence?* Those who published these "propositions knew they were deceiving "the audience they addressed. They knew "that the questions of peace and war were "amongst the most difficult questions that "imagination could conceive, or human "genius could be called upon to disentangle. Those were not simple propositions "of elementary truth. No, they were "always interwoven with *considerations* "and *circumstances* which they well knew "would perplex the discussion of those "subjects with difficulties whenever they "were proposed; but these they kept out "of sight when they wished to make an "impression on popular feelings. These "men talk of peace in a state of the world "in which all those ties which compose the "elements of society were weakened, almost rent asunder, by the desolating "principles of our enemy. They talk of "peace, and of themselves as the lovers "and advocates of peace, as absurdly as if "an inhabitant of a West India island, "amidst earthquakes and volcanoes, should "talk of physical order and perpendicular "position. Who does not love light better than darkness? But when *the storm* "*is abroad* for *purposes inscrutable to us* "in the moral as in the physical world, "when PROVIDENCE has *let loose upon* "*us this scourge of mankind*, to talk of "loving peace in the abstract would be a "reflection upon the understanding of those "men, if it did not call in question the "heart. Absurd as the doctrine was when "applied to our state and the state of the "world in general, with what aggravated "absurdity did it present itself to our view "in a great commercial town. Peace— "WITH WHOM? With that *friend of* "*peace*, with him who had fostered the "commercial intercourse of mankind, and "with him who had told them publicly "that it is his object to destroy that which "was the foundation of their greatness; "that which is the glory of their state." ——This is no more than a repetition of the old, the vile, the hypocritical cant, with which this long and bloody war was begun and continued for the first ten years. Let us, however, examine it a little, and see whether it ought to form any excuse for those who have been guilty of the shameful act of electing its frothy and impudent author.——He asks, who is a lover of war in the *abstract*; who is a lover of *famine* "or of *pestilence*?"—Nobody, to be sure. Nobody loves war merely for *war's sake*,

merely because it produces misery to the nations who carry it on; but, there are, as Mr. Canning well knows, thousands and thousands, who are lovers of *what they gain by war*, and of these many thousands *four* hundred are said to have been before his eyes at the moment he was speaking. No, they do not love war merely for the *sake of war; of famine;* and of *pestilence;* they, on the contrary, love it for the sake of its profits to them; for the sake of the fine houses, and carriages, and horses, and footmen that it gives them. They know, indeed, that it impoverishes others, that it creates paupers and misery amongst the community at large; that it sheds rivers of blood, and produces an enormous mass of human woes; they know that it causes scenes like those at Walcheren and at Moscow; but, they do not love war for the sake of these things; they love war for the sake of the profits arising to them out of contracts, commissaryships, paymasterships, transport hire, per-centage on taxes, staff appointments, and the like; they love war for the sake of the large sums it causes to be raised in taxes, and of which sums they have a great deal more than the soldiers and sailors; this is what they love war for; and, if they could have the money without the misery and the bloodshed and the fire and the sacking, they would, I dare say, prefer it; but, as this cannot be; as they could not get at the public money without the channel of war, they love war, and with all its miseries to others, they prefer it to peace.——These are the reasons for their being lovers of war. They do not love war in the *abstract*, but for the "*cir-*" "*cumstances* and *considerations*" with which war is interwoven. If any one wishes to be satisfied of this, let him take his pen and divide the forty millions a year which the war costs into two parts; let him put by itself all the money which is *paid to the soldiers and sailors;* then he will see what remains to be paid away to contractors and others who gain by the war: and, when he has this view of the "*cir-*" "*cumstances* and *considerations*" before him, he will cease to wonder at Mr. Canning (one of the principal supporters of the war) being feasted by 400 persons.—— So much for the flimsy observation about the loving of war in the abstract, which has no more sense in it than there would be in saying, that a dealer in seats does not love bribery and corruption in the abstract; or, that the murderer of the Marrs and Williamsons did not love blood in the abstract. If the villain, who murdered the Marrs and Williamsons, and the more cowardly villain, who has assisted to murder his country by trafficking in seats, or by justifying such traffick, could have got the money which was the object of their deeds without the blood or the bribery, there is no doubt that they would have preferred it; but, they must have the money, and not being able to come at it without the bribery and the blood, they resorted to them, without loving them in the abstract any more than Mr. Canning's hearers love war in the abstract.——I dare say, that it is not an *abstract* love that Mr. Canning and his Mother and Sisters have to their *sinecures* and *pensions.* They do not, I'll engage, like them so well as they would like estates in house and land: it is the "*circumstances* and "*considerations;*" that is to say, the *money* which is attached to those grants which makes them love the grants; and, as long as war is profitable to so many thousands and hundreds of thousands of persons; as long as there are so many to gain by the war, so long the supporters of war will have friends and abettors. This is the character in which Mr. Canning was supported at Liverpool; he was voted for as an advocate for war and for a corrupt influence in parliament; and he well knew, that, at the very moment that his speech was applauded, he was viewed with contempt. The contempt was, indeed, mutual: he despised his hearers for their motives; and they despised him for his.——Having talked about war in the abstract, Mr. Canning next came to speak of those "*circum-*" "*stances* and *considerations,*" which he had before hinted at. Who, he asks, does not love peace in the *abstract?* And then he proceeds, in his way, to state the *obstacles* to peace. Now, what are these? Hear him: "But, when the *storm is* "*abroad* for purposes *inscrutable* to us, in "the moral as in the physical world, when "PROVIDENCE has let loose upon us "the scourge of mankind" . . . . Stop! stop! Thou pious Clerk of the Hanaper! Do stop and let us discuss this with you a little.——What is meant by the "storm being abroad?" Deceivers, impostors, all the tribe deal in tropes and figures. What storm is it that we are in? We are in *a war*, and a war of our own making too, for we *began* the war by seizing French ships at sea and in our ports, and by making prisoners of French people; and how, thou frothy declaimer; how, thou man of tropes, is the storm to be put

an end to but by a *peace*?——But, you tell us, that this storm is abroad "for purposes "inscrutable to us." Oh! no; the purposes are perfectly scrutable, as I have shown above. The *profits* of war to its advocates are as clearly to be defined as the amount of your sinecure.——"PROVI-"DENCE has *let loose upon us* the scourge "of mankind;" and, *therefore*, to talk of loving peace in the abstract is extreme folly.——"Indeed, Captain, it was the "*cudgel*," as Stephen observes to Bobadil, when the latter complains of being *Planet-struck*. Indeed, Mr. Canning, Providence has had no special spite against us: indeed and indeed it is not Providence who has interfered in the war: it was Mr. Pitt and his associates, siding with the old governments of Europe: they it was, and not Providence, who first let loose the genius and courage of the French people against the regal and ecclesiastical establishments of Europe, and you and your colleagues have assisted mainly in preventing those assailants from laying down their arms. The measures of tyrannical and besotted men, calling themselves statesmen, and not any particular decree of Providence, have produced the dangers which you describe.——But, suppose you to be right in this assertion, how does it agree with other assertions that you have made upon this and former occasions?——If it be Providence who has let loose Napoleon upon us, why do you revile Napoleon? If he be an instrument in the hands of Providence, is it just, nay, is it not impious, to rail against him for what he has done, and is doing, in that capacity? To rail against him for doing what Providence forces him to do, is, in fact, to rail against Providence. And, thus it is, that a frothy coxcomb, intoxicated with the plaudits of a servile and venal crew, exposes himself to the ridicule and contempt of men of sense. ——If we adopt this doctrine of Mr. Canning; if we admit that the legation of Buonaparté is of divine origin, it seems to me, that we must, at once, cease all our philippics against him on account of the devastation, the plunder, the bloodshed, and all the other horrid things that are said to accompany his footsteps. The Russians charge him with having caused the city of Moscow to be burnt. This is not true, but, suppose it were true? Who would dare to blame him, or even the act, if the doctrine of Mr. Canning be admitted? Moses did more in the way of devastation, slaughter, bloodshed, and the rest of it, than Napoleon has done. Upon one particular occasion, as it is recorded in the Holy Scriptures, the army under Moses's command *killed all the men* of a country that he attacked, and "took," says the Bible, "all the *women* of Midian captives, and "their little ones, and took the spoil of all "their cattle, and all their flocks, and all "their goods. And they *burnt all their* "*cities* wherein they dwelt and *all their* "*goodly castles* with fire. And they took "all the spoil, and all the prey, both of "men and of beasts. And they brought "all the spoil, &c. &c. &c. to Moses and "*Eleazar the Priest*." —— Well; but things did not stop here; for, as we are told, in the same Chapter, "Moses was "*wroth* with the officers of the host;" and, for what? We shall hear: "And "Moses said unto them: *Have you saved* "*all the* WOMEN *alive?* Behold, these "caused the children of Israel, through the "counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass "against the Lord in the matter of Peor, "and there was a plague among the con-"gregation of the Lord. Now, therefore, "KILL every male amongst the LITTLE "ONES, and kill every WOMAN that "hath known man by lying with him. "But all the women children that have not "known man by lying with him, KEEP "ALIVE FOR YOURSELVES."— These acts are recorded in the book of Numbers, Chapter xxxi. And, as to Joshua, who, next after Moses, appears to have been the favourite instrument in the hands of Providence, he not only slew men, women, and children, without regard to age or condition; he not only set whole cities on fire, and exterminated their inhabitants, but, upon one particular occasion, when fighting against a most rascally combination of crowned heads, namely, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon; upon this occasion Joshua, not finding the day long enough for the completing of his slaughter, commanded the sun and moon to stand still; and, it is written, "that *the sun stood still*, and the *moon* "*stayed*, until the people had *avenged* *themselves upon their enemies*."——Now, as Mr. Canning will not, I presume, attempt to question the justice and propriety of the acts thus recorded, so, I presume, he will not deny that they are to be justified only because the actors were set on, or, to use his own words, *let loose*, by Providence; and, if this be a justification, as it is held to be, of Moses and Joshua, has not

Mr. Canning been providing a justification for Napoleon, even supposing all the acts ascribed to him have really been committed by him? The killing of all the grown women and all the male children of the Midians, and the ordering of all the young girls to be kept alive for the soldiers, seem to equal, at least, any thing that even Sir Robert Wilson has attributed to Buonaparté; but, then, observe, in the case of Moses, he was, we know, sent by the Lord to cause these orders to be put in execution; whereas, as we have hitherto been led to believe, Buonaparté is an infidel and more likely to be sent by the Devil; but, we are now told, all at once, we now hear it roundly asserted, that he is sent by Providence, that is to say, by the Lord, and, of course, that his legation has the same origin as that of Moses; whence, if we were to admit the doctrine of Mr. Canning, it would naturally result, that Buonaparté is to be applauded instead of censured for the killings, and burnings, and devastations that have been ascribed to his commands!——Some persons, and I amongst others, have been reproached with being an *apologist* for Napoleon; what, then, ought to be said of the man, who, in the most public manner, holds him forth to the nation as one sent against, and let loose upon it, by Divine Providence itself; aye, by that very Being, on whom, in a prayer prepared by the Archbishop of Canterbury, we are, by royal proclamation, commanded to call for protection against that same Napoleon? What shall be said of the man who does this; and what shall be said of the crew who are said to have received his harangue with rapturous applause?——But, again, if Napoleon be an instrument in the hands of Providence, what hope is there that we shall be successful in resisting him? I leave it for casuists like Mr. Canning to decide, whether it be consistent with religion to resist one who comes armed with the authority of Providence; but, is it possible that we can *succeed* in such resistance? Napoleon has been called impious because he said that he was destined by Providence to new-model Europe; yet Mr. Canning asserts the fact; and, if it be a fact, it surely is a great consolation to us, and, above all, a great encouragement to proceed in the war. There is scarcely ever a King's Speech which does not conclude with a prayer for success in the war, *under the protection and with the aid of Divine Providence;* but, if Napoleon has been let loose upon us by Divine Providence, Divine Providence is on his side, and then what hope have we of success in the war, unless Mr. Canning takes it for granted, that Divine Providence, like the rest of our former allies, is in future to be numbered amongst our enemies, and entertains hopes of beating Divine Providence and Buonaparté too?——Leaving this disgusting, this hypocritical cant, to the admiration of the electors of Mr. Canning, let us hear his other objections to peace. "*Peace,*" says he, "*with whom?*" Why, with him, whom we made peace with before; with him whom Mr. Addington and Lord Liverpool (*whose healths were given by Mr. Canning at this dinner*) made peace; with him from whom we received, in the way of cession, the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad, though belonging to the Dutch and the Spaniards; with him whom we acknowledged, by the most solemn acts, to be the legitimate chief magistrate of France; with him who, upon a charge of having endeavoured to rouse the people of France against his authority, Mr. Peltier was prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench, and, upon the recommendation of the Judge, found guilty of a criminal libel; with him whom, in a convention at Cintra, Lord Wellington acknowledged to be Emperor of France; with him to whom we have sent envoys and ambassadors, and with respect to whom we have done every thing that is usually done by us towards foreign sovereigns.——This is the man with whom we might, only a few months ago, have had peace; and this, I take it, is a pretty satisfactory answer to the question of Mr. Canning, "*with whom?*"——But, he goes on to ask if Napoleon be "the *friend of peace?*" In answer to this we may say, that we can only judge of him by his acts; and that, if to have frequently tendered the olive branch to his enemies, and particularly to our Government; if to have sought negociation for peace in the midst of victories; if to have voluntarily put a stop to his career of conquest and glory by treaties of peace; if to have got the better of the pride and passion imputed to him for the purpose of procuring peace; if to have been ready to yield even the ostensible object of a ten years' war for the sake of peace with us; and if to have now a manifest interest in the making and the preserving of peace in Europe; if all these put together constitute a fair claim to the title of "*friend of peace,*" then my answer to Mr. Canning is, that Napoleon is the friend of peace, and that those are the real enemies of peace

who refuse to treat u[pon] a basis similar to that which was offered to our Government only a few months ago.——We now come to a part of Mr. Canning's speech, which, though a sad hodge-podge, demands a good deal of attention, as being a fair specimen of the sophistry and falsehood by which the people are deluded into an approbation of the continuation of the war against France. ——"They" (meaning his antagonists at the election) "describe," he said, "in "glowing colours what are the sufferings "of war, and they fain would persuade us "that those who, in spite of our sufferings, "exhort us to persevere, are *insensible to "the miseries of our fellow creatures.* "War had its miseries in the stagnation of "commerce, and in the privation of many "domestic comforts; who was the man "that had a heart to look at them without "being affected. But he wished his ad-"versaries would deal fairly. War, he "observed, was full of difficulty and dan-"ger; yet it had *its consolations too;* but "how happens it that those Gentlemen in-"vert the glass when they look at the vic-"tories of our enemies; *as they are pre-"sented to our view, we hear no particu-"lars of the miseries and privations to "which they subject the inhabitants of "France;* but on the other hand, when "they looked at our exploits, they turned "the diminishing side of the glass, and "presented a magnified view of our mise-"ries. But I would ask them whether *the "mother in France, when delivered of a "male child, did not look forward to the "19th year, when he was to be torn to piti-"less destruction?* He would ask them, "*whether agriculture was not languishing "for want of male population?* The sub-"jects of the conqueror are consoled by "glory, but let us be mindful of their *un-"happiness;* and in a war *from which we "cannot extricate ourselves,* let the perse-"verance which England has already so "successfully exerted, be continued. If "peace *could be obtained,* God forbid that "it should not be so! but is peace to be "enjoyed with *the security of peace?* It "must be so enjoyed, or it would only sub-"stitute a temporary repose, to be follow-"ed by a more dreadful and destructive "war. It had been said, and said wisely, "too, that character had its inconveniences, "that a man of reputation dared not do a "base action, though it might be advan-"tageous, and to extend that remark from "individuals to national character, it might "be safely asserted that, when a nation "forfeited its honour, it had forfeited its "existence." Not such the opinions of our "adversaries, who think that *peace pur-"chased at that price is preferable to war "carried on with such sacrifices as we are "making.*"——Let us take this passage in its regular order.——Mr. Canning professes to *feel* for the miseries of those who suffer so severely from the war; but, it is easy to *profess;* and, until he gives up the receipt of the sums he receives as a *sinecure placeman,* together with all that he has received from that source, I do not choose to give him much credit for *feeling* for the sufferings of the people. He may ask as long as he pleases, "what man *with a "heart* can look at these sufferings without "being *affected;*" but, while he continues to pocket a part of the taxes which produce these sufferings, I shall be disposed to set down questions like this to the account of hypocrisy.——"War," he says, "has its "*consolations;*" but, as he does not tell us *to whom,* we must suppose him to mean, to *those who thrive by the war;* for, as to consolation arising from the miseries of the people of France, that, I believe, is of a sort to be felt by nobody, or, at least, by nobody but the most malignant of the sons and daughters of corruption.——Let us, however, inquire into the fact as far as he descends to particulars. He says, he would ask, "whether the MOTHER in "France, when delivered of a *male child,* "does not look forward to the 19th year, "when he is to be *torn to pitiless destruc-"tion;* and whether *agriculture* is not "languishing there *for want of a male po-"pulation?*" -Now, reader, here are two questions which I will answer fully; and, I am persuaded, to your satisfaction, though, perhaps, not much to that of Mr. Canning.——The gentleman is, however, here, a very barefaced plagiarist. Not stored with sufficient falsehoods of his own, he has robbed the Courier news-paper of a part, at least, of what he has, in this place, spouted off upon his friends at Liverpool. The trick of putting his propositions into the shape of *questions* must not screen him from the charge of uttering falsehood. He does, in fact, here mean to give the weight of assertion to what those questions point at; he means that his hearers should understand, 1st. That the mothers in France, when delivered of male children, are made miserable by the reflection, that, when they attain the age of 19 years, they will be torn from them, as soldiers, to *pitiless destruction;* and, 2d. That agriculture lan-

guishes in France for the *want of men*, the drain of men by the war having been so great.——This *second* assertion was made by the Editor of the Courier in the month of April last, and of this Editor, Mr. Canning is, in this instance, at least, no more than an imitator.——I exposed the falsehood then, and shall now do little more than repeat what I then said. When I have so done, I shall return to the *first* assertion, and give my reasons for believing, that the first is as false as the second.——

——We come now to a fact, which, one would have supposed, that even no hireling would have had the assurance to state. It is this: that, in consequence of the drain of men, occasioned by the war, the land in France, is chiefly cultivated by women! Mark this fact, reader! "The "land is chiefly cultivated by women;" and, says the hireling, this is "a fact upon "which our readers may rely!"——This is worthy of particular notice, as being a striking specimen of the imposture of these hired writers and of the credulity of this nation, the great mass of whom appear never to think for themselves, and to possess none of the capacity necessary for the detection of falsehood.——Let us try this fact by the test of reason; this famous fact, upon which the readers of the Courier are told "they may rely." The assertor produces no proof of it. He does not pretend to have been in France himself; nor does he produce any evidence, not even the evidence of fabricated letters or dispatches. Well, then, he has no grounds for his assertion, and I might dismiss it at once as false; but, considering that its object and tendency are to deceive the people as to the real state of France, and to encourage them to approve of a continuance of the war with a view to produce the downfall of Buonaparté, I will offer a few further remarks upon the subject.——The war, we are told, has so drained France of men, that the land is now chiefly cultivated by women.—Now, reader, please to attend to a few facts. Napoleon, agreeably to the report laid before the Senate last year, has 800,000 men in arms. We are now to consider what is the population out of which this number of men is taken and kept up. The population of France alone, before the revolution, was 26 millions. Every one knows, that population keeps pace with food; and, when we consider the immense wastes, parks, pleasure grounds, &c. that have, during the last 20 years, been brought into cultivation; when we consider the dividing large estates and making such amazing augmentation in the number land proprietors, all cultivating their own soil; when we consider that from 2 to 300,000 bishops, priests, monks, and nuns, who could not marry, and who possessed a good third part of the land and other property of the kingdom, have made way for multitudes of fathers, mothers, and children, now fed by the produce of that same land; when we consider these things, it is impossible not to conclude, that the population of France herself, if we were to go no further, is greatly increased. But, let us suppose it to have remained stationary, and to be still what it was before the revolution; that is to say, that it still amounts to no more than 26 millions of people. This being the case, France furnishes 1 man in arms out of every 32½ of her people.——And now, then let us see what this kingdom, this "United Kingdom of Great Bri- "tain and Ireland;" this kingdom with a long name, and which has, in the bombast of the news-papers, an "Imperial Parlia- "ment;" let us see what this kingdom furnishes of men in arms: because, if we find that it furnishes more in proportion than France does, and if we see that the cultivation of the land has not fallen upon the women in this kingdom, we shall then have pretty good proof of the falsehood of what the Courier asserts with respect to the present employment of the women in France.——The population of this kingdom, including emigrants, blacks, lascars, and Germans, together with all the birds of passage for ever coming into and going out of it; including all these, our population may, perhaps, be swelled up to nearly 15 millions. Now, according to the army estimates of last year, we had in the Regular Army, including the embodied Militia, 382 thousand men; and, in the navy, 145 thousand, making, together, 527,000 men. In some of our boasting accounts, published in the news-papers, they have been called 640,000 men. But 527,000 we paid for. Some few thousands more, indeed; but, let us be within compass. Now, then, we shall find, that this kingdom (would it had a short name!); we shall find that this kingdom furnishes 1 man in arms out of every 28½ of its people; we shall find, that while the Emperor of France calls for one man out of 32½ of his subjects, our king calls for one man out of 28½ of his subjects; we shall find, that the drain of men is one seventh greater upon our popula-

tion than it is upon that of the French; and, as we know very well, that this drain has not thrown upon the women the cultivation of the land in England, we must, if we would be thought rational men, conclude, that this story about the cultivation of the land in France by women, is a falsehood; a sheer invention for the purpose of deceiving the people of this country, and of favouring the views of those who delight in war, because it enriches them and their families.——"But," exclaims the reader, "you have "forgotten!" Oh! no, I have not forgotten! I have not forgotten that Old France contains but a part of that population, out of which Napoleon draws his 800,000 men; I have not forgotten, that he is King of Italy, that Holland and Brabant and the Hans Towns and part of Germany belong to his empire; and that he not only draws troops from all these, but from the more distant parts of Europe governed by sovereigns his allies. Oh! no; I have not forgotten that his empire contains upwards of 40,000,000 of people, instead of 26,000,000; but I had a mind to shew how the comparison stood with France alone, in order to put this hireling the more completely to shame.——Take, then, Napoleon's empire at 40,000,000 of people, which is far within bounds, and you will find, that he takes but one man in arms out of every 50 of his people; while our king takes one man in arms out of every 28½ of his people! And yet, this hireling has the impudence to attempt to make us believe, that the drain of men in France has thrown the cultivation of the land upon the women! If scarcity and discontent be produced in France by a drain of one out of fifty, what must the drain of one of twenty-eight and a half produce? Thus does this hireling strike into the bowels of his own government, when he is aiming the blow at that of Napoleon. But, such is the desire to decry the government of France; so eager the desire to make the people here believe that the French are slaves, that the consequence of such efforts to our government are wholly overlooked.——So much for this fact, upon which, he says, his readers may rely.——We will now return to Mr. Canning's first assertion; namely, that the mothers, in France, when delivered of male children, are made miserable by the reflection, that, when they shall have attained the age of 19 years, they will be *torn* from them to *pitiless destruction*.— In the first place this is an exaggeration. It is a falsehood conveyed in empty [illegible]. Mothers, when they are delivered, thi[nk] nothing about what is to become of thei[r ch]ildren. But, the intention here is [to deceiv]e the people of England as to the mode of raising soldiers in France, as well as to the proportion of young men taken from their homes to serve as soldiers, and also to deceive them as to the *nature of the service* which those young men are employed in.——This is a subject of great consequence; because, upon the assumption, that the Conscription is intolerable in France, is built the conclusion, that the people of France must hate the government of Napoleon, and must be ready to fall into any project for the deliverance of their country from what is called his tyranny; and on this is grounded the further conclusion, that, if we do but continue the war for a little longer, we shall overset this formidable enemy.——Now, then, let us see how the case stands.—*First*, it is false to say, that the mothers are at all affected by what *may* happen to their children at the end of 19 years; *second*, the conscription cannot, as we have seen above, take but a comparatively small portion of the young men away; *third*, the mode of taking them to be *general*, must be *impartial*, and, of course, much less, infinitely less, galling than if the hardship fell upon the poor only; *fourth*, it is not to *pitiless destruction* that they are sent, but to war, and war attended with all the glory, renown, and advantage, that belong to victory and conquest. Besides, reader, bear in mind these important facts, which even the assurance of Mr. Canning will not induce him to deny; namely, that, the private soldiers in the French army are treated with great respect by their officers; that they are permitted to share, under the name of plunder, very largely in the fruit of victory; and, above all, that, OUT OF THE RANKS ALL THE COMMISSIONED OFFICERS ARE TAKEN. Consider this, consider that Massena, Brune, Victor, Marmont, Soult, Suchet, were all private soldiers; consider, that, out of 16 Marshals of France, who are now Dukes and Princes, 14 were the sons of Farmers and Tradesmen; consider that all the regiments, all the rank, all the honours, all the emoluments of the service, which, indeed, constitute nine tenths of all the honours and emoluments of the empire, are enjoyed, and must be enjoyed, by men who are in the first

place private soldiers; consider, too, that there is one commissioned officer to about every twenty privates; and then, you will, I am persuaded, agree with me, that each conscript puts his services into a pretty good lottery.——Mr. Canning forgot these things; or he was too ignorant of the affairs of France to know any thing of them; or, which is full as likely, he wished to put a false picture before the people of England.—— If, indeed, all the commissions, all the honours, all the emoluments of the service were swallowed up by the sons of the rich, and if nothing but hardships and the knocking out of brains were left for the sons of the poor; if promotion did not proceed from the ranks; then I should be ready to believe, that the conscription in France must of necessity create great discontents; but, where the chance of promotion is so fair; where the lottery is so rich and the blanks so few, I am not to be made believe, that the conscription, though still a heavy burden, is viewed with any thing approaching to feelings of horror.—— It is to be observed, besides, that the genius of the French people is *military;* that it always was so; that to become even a private soldier always raised a man in the scale of public estimation; that to have *served* was, in all times, a matter of boasting in France, and a settled title to a larger share of respect than the party would otherwise have put in a claim to.——These are considerations which escape us in this country, and this is the reason why we hear so many persons, otherwise well-informed, expressing their astonishment at the zeal and fidelity of the French soldiers and at the submission of the people to the laws of the conscription.——We will now leave Mr. Canning to condole with the lying-in mothers in France, while we observe upon the false and malignant conclusion of the passage last quoted, where he says, that we, who are for treating for peace, "are *willing to purchase* it at the "expense of the *honour* of our country." ——He does not pretend to produce any *proof* of this assertion, which is, indeed, no more than a repetition of the old stale calumny, which has been in use by him and his like for the last twenty years. But, he lays it down as an axiom, that we cannot have peace with the *security of peace.* This he does not attempt to *prove*, and it is also an old battered assertion. He afterwards observes, that we *cannot be safe alone;* that our *lot* is cast with that of the *civilized world*, by which he, doubtless, means the old governments of Europe, including *the Inquisition of Spain*, which, as our own news-papers informed us, was re-established at Madrid in a few days after our army got possession of the place. And, is our *lot* cast with the Inquisition; are we to stand or fall with that; and are those to be denominated enemies of their country, who refuse to act upon such a notion? My opinion is, that, if our resources were well and honestly managed, we, *alone*, might set the world at defiance, if the world, which is not to be believed, should, in that case, be resolved to act unjustly towards us; and, therefore, I would have treated with Napoleon upon the basis of his last proposition. If we adopt Mr. Canning's notion, which, disguise it however he may, is that of a necessity of continuing the contest till we have restored the old governments of Europe, our case is, indeed, desperate.—— We have now done with the first speech of Mr. Canning at this dinner; but, there was a *second*, made upon the arrival of the Boroughreeve of Manchester, accompanied by certain persons of that town, who begged to be permitted to partake of the honours of the sitting, and one of whom, it would seem, gave, as a toast, "the im- "mortal memory of the Rt. Hon. WIL- "LIAM PITT;" whereupon, it is reported, Mr. Canning rose and said, "That "it was expected of them who were pre- "sent that they should return thanks for "any honour conferred on their absent "friends. It might be pardonable in him "if he expressed his acknowledgment for "the honour they had done to the me- "mory of Mr. Pitt, and in doing which "they had not the sense of Liverpool only, "but *of England;* not of England only, "but *of Europe*, of *posterity*, and of *the* "*world.* He said, he had *always been* "*true to his principles.* But there had "been instances where his principles had been misunderstood, but he knew that in this place they had always found able advocates.—There was one point on which, in the course of the recent contest, his memory had been called in "question, and his principles misrepre- "sented—*that he was the advocate and au-* "*thor of war.* If there lived a statesman "in the world whose interests, indivi- "dually, were founded in peace,—if there "was ever a statesman of whom it might "be presumed, that in conducting his "country into war he was led by a sense "of irresistible *necessity*, it must have

"been in the foundation of his firm judg-"ment, and laid on the same basis with "that of the *prosperity of his country.* "When posterity should look back upon "the memory of that great man, they would "discriminate two different eras in his "life. The one on his succession to the "government of the country, he found the "state dilapidated, and its resources ener-"vated by an ill-conducted war. He laid "the foundation of that SOLID SYSTEM "of which it was enough to say that it "lived *in our breasts unimpaired*, and "had endured amid the storms which had "assailed it since that time. Whether it "were the fault of Mr. Pitt or not the "fault (he meant of his judgment, and "which would afford a fair test of histo-"rical controversy,) whether he began "the war which has continued with little "intermission to the present time—whe-"ther that were his fault or not, *it had* "*been by his plans that the country had* "*been enabled to continue it.* But he did "not think even without his councils war "could have been deferred. A second "era of his political life began at the pe-"riod, when from the centre of Europe "burst forth that volcanic eruption of *de-*"*solating principles*, which threatened to "*overwhelm the civilized world:* these "principles, he observed, *he had success-*"*fully resisted.* After some further re-"marks he observed, that he trusted that "into whatever hands the Government of "this great country should be committed, "they would ever keep *his example* before "their eyes; and that they would learn "from his example, *exertion* abroad." ——Any thing more empty, more completely devoid of sense than this latter-birth harangue, I do not remember to have met with even in the reports of the debates in the Honourable House.——The reader will perceive, that, even in the face of this crew of war-mongers, Mr. Canning did not think it proper to attempt a justification of the beginning of the late war against France. Yet, that must be justified, or the memory of Pitt must stand blasted in the sight of posterity.——But, he was, it seems, the author of "a "SOLID SYSTEM, of which it was "ENOUGH to say, that it lived in our "BREASTS unimpaired, and had en-"dured amidst the storms that had as-"sailed it since that time."——What did he mean? What *system?* I suppose, that the system he alludes to must be the *funding system;* and, if so, Mr. Canning, it is not quite *enough* to say, that "it still "lives in our *breasts* unimpaired." It is in our *purses;* in our purses, good Clerk of the Hanaper; it is there that a system of finance ought to be unimpaired; but, you deal so much in rhetorical figures, that, perhaps, by *breasts* you may mean purses, as the things nearest to the hearts of your hearers. If so, your assertion was merely false, it being perfectly notorious, that the system, so far from being *solid*, was the most hollow and deceitful that ever was invented by man, and that it has produced and is producing all the ruinous effects that were anticipated from its adoption.——Indeed, a man must be possessed of a surprising stock of impudence to be able to stand up in the midst of some hundreds of persons, and applaud the system of Pitt for its *solidity*, at a time when the paper-money, created by that system, is so depreciated as to require acts of parliament and severe penalties to prevent it from being openly exchanged at a great discount against the legal coin of the kingdom. The late parliament did, indeed, declare by solemn *resolution*, that the Bank paper was equal in value to gold and silver coin in the estimation of the people, and they, in a few weeks afterwards, passed an *act*, making it a misdemeanor in any one to exchange the paper against coin at a discount! These two proceedings will immortalize that parliament; but, for an individual, outside of the walls of St. Stephen, to have the impudence to assert, that the paper system is unimpaired, when the regular Price Currents tell us, that Guinea Gold will sell for *Five pounds eight shillings an ounce*, in paper, while it is well known, that it will sell for no more than *Three pounds seventeen shillings and ten pence halfpenny*, in the legal coin of the kingdom; for a man, unprotected by privilege, to insult, in this outrageous manner, the understanding of his hearers would surpass belief, if we did not know, that those hearers were amongst the most stupid as well as the most servile and base of mankind.——Pitt's plans, we are here told, have *enabled us to continue the contest.* That is to say, they have enabled our government to carry on the war by the means of loans, taxation, and bank notes. Really, to hear this man of froth, one would imagine, that it was good for a nation to be *exhausted;* for its paper to become *depreciated;* for its gold and silver to *quit the land. Continue* the contest! So much the worse. It would have been good if

the government had been reduced to the necessity of discontinuing the contest many years ago. But, the question is, will Pitt's plans enable us to *get safe out of this contest?* And this question every man is ready to answer in the negative.——Mr. Canning concludes with the old cheat, which, though threadbare long ago, has, it seems, still its uses. He told the crew, that Pitt had "*successfully* resisted that "volcanic eruption of *desolating principles* "which, at one time, threatened to over- "whelm the *civilized world.*"——He alludes here to the principles of the French revolution; and, if they did actually threaten to overwhelm the civilized world, is it true, reader, that Pitt *successfully resisted them?* How were they expected to operate in the work of *overwhelming?* This flashy orator delights in figures; but, at last, we must, if we can, reduce his words to some plain meaning. What, then, does he mean by the *overwhelming of the civilized world* by principles? Why he must mean, that those principles tended, not to the producing of a real deluge, or flood, in the civilized world, but that they clearly tended to the subversion of the settled order of things in the civilized world; that they tended to the oversetting of establishments in religion, in law, in ranks and degrees, and, especially to the pulling down of sovereigns and of thrones. That this is the only rational sense in which the words can be taken is, I think, evident; and, that being the case, what impudence, what brass, how hardened the front or how empty the skull, of the man who could stand up and assert, that Pitt had *successfully resisted those principles,* when, at the same moment, it was a notorious fact, that scarcely a throne remained unoverset in the civilized world, and that all the establishments, connected with regal or aristocratical sway, had shared the same fate? Perhaps Mr. Canning meant to say, that Pitt had successfully resisted the principles of *the first French revolutionists;* that is to say, the *principles of freedom;* and, if that were his meaning, it must be confessed that his patron and the object of his praise was but too successful. Nevertheless, there is much which he left undone. He was unable, and so have been and will be, his followers, to restore the ecclesiastical and feudal and aristocratical tyranny in France and Italy, in Switzerland and in Germany. To give a pithy instance or two: Pitt was unable to re-establish *Lettres-de-cachet,* the *Gabelle,* the *Corvée,* and the *Tithes,* in France. He was able by the aid of that system which has made the English guinea worth 29 shillings in Bank Paper; by such means he was able to plunge France into a state that called for the government of a single man; but, he was, with all the hundreds of millions of our money that he squandered, unable to re-establish any one of those oppressions by which the people of France were induced to revolt against their old government.——Through the war of Pitt and millions of our money the people of France were deprived of the sort of government that they at first contemplated; but, they were not deprived of a very large part of the advantages which they expected from such a government. They revolted to get rid of Lettres-de-cachet, the Gabelle, the Corvée, the Tithes, and numerous degrading and cruel feudal rights; they revolted to get rid of a corrupt and partial administration of justice; they revolted to get rid of a clergy and nobility who insulted and oppressed them without mercy. This was the grand principle of their revolution, and this principle has not been resisted. However, if the merchants and traders of Liverpool and of the rest of the kingdom are satisfied with what has been done in the way of resistance to French principles, I congratulate them thereon with all my heart, and leave them and Mr. Canning to the enjoyment of all the tranquillity and security which that resistance is, of course, calculated to afford them.

WM. COBBETT.

London, 5th Nov. 1812.

P. S. Since writing the above I have seen a Speech of Mr. Canning, made at *Manchester.* This speech I shall notice in my next.

WEST[illegible] ELECTION.

Letters of Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane, upon their being returned for the City of Westminster, in 1812.

The following Letters have passed between the Committee appointed to conduct the Election for this City and their Representatives. The Resolutions of the General Meeting on the 5th inst. at the Crown and Anchor, had been previously transmitted to Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane.

To Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.

Sir,—In announcing to you have been again returned to Parliament for the City of Westminster, we cannot suppress the satisfaction we feel in observing the steady, though slow advance of public opinion, manifested in the disposition of the Electors of Westminster to do their duty to themselves and to their count to the utter dismay of all Parties, destruction of the formerly overwhe influence of base, corrupt, and infan Administrations, who have merely regarded the *ruling*, not the *benefiting* the nation:—who have considered *power as every thing, the peace, prosperity*, and *happiness* of the people as nothing.——We would willingly "spare you the mortification of "passing a painful life in undignified ef-"forts to stem the torrent of corruption." But when we contemplate the effects produced in this great City, exemplified as they now are, in the return of yourself and your late worthy colleague, *without expense* or *personal trouble*, without communication with either, and without a struggle—when we hear from various places, that the People, rousing from their apathy, are endeavouring to imitate the example of Westminster, we cannot but indulge the hope, that at the next Election, better informed by precept, by example, and by experience, they will so exert themselves, that the "torrent of corruption" may no longer be irresistible, nor your honourable and manly efforts be "unavailing" in promoting the happiness of your country.

By Order of the Committee for conducting the Election for the City and Liberty of Westminster, appointed at a Public Meeting of Electors, Friends to Purity of Election, on Monday, the 6th October, 1812.

SAMUEL BROOKS, Chairman.

Committee Room, 38, King-street, Covent Garden, 9th Oct. 1812.

(A Letter to the same effect was written to Lord Cochrane.)

ANSWERS.

Oxford, Oct. 16, 1812.

Dear Sir,—I found your very flattering Letter on my return here from Tiverton. The noble behaviour of the Electors of Westminster towards me, makes it impossible for me to refuse any exertion in my power which they may think advantageous. The enclosed Answer you will have the ... to communicate.——Your's, very sincerely,

F. Burdett.

To the Electors of Westminster.

Gentlemen,—It is impossible for me to be insensible to the extraordinary mark of confidence with which you have recently honoured me. And although I am thereby again placed in an arduous and difficult situation, from which I should gladly have withdrawn, I cannot, under such auspices, refuse to undertake the forlorn hope of combating that wide-spreading corruption, which seems almost to convert the severity of satire, "that not to be corrupted is the "shame," into mere matter of fact; or, at least, to give room to suppose such to be the prevailing opinion. Nothing, therefore, remains for the friends of their country, but to stand it out as long as they can, prepared, at all times, to make as decent an *exit* as their enemies will permit.——Gentlemen, the small portion which remains of the real Representation of the People (the sole Constitutional Guardian of our Liberty and Property) is now confined to the Counties and great Towns; and even in them, for the most part, Government patronage, places, pensions, promises, threats, and the various methods practised at Elections, render an uncorrupt body of Electors no more to be expected than an uncorrupt Parliament.——I may, however, Gentlemen, be allowed to say, without incurring the suspicion of flattery, that your conduct forms a shining exception. A conduct unparalleled in the annals of this, or, perhaps, of any other country; proving to demonstration the falsehood of those malignant assertions of unprincipled men for traitorous ends, that the great mass of the nation is corrupt, and that Reform is, therefore, neither desirable nor attainable. This outrageous doctrine, invented by knavery to palliate plunder, you have nobly confuted, and furnished a practical and unanswerable argument in favour of freedom of Election.——Gentlemen, at the Revolution one honest line, securing to the People freedom of Election, would have been worth more than all that tedious and ostentatious display of principles and objects set forth, but never really provided for, by the Bill of Rights. I would fain hope, that the example given by the Electors of Westminster, might encourage other places still to contend for that small portion of Independ-

ence which yet remains in the country; and thereby keep alive, at least in the remembrance of their countrymen, their ancient constitutional right to a *full, fair, and free Representation of the People in Parliament*, their only quiet and peaceable security at all times for their rights and property, against the despotism and plunder of the few.——For these purposes you shall always find me, either in or out of Parliament, READY TO LAY DOWN MY LIFE.——Gentlemen, I have received the highest honour I can receive, and the best reward—the approbation of those who trusted me, on the expiration of the trust.——That I should have, and that the Electors of Westminster should think, that I have conducted myself in it with honour and integrity, will be a never-failing source of satisfaction to me, as long as the powers of recollection shall remain to,——Gentlemen, your most affectionate and devoted Servant,

FRANCIS BURDETT.

Oxford, Oct. 16, 1812.

12, *Portman-square, Oct.* 14, 1812.

DEAR SIR,—You will oblige me by handing the enclosed to the Committee for conducting the Election for Westminster.——Believe me sincerely yours,

COCHRANE.

To Mr. Saml. Brooks.

To the Electors of Westminster.

GENTLEMEN,—Being unable to convey in words the sensations I experience in reflecting on the manner in which you have returned me to Parliament, I shall leave it to you, who are capable of such acts, to estimate my feelings.——Permit me, however, in acknowledging the receipt of your Letter of the 10th inst., and transmitted to me through your Committee, to trespass a little on your attention, to offer my congratulations on the effect which has already been produced by the example set by you, on a former occasion, to the Electors of the United Kingdom, and to anticipate, that on every future recurrence to the elective franchise, the noble principle for which you are contending will be felt more strongly, and that "the People, rousing from their "apathy," will imitate the City of Westminster in the purity of their Elections.——In this view of the subject, Gentlemen, I cannot but congratulate you on the recent exercise of the Royal prerogative by the PRINCE REGENT: and being fully convinced that dissolutions of Parliament contribute to the emancipation of the Crown, even more (in the present state of the Representation) than to the Liberty of the Subject, I confess that I am not one of those who anticipate that the late constitutional measure will be followed by a breach of the law.——Gentlemen, no part of the cant of the times seems to me more absurd and hypocritical, than the declamation by party men against what they term the "overwhelming influence of the Crown," when the fact is notorious to us all, that the ruling Faction in Parliament seize the offices of State, and share them amongst themselves. If a doubt as to this truth is entertained by any one, let him reflect on the language of the Parties themselves, "Such an Administration cannot stand." And why, Gentlemen? not because the Royal protection has been withdrawn, but because a sufficient number do not agree as to the division of the spoil. What motive has the Crown for supporting scandalous abuses that are hostile to the interests of the public? As far as the question regards those who fatten on the plunder of their Country, it is needless for me to put it. Our liberties in these days are not in danger from violent and open exercise of Regal Authority; such acts being free from the deception practised by the mock Representatives of the People, would not be tolerated for an instant. No, Gentlemen, it is by the House of Commons alone that the Constitution is subverted, the prerogatives of the Crown usurped, the Rights of the People trampled upon.——Gentlemen, I shall not attempt to enumerate the decisions of the late House of Commons, that will stamp indelible disgrace on the memory of the principal actors, who cannot escape from the contempt and execration of posterity, like the nameless individuals who composed their corrupt majorities. The *effects*, however, of the system of corruption can be more briefly stated—the prolongation of war—the increase of the National Debt—the depreciation of our currency—the disappearance of our coin—the stagnation of our commerce, and the consequent unexampled embarrassment of our manufacturers.——These are the result—for all which evils, Gentlemen, there is no remedy but in the control that would be exercised over the public expenditure, by an honest House of Commons, and in the attention that such a House would pay to the interest of the State. Without a change in the principle

on which Members are returned to Parliament, these objects cannot be attained; nor would a Peace, in the present state of things, produce the benefits anticipated by those who are not aware that the manufacturers of France undersell those of England wherever they come in competition. Even at Malta, our commercial depot, for which we commenced a war that has cost us *Five Hundred Millions sterling* (a sum that would have annihilated the National Debt), when I was there about two years ago, French goods, imported under licenses, were thence distributed, not only to the neighbouring States of Barbary, but to Spain, and even to Gibraltar! Glass, for the use of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, was brought from the dominions of Buonaparté, because it was cheaper! I am in possession of official documents to prove these facts. The stores were full of English goods, which afforded profit to the merchant, not by the course of trade that is beneficial to a country, but by taking the dollars collected to the Commissary General, who furnished them with bills at 30 per cent. premium, paid out of your pockets: —Such was the course of exchange caused by the demand for specie for the Sicilian subsidy, and for the pay and maintenance of an army of 16,000 men, to prolong the oppressions of a people, who were able and willing to defend themselves, but not to uphold the tyranny of a wicked Government, whose abominable despotism had made a desert of the most fertile soil in the world. A spot which was once the granary of Rome.——To return, however, to our own folly, and to the cause of the ruin of our trade, which the abolition of the Orders in Council cannot restore, although their promulgation contributed to destroy it—let me call your attention to the total neglect of Ministers to the principle of the navigation laws, which were the foundation of the commercial greatness of this country, and of its naval superiority; and in doing so now, you will remember that I have more than once noticed the subject, and that I stated to you, three years ago, from documents presented to the House of Commons, that there were then actually 27,000 foreign seamen (the greatest part of whom belonged to countries subject to France) employed in the trade of the Thames.— Yes, Gentlemen, of the River Thames!— Whilst in the same year there were only 16,000 British sailors occupied in its commerce to and from all parts of the Continent! although the market of Spain had been opened. This was one of the effects of the virtual abandonment of the Orders in Council, whilst they were nominally upheld as of vital importance. Perhaps, as it is the nature of corruption to spread, in order to increase the patronage of Ministers, by *the profits arising to individuals* from a monopoly of trade, and the sale of licenses—a disgraceful traffic—derogatory to the character of the nation—thus are we involved in war with America.——Hurtful, however, as the measures we have pursued have been, our total neglect of others has proved still more prejudicial: for whilst France has inflicted the evils of war, or intimidated surrounding States into compliance with her views, we, who have possessed the facilities to direct every portion of our force to unknown points within the extensive range of two thousand miles of unprotected shore, have never even made a demonstration with intention to disturb the enemy's projects, and force him to keep his legions at home, where they must be paid and maintained by the Treasury of France; but have left him at full liberty to prosecute his plans at the expense of our Allies, or in the way most conducive to his interests: and, surely, none could suit him better than to fix the little army of England in the centre of the Peninsula, where its movements are not of a desultory nature, and where, admitting the great ability of its Commander, a comparatively small portion of the enemy's force is fully adequate to counteract its *known movements!* "Just as barbarians engage at boxing, so you make war with Philip; for when one of these receives a blow, that blow engages him: if struck in another part, to that part his hands are shifted; but to ward off the blow, or to watch his antagonist, for this he hath neither skill nor spirit. Even so, if you hear that Philip is in the Chersonesus, you send forces thither; if in Thermopyle, thither; if in any other place, you hurry up and down, you follow his standard.—But no useful scheme for carrying on the war—no wise provisions are ever thought of, until you hear of some enterprise in execution, or already crowned with success. They who conduct a war with prudence, are not to follow, but to direct events. But you, Athenians! though possessed of the greatest power of all kinds, Ships, Infantry, Cavalry, Treasure; yet to this day, have never employed any of them seasonably."—"It is *not* in our power to provide a force able to meet him in the open

field, but we must harass him by depredations: thus the war must be carried on." ——Gentlemen, as the duration of war, by increasing the taxes, will occasion the permanent decay of our commerce, you will forgive my transcribing these observations, delivered by one of the ablest men of former times, as they are very applicable to our situation. What part of those kingdoms would be secure from attacks if the French possessed a naval superiority, with only 20,000 troops at their disposal—it is obvious that there must be in every district a force equal to that which the enemy could bring against it? I shall abstain from directing your attention to particular objects in illustration of the fact, for the reasons given in my first Letter which I had the honour to address to your Committee. —— Gentlemen, I cannot avoid stating a fact to you which I have often offered to prove at the Bar of the late corrupt House of Commons; namely, that whilst our commerce has decreased, that kind of trade which is most beneficial to a State, has augmented on the shores of the enemy, in a prodigious ratio, and the produce of the Northern and Southern Provinces is freely interchanged under the protection of the abuses in our Admiralty Courts, which afforded it better security than all the batteries of France; the plain reason for which is, that each of the numerous coasting vessels must, for the benefit of the Court, be separately condemned, at an expense greater than was formerly demanded for the adjudication of an Indiaman! Gentlemen, the rapacity of the Courts is frequently not satisfied by appropriating the whole proceeds to themselves, but the captors are compelled to pay an additional sum for thus performing a service to their country. Gentlemen, that you may have a correct notion of a Proctor's bill, I take the liberty of enclosing one for your inspection, which I assure you, may be considered very moderate, being only 6 fathoms and a quarter long, or 37 feet 6—whereas I now possess others, that extend to 50 feet; but I prefer sending this to your Committee, as it is the one produced by myself in the House of Commons, and by the venerable Earl of Suffolk in the House of Lords—the exhibition of which was pronounced, by the present Lord Chancellor (the brother of the Judge of the Admiralty Court) to be "a species of *mummery* never before witnessed within those walls, and altogether unbecoming the gravity of that branch of the Legislature."—Whether the attempt to expose abuses, which paralyse the efforts of the British navy, deserve the stigma thus cast upon it, by so grave a character, I leave you, Gentlemen, to determine.—I beg that the items may not pass unobserved, where the Proctor notes his pecuniary reward for attending, feeing, consulting, and admonishing himself, in his other capacity as Marshal, of all which he makes an affidavit, for which also he charges a fee!——I am aware that I have trespassed longer already on your attention than I ought to have done, had the pure principles on which you conducted the election allowed me to address you personally; however, as this opportunity did not occur, you will, I trust, forgive my adding an extract from a statement which I made two years ago in the House of Commons, on the subject of the Navy Estimate, with a view to contrast the rewards granted *for different kinds of services.*——Gentlemen, it appears on the Pension List of the Navy, for the year 1810, that "thirty-one Commissioners, Commissioners' Wives and Clerks, have £3,899 more amongst them than is paid to all the wounded Officers of the Navy of England! —Thirteen daughters of Admirals and Captains, some of whom fell in the service of the country, have amongst them all, from the gratitude of the nation, a sum less than a Commissioner's widow!—viz.

4 Daughters of the gallant Capt. Courtney, £10 10s. each per ann.

1	ditto	of Adm. Sir A. Mitchell,	£25 each.
2	ditto	of Admiral Epworth,	
1	ditto	of Admiral Kepple,	
1	ditto	of Captain Mann,	
4	ditto	of Admiral Moriarte,	

Captain Johnson receives £45 a year for the loss of an arm: and poor Lieutenant Chambers, who lost both his legs, gets £80, whilst the Clerk of the Ticket Office retires on £700.——To speak less in detail, 32 Flag Officers, 22 Captains, 50 Lieutenants, 180 Masters, 36 Surgeons, 23 Pursers, 91 Boatswains, 97 Gunners, 202 Carpenters, 41 Cooks, cost the country £4,028 less than the *net proceeds* of the sinecures of Lords Arden, Camden, and Buckingham!—All the superannuated Admirals, Captains, and Lieutenants, have but £1,012 more amongst them than Earl Camden's sinecure alone!—All that is paid to the wounded Officers of the British Navy, and to the wives and children of those dead or killed in action, does not

amount, by £214, to as much as Lord Arden's sinecure!—The Marquis of Buckingham's sinecure will maintain the whole victualling departments at Chatham, Dover, Gibraltar, the Downs, Heligoland, Malta, Cape of Good Hope, and Rio Janeiro, and leave £5,466 in the Treasury. Three of these comfortable sinecures would maintain the Dockyard Establishments at Portsmouth and Plymouth; and the sinecure and offices executed wholly by deputy, would more than maintain the ordinary establishment of all the Royal Dock-yards in the Kingdom. Calculating at the rate of allowance made for Captain Johnson's arm, Lord Arden's sinecures are equal to the value of 1,022 Captain's arms; or, by poor Lieutenant Chambers' pension, to 488 pair of Lieutenants' legs!!!"——Comment is unnecessary: such, Gentlemen, is the reward for long and faithful services; that, for exertion, I have already shewn you.——Thus the war lingers on, the supplies for which are voted by those who are interested in its continuance: nor will it ever be terminated successfully in pitched battles by the military force of England against the resources of France. Even on the supposition of perfect equality, more men would perish before the contest could be decided, than England now maintains on the Continent—could we supply the deficiency?——Gentlemen, to shew you that there is no hope from a change of Party, unless a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament shall previously take place, "the pensions given by the late Whig Administrations to Commissioners, Clerks, and others, whom they forced out of office to make room for their friends, amounted in 13 months to £1,508 more than the present Administration have given away in the three years that have elapsed since,"—*i. e.* up to the year 1810.——The example of the industrious bee demonstrates, by the laws of Nature, that the drone is not to live at the expense of the community—notwithstanding what the Whigs have said of sinecures being held by tenure, equal to that of freehold property. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, respectfully, your obedient humble servant, COCHRANE.

12, *Portman-square*, *Oct.* 14.

MR. COBBETT,

Sir,

I am the father of a family, and much interested that my children should be taught truth at a very early period of life. In consequence of this desire it has been my custom never to prevent them from reading controversial writings upon any subject. I lay it down as an axiom, that the mind, if it be not restrained by an improper bias, will rest, at last, upon Truth. I am led to address you now from having waited a long time for the promised refutation of Paine's Third Part of the Age of Reason, by your good Rector of Botley. By some means Paine's work has got into my family, and as that Gentleman says that it ought to have an antidote, and that he can furnish that antidote, I am very anxious to have it for my children and for myself, as I would not willingly continue in error.

I should state to you, that when this subject was agitated before, in order that it might be of benefit to the bodies of some persons as well as to their souls, a few lovers of Truth entered into a subscription to purchase a young pig, which we have endeavoured so to feed, as to make it worthy of the occasion, and which we mean to offer to the Worthy Rector, upon the publication of his book, to be conferred by him upon the most deserving church-going poor man in the parish. When we undertook this charge, we had no idea but that the work would be out long before we could fatten our Pig; but, Sir, the animal is now so large and so unwieldy, that he is no unapt emblem of a dignitary of the Church, and really the expense of keeping up his fat is so enormous, that to us, who are not in affluent circumstances, it is a matter of very serious import. I hope, therefore, Sir, that you will beg of your Parson to hasten a little with the work, that the poor man may have his gift, and my friends and myself be eased of the burden of the pig.

I am, Sir, truly yours,

VERAX.

Oct. 29, 1812.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts, to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the COURIER:— "The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court Martial, and *sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."——That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings, that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register, that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty, that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment, and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally, that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment, that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison, that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year, that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it, that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him, and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time, that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each, that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties, that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey, and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Baxter of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall, that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool, that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf, that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects, that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs, that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided, that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England, that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells, that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester, that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people, that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me, that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops, and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven

WM COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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TO

THE PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER,

On the Speech of Mr. Canning, made at a dinner recently given him, in that Town.

PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER,

In the last number of my Register, I commented upon a speech of Mr. Canning, made at a dinner at Liverpool. I was myself satisfied with the exposure there made; but, seeing that he has brought forward some new tricks upon his stage at Manchester, it may not be amiss to make another exhibition of his pegs and wires.

From all the circumstances which I have been able to come at, I am satisfied that his inviters at Manchester, as well as at Liverpool, consisted of persons who thrive, and some of whom depend for existence, upon war and taxation. One might have thought, that such persons would not be thus forward in exposing themselves to the execrations of the people by insulting their miseries; but, the opportunity of triumphing in their success, in a conflict against the liberties of the people, appears to have been too alluring to be resisted.

The first part of Mr. Canning's speech consisted of lofty boasting of the *friendship*, the *kindness*, the *generosity*, which he had experienced in the county of Lancaster; and he affected to feel a deep sense of gratitude for the *honour*, as he called it, which had been conferred upon him. Whether he was able to utter this, or his auditors to listen to it, without bursting out in laughter, is more than I can say; but, they both well knew, that in their connexion, there existed no such thing as *friendship*, *kindness*, or *generosity*. They well knew that they were brought together by the desire which both had to fatten upon the public property. *They* sought a man likely to assist in the prolongation of war, the extension of the taxes, and the creating of emoluments in which they hoped to share, or in which they already did share; and *he*, on his side, sought for a set of people, who were able to give him a passport into Saint Stephen's, other than that of the sanction of a rotten borough, though, in reality, the *people* of Liverpool, properly so called, have no more power to choose representatives than have the people of Winchester, or of Gatton. This boast of Mr. Canning was, therefore, as ridiculous as that of the ass loaded with holy relics, except that in the latter case, the boaster was not allowed to share in the profits of the fraud, in the carrying on of which he was an instrument; whereas in the case of Mr. Canning and his supporters, the basis of the alliance was that of *snacks!*

After a reasonable time spent in very nauseous self-congratulation upon his success at Liverpool, he came to speak upon the two great subjects, PEACE and REFORM; and, though I have observed in my last upon what he said on the subject of peace, I cannot refrain from making some observations here upon what he said at Manchester upon the same subject; because, upon this occasion, he went more fully into and laid down the principles, upon which he and the Wellesleys, and, indeed, the ministers and all the partisans of war, defend the continuance of the present system of foreign policy. We will here take a passage from his speech, which will enable us to judge of his views. He said, "that if the question was simply peace or "war, all would be for peace; because all "men know its value, and all men know "the evils of war. But this is not the "only question—HOW can PEACE, a "Peace which will not, almost momenta- "rily, lead to another War, *be obtained?* "—How can we obtain a Peace *which will* "*remove the distresses complained of by* "*the Manufacturers*, and which will open "a *permanent field for Commerce?* Cer- "tainly, not by falling prostrate at the feet "of our enemy, and throwing ourselves on "his mercy.——It cannot be done by ask- "ing for mercy where there is none. *That* "*Providence having let the Scourge of Na-* "*tions loose upon Mankind, we ought to* "*submit to him*, HE DENIED. The evil "of War is great, but to secure a safe and "honourable lasting Peace, the only way "is for the Nation to put forth all its ener-

"gies, and GRAPPLE FOR IT.——We "have been told, said he, that Peace will "*certainly* bring prosperity. Nothing can "be more fallacious. The boldest apolo- "gist for our enemy, and the loudest advo- "cate of his measures, could not deny, "that by any peace that is not gained by "successful war, we should gain nothing; "for we should *leave all the power of mis- "chief in his hands.* With *all the power "of the Continent left at his disposal, he "would still war against the commerce of "this country, and continue the evils of "which we have too much occasion to com- "plain, but which a hollow peace will not "remove.* His measures of annoying com- "merce, he would employ *to-morrow*, if "we signed a peace with him *to-day*, and "every soldier was withdrawn from the "hostile contest.—— Mr. Canning pro- "ceeded to say, that he could not for his "part see how peace, not in the greatest "degree dishonourable to us as a nation, "*could be made.* He said, he did not pre- "tend to say, that peace could not be pro- "cured, at any price—but he was sure it "could not at this time, be obtained with- "out dishonour. The hour after signing "the articles of such a peace, every decree "of the enemy against commerce might be "repeated, and we then should have *no "right to complain—no right to remon- "strate.* Let the enemy retain *his present "power, and the sealing of such a peace "would be sealing our own condemnation.* "Left with *all his powers* to apply to one "object, our commerce *must fall.* Thus "it appears, he said, to him, that the ad- "vocates for immediate peace must either "submit to such a one as would degrade "the nation into poverty and contempt, or "begin a *new war* to repair the blunder of "the peace too hastily made. When the "ancient government of France existed, "what Englishman would have risqued "such a peace? But how much more dan- "ger is there under the present order of "things in that country, with the conti- "nental influence and power possessed by "its present ruler, who, from his educa- "tion, his habits, and his insatiable ambi- "tion grasps at so much, that merely for "the sake of *self defence*, Great Britain is "under the necessity of *contending for her "share of the influence and power of the "continent.*"

If any thing had been wanting to convince me of the shallowness of Mr. Canning, this Speech, or rather the part of the Speech here extracted, would have been quite sufficient for the purpose. After what has been said upon the topic in my last number, I will not longer dwell upon the cant here again resorted to about Divine Providence having let loose Napoleon to scourge us; I will not longer dwell upon this specimen of detestable hypocrisy, of low mummery, than just to observe upon a new idea which the canting Speaker has introduced upon this occasion; which is this; that though Providence has let Napoleon loose upon us, *we ought not to submit to him;* but ought to grapple with him. The Right Hon. casuist does not appear to have made even an attempt to prove the truth of this doctrine, which rests solely upon his bare assertion. He tells us, that Providence has let Buonaparté loose upon us, and let him loose upon us as a scourge too. Now, it must be either right or wrong in Buonaparté to scourge us; if wrong, then is Mr. Canning, the pious Clerk of the Hanaper, the accuser of Divine Providence; if it be right in Buonaparté to scourge us, how dares the Clerk of the Hanaper assert that we ought not to submit to such scourging? If any neighbour lets his mastiff loose upon me, I kill the mastiff if I can; but then it is wrong in my neighbour to let his mastiff loose upon me, and I have a right to attack my neighbour for so doing. The case is just the opposite as to the employment of Buonaparté, unless Mr. Canning means to make him and Providence participators in the guilt. Besides, as I observed before, in all our King's speeches, and in all our prayers militant, we assume, that we have Providence on OUR SIDE, with which assumption Mr. Canning's doctrine is completely at war. The King in his speeches (and in those which are now made in his behalf), invariably holds forth to us the hope of success to be derived from the aid of Divine Providence. In like manner the prayers which we are commanded to put up on account of the war contemplate Providence as being on our side against a most wicked and bloody enemy. But, what wretched, what scandalous hypocrisy, would all this be, if the speech-makers and prayer-makers, believed with Mr. Canning, that this same Providence was not only against us in the fight, but actually had let loose upon us the very enemy against whom we prayed for protection?

People of Manchester! Listen to me a moment, while I explain to you the cause of this cant being resorted to by Mr. Can-

ning. He knows, that you cannot but . . that, within the last twenty years, your own lot and the situation of your country, are greatly changed for the worse. He knows, that you all feel that change. He knows, that your minds, in seeking for the *cause*, will naturally turn towards those who have had the powers of government and the resources of the nation in their hands. He has told you here, that, so great is the power of the enemy, no peace can be made with him; he has told you that to leave the enemy in quiet possession of what he has gained is to seal our own doom. In short, he has told you that France, formerly the rival of England, is now become so great as to make it dangerous for England to lay by the sword for a moment. He knew; it naturally occurred to his mind, as he was proceeding in his speech, that you would seek for the cause of this terrible change, and, in order to account for it upon grounds other than that of its having proceeded from the corruptions and follies of men in power, he resorts, as has been common with all deceivers in all ages, to a supernatural agency, and tells you, in plain terms, that it is *Providence who has been the cause of our misfortunes*, and who has let loose the enemy upon us. You cannot have failed to observe, that the war began with a cry against "Atheists and Deists." "Our "Holy Religion" was in danger, you were told. We combined with the kings of Europe against an "anti-christian con-"spiracy," of which the immortal Rousseau had, we were told, been the founder. Old George Rose told us, that we must give our money in order to be defended against "the enemies of God," and to preserve to our children "the blessed com-"forts of Religion." But, why need I mention these things to the people of Manchester, who saw some of their most estimable townsmen's houses demolished amidst the shouts of "*Church and King?*" Well! The war took place; we sent forth our fleets and armies against those whom our Government called Atheists and Deists; we joined in a Holy league with the old governments of Europe against those whom we called the *enemies of God;* and now, behold! When league after league has been dissolved, when all our allies have been overthrown, and when we ourselves are in jeopardy, fearing the effects both of war and of peace, those who plunged us into the war, and who have had the absolute mastership of our resources in the conducting of it; those men have now the impudence to tell us, that our enemies, that those same Atheists and Deists, those same foes of christianity, to form Holy leagues against whom they called upon us to give up our money; they have the impudence, the profligate impudence, to tell us, that those enemies have had, and still have Divine Providence on *their* side, and even that Divine Providence has let those enemies loose *upon us!*

Impudent as this is in itself, the full extent of its impudence is not seen till we come to view it in conjunction with other parts of the speech, and of the speech lately made at Liverpool. There the speaker boasts of our victories; there he talks of the wisdom of Pitt; of the success of his measures; of his repelling the storm; and of his *hushing to peace* that which threatened our destruction! If this were true, what ground could there be for the pretence, that Providence had let loose the enemy upon us?

The object of the passage above quoted, was to persuade those who heard it, that it was impossible to have peace until some part, at least, of the power of Napoleon had been taken out of his hands. Mr. Canning says, that if we leave Buonaparté in possession of his present power, the sealing of such a peace would be the sealing of our own condemnation. And he says in another place, that merely for the sake of self-defence, Great Britain is under the necessity of contending for her share of the influence and power of the continent. Supposing this to be true, what a confession is here! What a humiliating confession! What a complete answer to all our boastings about victories! What a stinging retort to all the firings of Park and Tower guns, and all the illuminations of tax-gatherers' houses! What, then, after being told, so many times, that we had obtained the absolute sovereignty of the sea, and had become masters of three quarters of the globe; after being told that our army had, at last, rivalled our navy; after all this; after all the votes of thanks by the Hon. House; after all the gold boxes and swords voted by the City of London; are we, after all this, to be told, that our enemy's conquests have so far outmeasured ours, that to make peace with him, leaving each party in possession of his conquests, would be to seal our own condemnation? This is, in fact, an acknowledgment of *defeat*, because it declares, that, in the present state of the parties, we dare not

make peace, which, as all the world knows, requires a greater reliance upon one's self, than is required to make war.

There is nothing which so decidedly proves the superiority of the enemy, as this fact of our not daring to make peace with him, leaving both parties in possession of their present power and dominion. We are like a gamester, that is to say, if Mr. Canning's assertion be true, who has been long at play, and who is ruined if he quits the table. We have lost the game; our adversary has triumphed over us; it is true that we still play on, but if we quit where we are, we are done for; and the only chance we have, is that of *getting back some part of what we have lost*. In short, we have, according to Mr. Canning, no remedy but the desperate one of contending for a reduction of the power of Buonaparté, for a diminution of that power which he has won from us and from all the sovereigns of Europe united.

And do you, People of Manchester, believe that the power of Napoleon is to be reduced by the Cannings, the Castlereaghs, the Wellesleys, and the Jenkinsons? Have you ever seen any thing in their measures, or have you ever heard any thing from their lips, calculated to excite such a belief! Do you believe that those who are unable to drive his armies out of Spain, while he himself, at a distance of thousands of miles from France, is subduing an Empire containing, perhaps, forty millions of souls, are likely to wrench from his grasp any portion of the power that he already possesses? If you do, you are in more than Egyptian blindness, and to remove the film from your eyes, were a task as difficult as that of bleaching the Ethiopian's skin.

But, is it true, what Mr. Canning tells you about the necessity of our regaining our *influence upon the Continent*, in order to *open a permanent field for our commerce?* In my opinion, nothing can be more fallacious. He tells you, that it is useless for you to have peace; that peace will do nothing for your commerce, because Buonaparté may revive all his decrees the next day. You will observe, that Buonaparté has offered to treat with us upon the basis of *actual possession;* that is to say, of leaving each power in possession of all the territory that it now holds. This being the case, there would, of course, be *terms;* there would be a mitigation of the great principle of the treaty. Besides, it would not be the interest of Buonaparté to exclude our merchandise from the continent of Europe, if in those bales of merchandise were not packed up our *politics*, and our *intrigues against him*. These are what he dislikes; these are annoying to him, and of these he appears resolved to prevent the importation into his dominions, and into all the dominions over which he has any influence. This is a matter well worthy of the serious consideration of all those who are deeply interested in the success of commercial concerns. Mr. Canning labours hard to persuade you, that the enmity of Napoleon is to your *commerce*. "Left," says he, "with all his powers to apply to "one object, *our commerce must fall*." And, therefore, he tells you, that you must keep on the war, till you have reduced the powers of Napoleon. He thus appeals to your self-interest, and, perhaps, with too much success. The same sort of efforts have been continually made, from the beginning of the war. But, the deceit is manifest. It is against the politics of England upon the Continent that Napoleon is at war, and not against her cloths, her shawls, her calicoes and her candlesticks. I am of opinion, on the contrary, that he would encourage a state of things in which England should be the workshop of Europe, provided he could, by a peace, made by frank and honourable men, obtain what he would deem a security against the introduction of English influence, leading to coalitions and wars. Commerce is a thing constituted of reciprocal advantages, and why should it be at all embroiled with politics? Why should not we exchange our wool, our tin, our copper, our steel, and our coals, of all which we have a superabundance, for the oil, and wine, and corn, and hemp, and other things of which we have none, or an insufficient quantity, and of which France and other parts of the Continent have a superabundance? The truth is, that there can be no reason why this sort of exchange should not be continually going on, and should not be as free as the air, except that governments have an interest, or, at least, think that they have an interest separate from that of the people. We at Botley, for instance, have more wool and more hoops than we can consume; but we have no claret, or Burgundy, or sallad oil; while the cultivators in France may have not half a sufficiency of wool and of hoops, and want a demand for their wine and their oil. Yet if we were at peace to-morrow we could not enter upon an exchange of these commodities, though so

manifestly advantageous to us on both sides of the water. Our articles would go to them, and their's would come to us, so loaded with taxes, that by the time that the wine reached our lips it would be too dear to be drunk, except by persons of large fortunes. Can there be any reason for this? There certainly cannot, and I hope to live to see the day when the happiness of nations will not be thus obstructed. Our government has always proceeded upon a system of commercial monopoly. It has been aiming at grasping the commerce of the world, not considering, that in the end it must thereby raise up a world of enemies. Every war appears to have had the monopoly of commerce in view, and at the same time the commerce seems to have been intended chiefly as the means of prosecuting war. We are the first nation that I have ever read of, who attempted to carry on commerce sword in hand, to fight nations in order to compel them to be our customers. Nothing surely can be more unnatural, and like every other unnatural thing, it cannot be of long duration. We have heretofore succeeded in compelling nations to purchase our goods and to yield to our politics: we have sent out our bales and our ambassadors under the same flag. It appears to me that we shall never be able to do this again. The world, both *old* and *new* seems to be in a humour no longer to submit to our system of enforcing commerce, and I am of opinion that that system is not at all necessary either to our independence or our happiness, nor would I carry on the war a single hour for the purpose of maintaining that system.

Far otherwise thinks the Clerk of the Hanaper. He tells you that you must, before you make peace, obtain by war the means of enforcing a commerce with the Continent, which, were it nothing else, is a most impolitic declaration, seeing that it is impossible that Buonaparté should not, by such declaration, be induced to make the greater exertions in order to prevent us from accomplishing such an object. I wish you, above all things, to bear in mind, that it is our *politics*, and not our *goods*, that Napoleon wishes to shut out of the Continent of Europe; and, that our government views the goods as nothing without the politics, is evident from the speech of Mr. Canning, who says that we must contend for "*our share* of the *influence* and "*power* of the Continent." This he represents as necessary to the carrying on of commerce with the Continent. But there any truth in this representation? Has America any influence or power upon the Continent? Yet she has carried on, and still carries on, an immense trade with the Continent of Europe. America, it is well known, has never had any share of influence or power in England; but we well know how great has been her trade with England, how enormously great the commercial transactions of the two countries with each other.

It is, therefore, a gross delusion, that political influence on the Continent of Europe is necessary to us for the purposes of commerce; and, indeed, this is merely a pretence for the carrying on of the war; the real object of which war is, on the part of men like Mr. Canning, the support of corruption and the augmentation of its wages. Mr. Canning introduced the dispute with America upon this occasion, and said that "his opponents had expected, by "the clamour they made about the importance of their measures, to have effected "a triumph. They *had prophesied peace* "*with America*, because we had made *concessions to them*. The Orders in Council were repealed to make the experiment. "*The experiment has failed*. They had "hoped to apply the success of the measure "adopted towards America, to their arguments in favour of France; but they "have found, and the nation is convinced, "that *concession and humiliation are of no* "*avail*."

Whether Mr. Canning's opponents at Liverpool had prophesied that the repeal of the Orders in Council would effect peace with America, is more than I can say. If they did so prophesy, it only proves that they understood less of the matter than I did; for I said from the beginning, that the repeal of the Orders in Council could not reasonably be expected to have such an effect. This opinion I maintained by arguments which I will not repeat, but which, as they were never answered, or attempted to be answered, except by personal abuse against myself, I concluded, and still conclude, to have been unanswerable. But, what ignorance, or what impudence must that man have, who talks of *concessions*, and *humiliating* concessions too, made by us to America? All the world knows, and we ourselves have many times acknowledged, that our Orders in Council were a violation of public law, though, as we asserted, they had been imposed on us as a measure of self-defence against the no less unlawful decrees of

France. We had declared repeatedly our sorrow for being driven to the adoption of such violent measures, and professed the anxious wish of our king to have an opportunity of imitating France in the doing away of regulations so injurious to America and so directly in the teeth of the public law of nations. Well! France repeals her decrees, and *we do not* follow her example until, at the end of a year and a half, it is proved at the bar of the Houses of Parliament, and proclaimed to the whole world, that the not repealing of our Orders in Council is producing infinite misery in our own Country. Then, and not till then, we repeal decrees which we had a hundred times over acknowledged to be a violation of the rights of America; and it is this repeal, this tardy measure, adopted under such circumstances, and notoriously for the sake of our own convenience; it is this measure, embracing only *a part* of the injuries complained of by America; it is this measure that Mr. Canning calls a *humiliating concession* to America; Upon a similar principle he would, I suppose, esteem it a great *favour* done to this insulted nation, if he, for any purpose of his own, were to *cease receiving* the salary attached to his sinecure place.

Yet, upon the fact of this measure not having produced peace with America, has Mr. Canning the assurance to ground the conclusion, that it is hopeless to attempt making peace with France! What impudence! What a contempt must he have had for his hearers and for the public! But, the truth is, that the bare circumstance of his having been invited to a public dinner, was quite sufficient to justify the belief, that he might, at Manchester, safely set decency and sense at defiance.

What similarity is there in the two cases? Admitting for argument's sake that we have made concessions to America, who is there that has ever asked the government to make concessions to France? Nay, the Emperor of France himself has asked for no concessions at our hands. He has surmounted any objection that he might have to treat even with such men as Castlereagh and Perceval; he has shown that his mind is great enough to subdue his pride; he has been the first to offer peace, founded upon a basis in which nothing like concession could be found; nay, so far from demanding concessions at our hands, his proposition implied *the leaving us in possession of Malta*, which, as the possession of Malta on our part was the ostensible object of the war, was a real and no very small concession offered by him to us. How, then, does the case of America apply to that of France? And what ought we to think of the man who could resort to such sophistry for the purposes of deception?

To sum up the whole of Mr. Canning's doctrines as to war and peace, the amount is this, that we must keep on the war till we have diminished the power, and of course, till we have contracted the geographical limits of the sway of Napoleon. This, people of Manchester, is the opinion of Mr. Canning; this is the maxim of the set of politicians with whom he acts; this is the denunciation, I had almost said the curse, which he has uttered against this suffering country. I have shown, I think, that Napoleon may be left in possession of all his present power and dominions without any danger to us, provided the proper reforms are made at home. But, be this as it may, what prospect have we of obtaining a greater degree of security by reducing the power of Buonaparté? Those who believe the statements in the hired news-papers, will, of course, think that the prospect is very fair. Nay, they must think that his armies in Spain and Russia will soon be annihilated. To reason with such persons would be useless; for, if they were to hear of the entrance of the French army into Petersburgh, and of the re-entrance of King Joseph into Madrid, they would turn for consolation to some new falsehood invented for the purpose of deceiving them. I shall, therefore, only add, upon this part of the subject, that it is my opinion, that, if we expend as many hundreds of millions as we have already expended in this war, we shall only thereby add to that power and to those dominions which it is the hope of politicians like Mr. Canning to be able to diminish; and, that after having swelled to an unbearable bulk the mass of our present miseries, we shall be compelled to make peace upon terms far worse than those which have been recently offered to us.

I now come to the part of Mr. Canning's speech, which relates to the state of the representation in parliament, and in which he touched upon the subject of parliamentary reform. This passage I shall extract at full length, in order that those who applauded its sentiments may have no room to complain of a want of fairness in my mode of proceeding. "On an occasion, "said he, like the present, it would be

"expected that he should say something "on the nature of our Constitution. He "knew that many well intentioned, and "well informed men too, argued *that there* "*are great defects in our Constitution.* He "did not think so. He thought it needed *no* "*alteration.* In addressing the largest un-"represented town in the united kingdom, "he should have hazarded the expression "of this sentiment with fear and trembling, "if he had not been aware, that he was "addressing men of sense and liberality, "who knew the value of being CITIZENS "OF REPRESENTED ENGLAND.— "[*Loud applause.*]—The evils, which "are so loudly complained of, by some "men, he said, do not exist. Some men "think *that all power is lodged in the* "*House of Commons,* he must confess he "did not think so. It was the national "guardian, *to watch the ministers of the* "*crown;* it was the *organ of popular opi-*"*nion;* it was to *watch the interests of the* "*community;* to act as if delegated by *the* "*whole nation;* and not as if *composed of* "*Delegates from Independent States.*— "[LOUD APPLAUSE.] The House of "Commons, as now formed, he conti-"nued, cannot be *altered without changing* "*the very nature, and destroying the ba-*"*lance of the Constitution of the Country.* "They who contend for *universal repre-*"*sentation,* virtually say, that *the crown* "*itself should be elective.* They would "reduce the Constitution at once to a "*crowned republic.* Such *innovations* he "did hope and trust, would be resisted at "all times by the House of Commons, "with a voice of thunder that should be "imperative. He was not prepared, he "said, to say, that *some little amendment* "might not be adopted with propriety in "the mode of chusing the representatives "of the Commons in Parliament; yet it "ought *never to be forgot for a single mo-*"*ment, that England has flourished under* "*the present Constitution,* with her re-"presentatives so elected, in such a way, "that she has become the *envy of all the* "*nations of the earth,* for her singular su-"periority, and for the *many blessings she* "*exclusively enjoys.*"

Mr. Canning is, perhaps, the most impudent man, and he has, perhaps, more of what is called *brass,* than any other man, that ever addressed a public meeting; yet, he never did, that I remember, utter before any thing so impudent, so insulting to the public, as this. Let us begin with the downright falsehoods.——1. It is a falsehood to say, that the Reformers (for it is us whom he manifestly has in view) argue, that there are *defects in the Constitution.* We say the reverse; we say, that the constitution is what we want; and we say that the constitution gives us what we now have not.—2ndly, It is a falsehood to say, that we look upon *all power* as being legitimately lodged in the House of Commons. We say, on the contrary, that the House of Commons ought by no means to arrogate to itself many of the powers that it now exercises; and we strenuously contend against its encroachments upon the Royal Prerogative. 3dly, It is a falsehood to say, that we aim at *making both Houses, and even the Crown elective;* it is a sheer, an impudent, an unqualifiable falsehood; and he might as well have said, that we aimed at placing the Lords and the King to exercise legislative and executive powers in the moon.

There was, in the speech, one attempt at *deception.* The speaker resorted to the old trick of representing the members of the House of Commons as the REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL ENGLAND, a trick which seems to have received great applause. Let us, therefore, examine this a little.

He told you, that it was unconstitutional to consider the members as *delegates from independent states.* Well, and what then? Who has ever contended that they ought to be so considered? But, what has this to do with the question at issue? We do not say, that the members ought to be considered as delegates from separate states; we never amuse ourselves with any such idle fancies. We say, according to the dictates of honesty and common sense, that they ought to represent the people of England and Scotland and Ireland, who pay taxes, because they have the power of voting away those taxes; and, accordingly, we say, that they ought to be chosen by this description of persons, and that it is a base and outrageous insult to our understandings to tell us that we are *represented* by those in the *choosing* of whom we have had nothing to do, We know, that, after beating round through all the distinctions and definitions respecting governments, we find this position unquestionably true, namely, that the only infallible mark of distinction between *freemen* and *slaves,* is this, that the former cannot have any portion of their property taken from them *without their own consent;* whereas the property of the latter is subject to the *ar-*

bitrary will of others, who rule under the name of monarchy, aristocracy, &c. Accordingly, all the eulogists of our constitution of government, all those who have written about our freedom, have said, that *no Englishman is taxed without his own consent.* This is the great principle of the constitution of England. But, if what Mr. Canning says be true, this maxim is a mockery. In what way is it pretended that we give our consent to the taxes laid upon us? Why, to be sure, by the mouths of the members of the House of Commons; but, how can those of us give our consent in this way, who are *not permitted to vote for any of those members?* "REPRE- "SENTED ENGLAND," indeed! Citizens of represented England! So! This political empiric would persuade you, that you are represented by the members, elected at Gatton, St. Maws, and Old Sarum; that you are represented by men returned to Parliament in the same way that QUINTIN DICK was returned to Parliament! But, this is too impudent to speak of with any share of patience.

If the people of England are *represented* by men whom they do not choose; if the Town of Manchester, for instance, who submitted to the insults of Mr. Canning and his associates; if it be sufficient for the Town of Manchester to be represented by persons chosen without any participation on the part of the Town of Manchester, why should there be any elections at all; why should any town or any county have any thing to say in the Election of Members of Parliament; why might not the electors of Old Sarum as well elect all the members at once; or rather, why might not the minister of the day appoint the members of Parliament; in short, why should there be any Parliament at all? This is so glaring that it is unworthy of further comment; it is so impudent and profligate that it never could have been uttered but in the presence of men well known to be steeped in corruption to their very lips.

Mr. Canning concludes with the old assertion, that, whatever may be the defects in the representation, England has *flourished* under it; and that she has become the *envy of all the nations in the world.* A thousand times, at least, in the course of every year, I should suppose, this assertion is made by the hired authors of newspapers, magazines, reviews, and other publications, but I defy any one of these hirelings to point out a single instance; aye, one single instance, wherein this "*envy*" has been made apparent. It is a falsehood; an old battered falsehood; a falsehood as gross as any of the frauds and rogueries of priests (before the reformation, of course,) and it is intended for much about the same purpose, namely, that of plundering the people. "Envy of "all the nations of the earth," indeed! And what nation has ever said that she envied us? For what do they envy us; "For our *singular superiority*, and for "the many *blessings* we *exclusively enjoy.*" This prating gentleman did not think proper to be *particular* in the statement of these blessings; and I believe it would have puzzled him to have named one.

But England has *flourished*, it seems, under this mode of electing members of Parliament. And where are the *marks* of her flourishing condition? In the present state of the paper-money; in the two millions of paupers which are languishing in England and Wales alone; in the endless number of seizures made on account of default of the payment of the King's taxes; in the enormous burdens which the people have to bear; in the lists of Bankrupts which swell the Gazette; in the twenty years' war, which, after having destroyed all our allies, has made our enemy so formidable to us, that, even according to Mr. Canning's own declaration, though we are suffering by the war, we dare not make peace? But, it is to insult your understandings to dwell longer upon assertions so notoriously false; I, therefore, conclude, with expressing my hope, that the Town of Manchester may never again suffer itself to be disgraced by listening to a similar harangue: but, whether it does or not, I am quite certain, that the day is not far distant, when its industrious inhabitants will, with voice unanimous, execrate the day that gave birth to the faction whose principles were, with so much effrontery, inculcated upon this occasion.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Thursday, 12*th Nov.* 1812.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

MR. FAWKES TO LORD MILTON.

MY LORD,

The very decided opinions upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform, which your Lordship is reported to have lately delivered in various addresses to your Constituents, have been to me the source of much sur-

prise and concern—of surprise, because though I knew your Lordship entertained doubts, as to the practicability of the measure, I did not imagine you would represent it as a "*new-fangled Theory*,"—of concern, because I feel myself compelled publicly to differ from a man for whose public, and private character, I do, and have ever felt the greatest esteem.

It has been my anxious wish, my Lord, *on every account*, that some person more competent than myself, had entered the list on this occasion—but as no public notice seems to have been taken of your Lordship's sentiments upon this head, I should think it a mean abandonment of the great cause I have most sincerely espoused, if I did not raise my voice, "*weak though it be*," in opposing them.

Happily, my Lord, the authorities which have induced me to espouse the cause of Parliamentary Reform, lay in the narrowest compass—they are within the comprehensions of all ranks in society—there is nothing perplexed or mysterious about them, and your Lordship must hear them, where I found them, (if I have not been most egregiously deceived), in the voice of wisdom, and the laws of my country.

Your Lordship is reported to have said, in the course of your canvass, and on the day of nomination at York, "That in the last Parliament, one subject had been discussed, on which the *passions* of the people had been raised by *persons* who endeavoured to fill them with *fancies*, which had no *solid foundation*,"—"That, under the present constitution" (*the present practical one, I presume*) "you trusted, we shall ever be content to live without endangering it by *visionary improvements*," and that "If any man *in the vanity of his own heart*, thought he could make a better constitution than the one under which we had so long lived and flourished, you trusted you should not be reckoned among his *friends* or *supporters*."*

The Reformers of England, my Lord, have not the *vanity* to suppose that they can make a *better* Constitution than the one under which it was intended they should live—they want *no other*, but they do want *that* Constitution, the essence of which consists in two points:—

1st. The English Constitution provides, That no man shall suffer punishment in any way, unless he be guilty of an offence known to the laws.

2dly. That the property of no man shall be taken from him in the shape of taxes, without his CONSENT, or in any way, except for a just cause legally shewn.

These are the Rights and Liberties of Englishmen. How does the Constitution say they are to be preserved? By a third provision.

3dly. That the People shall be represented in a Commons 'House of Parliament.'

Such, according to my conception, my Lord, are the great and solid advantages to be derived from the Constitution of England; and it is very easy to perceive, that as far as regards the safety either of the persons or property of the people, all must depend upon this—whether the members of the House of Commons be, or be not, really chosen by the people themselves—The friends of Reform therefore say:—

1st. That by the laws and statutes of this realm, the subject has settled in him a fundamental right of property, so that without his *consent* it shall not be taken from him.

2dly. That he shall not be compelled to contribute to any Tax, Talliage, or other like charge not set by COMMON CONSENT in *Parliament*.

3dly. That in Parliament all the whole body of the realm, and EVERY PARTICULAR MEMBER thereof, either in PERSON or by DEPUTATION, are by the laws of this realm supposed to be personally present.

4thly. That by the present state of the representation, the subject's fundamental right of property is openly violated—since it is a fact which cannot be denied, that numbers are taxed by Parliament, who have no voice in the election of Members of Parliament.

The three former of those propositions the friends of Reform conceive they can establish by a reference to the Common Law and the statutes of the Land.

The ablest commentators on the laws and Constitution of England have never failed to dwell upon the security which they afford to the fundamental right of property, as one of their most distinguished excellencies, and as the strongest proof that they were founded in the principles of freedom.

Upon this principle Fortescue (Chancellor to Henry 6th, who wrote his celebrated treatise *de laudibus legum Angliæ*, expressly to instruct the young Prince in the laws

* Leeds Mercury, Oct. 17, 1812.

and Constitution of his country) says, "That the advantage of that political *mixed* Government which prevails in England is, that no one can alter the laws, or make new ones, without the CONSENT of the WHOLE KINGDOM in Parliament assembled." Cap. ix. xii. xiv. xxxvi.

Upon the same principle Sir Edward Coke concludes, passim, "That the COMMON LAW of *England* settleth a freedom in the subject, and giveth a true property in their goods and estates, so that without their CONSENT OR IMPLICITLY by an ordinance which they consented unto by a COMMON ASSENT in PARLIAMENT, it cannot be taken from them or their estates charged.

So much for the *Common Law.*

I shall now proceed to submit to your Lordship, the *Statutes* which the friends of Reform consider as confirmatory of the People's Right to be either PERSONALLY or by DEPUTATION present in the Parliament.

1.—53 William I. An. 4.

2.—Magna Charta, Art. 4.

3.—Magna Charta, confirmed by Henry III. c. 37.

4.—Statute of Westminster, An. 3 Ed. I. c. 5. where the King directs, upon pain of grievous forfeiture, since Elections ought to be FREE, "That no *great man*, or others, by force of arms, menaces or malice, disturb FREE ELECTION."—1. West. c. 5.

5.—Statutum de tallagio non concedendo 34 Edw. I. c. 1.

6.—25 of Edw. I.

7.—1 Henry IV. Parl. R. 1. No. 36.

8.—1 Henry IV. c. 3 and 4. Nos. 21, 22.

9.—7 Henry IV. c. 14.

10.—39 Henry IV. c. 1.

11.—Preamble to the 1st of James I. c. 1.

12.—PETITION OF RIGHT, 3 Charles I. c. 14.

13.—Declaration of the Prince of Orange, afterwards Will. III. Art. 18. "All ELECTIONS of Members of Parliament ought to be FREE—To be made with AN ENTIRE LIBERTY—without any sort of force, or the REQUIRING the electors to chuse such persons as shall be NAMED to them.'—*King William's Declaration for restoring the Laws and Liberties of England.*

14.—The Bill of Rights—"Declaring that election of Members of Parliament ought to be free."—Bill of Rights, c. 8-13.

The pith and marrow of these early laws appear to have been condensed in the introduction to that Act of Parliament which I have already cited, and by which the descent of the crown to James I. was recognized. "As we cannot (say the Lords and Commons of that day) too often and enough, so can there be no ways or means so fit both to sacrifice our hearty thanks to Almighty God, for blessing us as well with a Sovereign, adorned with the rarest gifts of mind and body, in such admirable peace and quietness, &c. &c. &c. as in this *High Court of Parliament*, where all the whole body of the realm and EVERY PARTICULAR MEMBER thereof, either in PERSON or by REPRESENTATION (upon their OWN FREE ELECTIONS) are supposed to be PERSONALLY PRESENT.—*Statute* 1 *James I. c.* 1.

Here, then, my Lord, the right of the nation to be represented in Parliament is recognised. This can be effected only in one of two ways, either *actually* or *virtually*. If our ancestors had meant to recognise no more than a *virtual* representation, it would have been sufficient if the statute had said, "That in Parliament all the whole body of the realm are *deemed* to be present either in *person* or by *representation.*" Now, with the additional words, the sentence tells us not only that the whole body of the realm are deemed to be in Parliament by Representation—but every PARTICULAR MEMBER thereof PERSONALLY, or in his PERSONAL RIGHT by REPRESENTATION. Now, is it possible to contend, that these additional words expressed no more than a right to a virtual representation? are these words to be considered as a mere surplusage? Is there no difference between the proposition, that the nation has a right to be present in Parliament as a CORPORATE BODY, and that which affirms that every individual of that nation has a right to be present in his PERSONAL CAPACITY?" If, then, this sentence has different meanings, as it is either with or without the additional words—if these meanings are not only different but repugnant—if without the additional words, it would affirm, the right to a *virtual representation*, which is our opponent's proposition, and if with the words it would declare a right to an actual Representation, which is our principle; and if, in fact, these words are a part of the statute, then must the inference be in our favour;—then we are bound to conclude, that they meant to do that, which in point of fact they have done, by this memorable statute—assert the *Right* which the People of England have, by their Constitution and Laws, to a REAL and ACTUAL parliamentary representation.

Surely, then, my Lord, it is burning day-light to prove, that the *old* Law did intend to entail upon the whole body of the realm, and every particular member thereof, the great *Right* for which I contend. Could, however, the policy which dictated the laws, or the laws which declare the policy of our forefathers, stand in need of additional support, the proudest and most venerable authorities which the English name can boast, are at hand to give it. Let us, then, my Lord, place Mr. John Locke in our front rank—Mr. John Locke, the avowed champion of that "*ancient constitution*, (as your Lordship observed) *established at the Revolution, and which may be considered as the consolidation of our liberty.*"

"Thus, to regulate Candidates and Electors," (*i. e.* according to the mode which prevailed before the Prince of Orange arrived, a mode too similar to our *present practical one*) "what is it," says this great Englishman, "but to cut up the Government by the roots and poison the very fountain of public security. For the people having reserved to themselves the *Choice* of their *Representatives*, as the *Fence* to their properties, could do it for no other end, but that they might always be *Freely Chosen*, and so chosen, *freely act.*"—*Locke on Government*, p. 2, and 222.

Mr. Locke appears to have caught the above metaphor from Sir E. Coke, 4 Institute, 23, where he says, "Thomas Long gave the Mayor of Westbury four pounds to be elected Burgesse. This matter was adjudged in the House of Commons, secundum consuetudinem Parliamente —— the Mayor fined and imprisoned, and Long *removed*. For this *Corrupt Dealing* was *Poyson* to the very *Fountain* itself."

Tempora mutantur, however, my Lord, these things, we are now told, are as "*notorious as the Sun at noon-day*," and the Mayor of Westbury, doubtless, at present makes his return without any apprehensions.

"Whoever understands the theory of the English Constitution (said Lord Chatham), and will compare it with the practice, must see at once how widely they differ. We must reconcile them to each other, if we mean to preserve the LIBERTIES of this Country; we must reduce our *Political Practice* as near, as possible to our *Political Principle*. The English Constitution intended that there should be a *Permanent Relation* between the *Constituent* and *Representative* body of the People; will any man affirm that that is now the fact? that that relation is preserved?—My Lords, it is not *Preserved*, it is *Destroyed*."—See Debrett, v. v. p. 154-5.

"A Borough, (on another occasion, exclaimed this great patriot), which, perhaps, no man ever saw, this is what I call the *Rotten Part* of our Constitution.—It cannot continue a century; if it does not drop off, it *must be amputated*."—See Debrett, v. iv. p. 291.

"Nothing can endanger our Constitution, but destroying the equilibrium of power between one branch of the Legislature and the rest. If ever it should happen that the independence of any one of the three should be lost, or that it should become subservient to the views of either of the other two, there would be an end of the *Constitution*."—Blackstone.

"Nor, my Lord, is the doctrine *New*, (said Lord Camden), it is as *Old* as the *Constitution*; it grew up with it; it is its support. *Taxation* and *Representation* are inseparably united. God hath joined them. No British Parliament can put them asunder—to endeavour to do it is to *stab our vitals!*"—Lord Camden's Speech on American Taxation.

"It is material to us (said Mr. Burke) to be represented *really* and *bona fide*, and not in forms and types, and figures and fictions of law. The right of election was not established as a mere matter of form, it was not a principle which might substitute a *Titius* or a *Marius*, a *John Doe* or a *Richard Roe*, in the place of a man specially chosen, not a principle just as well satisfied with one man as another. It is a *Right*, the effect of which is to give to the people that man and *that man only*, whom by their own voices *Actually* not *Constructively* given, they declare that they *know*, *esteem*, *love*, and *trust*."—Thoughts on the present Discontents, p. 304, 305.

"The Constitution of this country (exclaimed our virtuous and patriotic countryman, Sir Geo. Saville,) reminds me strongly of an ancient and stately oak near my house, though to all appearance green and flourishing without—is all ROTTENNESS and CORRUPTION within."

"The defect of Representation (said Mr. Pitt, in 1782,) is the national disease, and unless you apply a remedy directly to that disease, you must inevitably take the consequences with which it is pregnant.—Without a Parliamentary Reform, the nation will be plunged into New WARS; without a Parliamentary Reform,

you cannot be safe against BAD MINISTERS, nor can even Good Ministers be of use to you—No HONEST MAN can, according to the present system, be Minister."

"That corruption and patronage had overspread the land—that the King's name was frequently prostituted by his Ministers—that Majorities were found to support the worst measures, as well as the best—that through Parliamentary Reform ALONE, we could have a chance of rescuing ourselves from a state of extreme peril and distress,"—was the solemn declaration of Mr. Fox.

To the eloquent and recent appeals of Mr. (now Lord) Grey, and to the Petition of the Society called the Friends of the People, praying for Parliamentary Reform, and which may now be found upon the table of the House of Commons, I need not call your Lordship's attention.

Nothing can be farther from my intention than to say any thing bearing the least semblance of unkindness to a man, whose *intentions I believe to be perfectly upright*, and whose sincerity is unquestionable; or I might here perhaps be allowed to ask your Lordship on what foundation these late changes have been made against the Friends of Reform? Whence these denunciations, which to many a mind may have given considerable pain, of persons seeking for *visionary improvements*, and "*raising the passions of the people* by attempting to fill them with *fancies which had no solid foundation*."—To shew my Countrymen that the Reformers of England conceive they have "*some foundation, and that a very solid one too*," for the cause they have hitherto pursued, and in which I trust they will persevere to the end, is the only object of this letter; and I trust, after the statement I have made, that the friends of this measure will hear no more complaints on the score of "MODERN INNOVATION."

In endeavouring to effect this, I have not trusted to my own speculations and inquiries—I have rather chosen to submit to your Lordship's view the learning and the researches of others. If I should have succeeded in condensing, without injuring its force—in giving it "a *tangible shape*"—in placing within every man's reach those valuable documents, in which he will find his great prerogative—his RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE in a FREE PARLIAMENT, recognised in the laws of his country—I shall feel satisfied in having done some trifling service to the cause I have espoused!

Your Lordship is reported to have said at Leeds—"If by Reform is meant the removal of any *Corruption* or *Abuse*, that may have *crept* into the *mode* of electing Members of Parliament; or any thing which affects its INDEPENDENCE, no man is more friendly to it than I am."*

Now, my Lord, is not Borough Patronage an abuse?—What says the great champion of your Lordship's favourite measure, the Revolution, Mr. Locke?—What says the Declaration of that Prince whose avowed intention it was to RESTORE the Constitution of England?—What says the Bill of Rights itself!—To what purpose, if the present practice is constitutional, the first and solemn resolution passed when Parliament assembles, a resolution which as yet has never been impugned—"That for a Peer to INTERFERE in the election of a Member of Parliament, is a gross infringement of the Rights and Privileges of the Commons of Great Britain."—Is it not, my Lord, in direct opposition to these statutes and authorities that the supposed right is founded which gives to 182 individuals, in a population of fourteen millions of people, calling themselves free, the dangerous privilege of selecting a majority of those, whom they think best fitted to fulfil the great and sacred duties of legislation?

Perhaps it may be argued that the Borough Proprietors have an interest in serving their country, and that though they do nominate for Boroughs, they do not neglect the "common good." How the Patron sometimes finds his interest consulted by the disposal of seats, is very satisfactorily explained by Bubb Doddington in his Diary. And Doddington was possessed of all the qualities which are now considered necessary for a Legislature—"a great Landholder—a great Officer in the State—eminent for his knowledge, eloquence, and activity."—(See Paley's *Moral* and Political Philosophy.)

"I believe (said this *Right Hon.* Patron) there were few who could afford to *give His Majesty Six Members for nothing*." —"Mr. Pelham declared that I had a good deal of MARKETABLE WARE (Parliamentary interest) and that if I would empower him to offer it to *the King without conditions*, he would be answerable to bring the affair to *a good account*."—Pages 282, 308, Diary. What was this account?—"The Treasureship of the Navy, he says,

* Leeds Mercury, October 10, 1812.

the price of his seats."—*Volguto imperii arcano!*—What has happened, my Lord, once, may happen again—What has occurred in one instance, may take place in one thousand.

It is not, however, always the Patron' practice to dispose of his seats to his relatives or friends, or persons on whose integrity he can reckon.—They are a commodity in the market—they are avowedly and repeatedly on sale to the best bidder—the way, therefore, is as open to the monied adventurer as to the English Gentleman. Mr. Pitt roundly affirmed in his day, "That the emissary of a Tartar Prince had eight seats among the Commons of Great Britain,"—having thus an equal weight there with the County of Middlesex, and the Cities of London and Westminster. Now, my Lord, are these colours of sufficient force to paint this dreadful enormity? —What but a Parliamentary Reform can shield us from a repetition of these attacks? —For the same inlet through which the rupees of Mahomet Ali Khan, insinuated his Agents into St. Stephen's Chapel, are still open, and if your Lordship's arguments are valid, ought *not to be shut* against *any intruder.*

These two cases however cannot attach to your Lordship, for no man can harbour the remotest suspicion, that either your Lordship or your Lordship's family will ever act from interested motives. Let us then consider the last and only remaining case, let us suppose the Borough Patrons to be actuated solely by the *purest* and most *undivided* love of their country, still there are very forcible reasons why the power should not be lodged where it is at present. *Great Property*, my Lord, is not *always* coupled with *sound judgment.* The best of us, (and the Borough Proprietors are not exempt from the common lot) have *our Partialities!* For a variety of reasons, therefore, it is obvious, that the "*Common Good*" should not be at their disposal.

I shall pursue this subject no further. Upon the authority of our illustrious ancestors, who were the proud actors in that "*great but necessary violation of the law,*" by the operation of which "a *Tyrant was cashiered for misconduct,*" and upon the *Bill* they passed *declaratory* of an *Englishman's rights*, I fearlessly take my stand upon a rock, from which I trust "the puny breath of modern dialectics" will never be able to shake me. I contend either that the present practice is WRONG, or that "THE BILL OF RIGHTS, with every preventive regulation which our ancestors with parental anxiety suggested in the days of simplicity and truth, to guard the *Freedom of Election*, ought to be cast into the fire as waste paper and rubbish.

Your Lordship has often demanded of the friends of Reform, to what period they would revert to seek for the Constitution of England. The Reformers, my Lord, will make answer, and tell you that the real Constitution, only with a much greater latitude of suffrage than is now sought for, existed from the earliest times to the famous disfranchising act of the 8th of Henry 6th. Since it appears by the latest inquiry into the early history of our country, that the Norman Conqueror made little or no alteration in the civil government of the country,—(See Sir W. Jones's admirable speech on Parliamentary Reform, Vol. 5 of his works,) a speech which ought to be deeply studied by every friend to the measure; the speech of a man who was made up of religion, learning, and integrity; the speech of a man, of whom it was emphatically said, "that it was well for the world that he had been born."

The Reformers will tell you, my Lord, that it was lost both in theory and practice, during the distracted times of the latter period of the 15th century—that it was kept down by the tyranny of the Tudors—that it spoke again, through its organ, the people, to two of the Princes of the house of Stewart—(see the Petition of RIGHT,) that its balance was "by the caprice and partiality of our Kings, from Henry 6th to Charles 2d gradually vested in the inferior boroughs"—(see the Yorkshire Memorial, 1782,) and that it would have effectually and proudly raised its head at the "Glorious Revolution," had not the Prince of Orange bullied those of whose lives, liberty, and property, he professed himself the friend and defender.

For the real history of the Bill of Rights, I must request your Lordship to turn to Ralph's History of England, Vol. 2, p. 52. Your Lordship will there find that the Bill of Rights was only the Bill declaratory of our rights, and that it was to have been followed up by another, making specific provision to carry these rights into effect, which was defeated by the Prince of Orange himself, who roundly declared, that if Parliament insisted so much on limitations, he would return to Holland, and leave them to the *mercy* of King James. Thus, my Lord, to use a homely expres-

sion, *The Bill of Rights* was the *Bill of Fare*, but the *dinner* has not yet been *served up!*

That I should impute any *improper motives* to your Lordship, God forbid, but there may be an error of the *judgment*, as well as of the *heart;* and I could not hear the cause of Reform arraigned without making the best efforts in my power to interpose in its behalf. To your Lordship's arguments I have opposed those which have confirmed me in my opinions; both are now before the public, and in their present, as well as future views of this subject, that public must judge between us.

In addressing this letter to your Lordship, I have only taken the liberty, I have only exercised the right which the meanest of your Lordship's constituents possesses; when a man's country is at stake, he is no friend to it who suffers ceremony to sway him. I have endeavoured, however, to discuss the point with all the temper such serious subjects require. I have not, I trust, for a moment, lost sight of that respect which I owe and feel to your Lordship's *situation, public services, and private worth*, and though I may be in an error, (which I must share, should that be the case, with some of the most famous Parliament Statesmen, Lawyers, Jurists, and Moralists that England ever knew;) yet I shall think myself well repaid for the attempt I have made, if in explaining the causes of "the Political Faith which is in me," I shall have succeeded in persuading your Lordship, whose good opinion I very much value, that my mistake has not originated in thoughtlessness or vice.

I shall now, my Lord, bring this letter to a close, I have disburdened my mind, having, I trust, said enough to shew that Parliamentary Reform is not the "baseless fabric," your Lordship has represented it to be, and that a man, so long as any weight is attached to grave and virtuous authorities may entertain a conviction of its necessity, without labouring under the imputation of "vanity or presumption."

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Very truly and faithfully yours,

WALTER FAWKES.

Farnley Hall,
Nov. 6, 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

English Bulletin.—(*Continued from p. 574.*

Having learned that the enemy had occupied the town of Wolokolamsk, threatening by this movement my right flank, I immediately detached Colonel Benkendorff with the Cossacks of the guard, and the regiment of Tchermosonboff. I ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy, and to drive him away, if it be possible, from Wolokolamsk. I ordered Colonel Jelowaiskoy not to retire one step, that the enemy might not perceive my movement.——In the mean while, I have advanced with the whole of my detachment towards the town of Klin, and posted myself seven wersts off in the village of Davidofka, in order the better to support Colonel Benkendorff, and anticipate the enemy in his movements from Wolokolamsk towards Twer. Yesterday I received accounts from M. Benkendorff, that Wolokolamsk was only occupied by a part of the enemy, who have retired towards Roussa. I have ordered M. Benkendorff to post himself near Roussa, and to occupy the environs of Mojaisk: and then, after having joined the detachment of Major Prendell, to act upon all the roads which lead from Mojaisk towards the North.

This very moment, I have received from M. Prendell the intelligence of his having already had some affairs with the enemy. I am convinced that the movements of Major Prendell were the cause of the abandonment of Wolokolamsk by the enemy, who, according to Major Prendell's report, suffered great loss. He has sent me thirty-six prisoners.——To-morrow I shall myself advance towards the town of Woskreseuck, whence it will be easy for me to reinforce my advanced guard, which is at Tschernoy Grjas, as well as Benkendorff's detachment; at the same time I shall attain by this means my principal object, which is to cover Klein and Twer, as well as the road from Petersburgh.

Twenty-third Bulletin of the French Grand Army.—Moscow, Oct. 9.

The advanced guard, commanded by the King of Naples, is upon the Nava, twenty leagues from Moscow. The enemy's army is upon the Kalouga. Some skirmishes have taken place for the last three days. The King of Naples has had all the advan-

tage, and always driven the enemy from their positions. The Cossacks hover upon our flanks. A patrol of 150 dragoons, of the guard commanded by Major Matthod, has fallen into an ambuscade of the Cossacks, between the road of Moscow and Kalougo. The dragoons sabred 300 of them, and opened themselves a passage; but they left 20 men upon the field of battle, who were taken, amongst them is the Major, dangerously wounded. The Duke of Elchingen is at Boghorodock. The advanced guard of the Viceroy is at Troitsa, upon the road to Dmitrow.——The colours taken by the Russians from the Turks, in different wars, and several curious things found in the Kremlin, have been sent off for Paris. We found a Madonna, enriched with diamonds: It has also been sent to Paris. We add here a statistical account of Moscow, which was found among the papers of the Palace.——It appears that Rostopchin has emigrated. At Voronovo he set fire to his castle, and left the following writing attached to a post:

"I have, for eight years, embellished this country house, and I have lived happy in it in the bosom of my family. The inhabitants of this estate, to the number of 1,720, quit it at your approach (1); and I set fire to my house that it may not be polluted by your presence. Frenchmen! I have abandoned to you my two Moscow houses, with furniture, worth half a million of rubles; here you will only find ashes (2).

"COUNT FEDOR ROSTOPCHIN.
"*Voronovo, Sept. 29.*"

The palace of Prince Kurakin is one of those which has been saved from the fire. General Count Nansouty is lodged in it. ——We succeeded, with great difficulty, in withdrawing, from the hospitals and houses on fire, a part of the Russian sick. There remains about 4,000 of these wretched men. The number of those who perished is extremely great.——We have had for the last eight days a warmer sun than is experienced at Paris at this season. ——We do not perceive that we are in the North.——The Duke of Reggio, who is at Wilna, has entirely recovered.——The enemy's General in Chief, Bagration, is dead of the wound which he received in the battle of Moskwa.——The Russian army disavows the fire of Moscow. The authors of this attempt are held in detestation among the Russians.——They consider Rostopchin as a sort of Marat. He has been able to console himself in the society of the English Commissary, Wilson.——The Staff-Major will cause the details of the battles of Smolensko and Moskwa to be printed, and point out those who distinguished themselves.——We have just armed the Kremlin with 30 pieces of cannon, and constructed *cheveaux de frise* at all the entrances of it. It forms a fortress. Bake-houses and magazines are established in it.

Twenty-fourth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Moscow, Oct. 14, 1812.

General Baron Delzons has marched upon Dmitrow. The advanced guard of the King of Naples is upon the Nara, in the presence of the enemy, who is occupied with refreshing his army, and completing it by means of the militia.——The weather is still fine. The first snow fell yesterday. In twenty days we shall be in winter quarters.——The Russian troops in Moldavia have joined General Tormazow, those of Finland have disembarked at Riga. They came out and attacked the 10th corps. They were beaten; 3,000 men were made prisoners. The official account of this brilliant combat, which does so much honour to General de Yorck, is not yet received.——All our wounded have left Smolensk, Minsk, and Mohilow; a great number are restored, and have rejoined their corps.——Much private correspondence between Petersburgh and Moscow has made known the situation of the empire. The project of burning Moscow was kept secret. The greater part of the Nobles and individuals knew nothing of it.——The Engineers have drawn out a plan of the city, marking the houses which have been saved from the flames. It appears that there has only been saved from the conflagration the tenth part of the city. Nine-tenths of it no longer exist.

Letter from M. Marcoff, Commandant of the Militia of the province of Moscow, to Count Rastapchin.

Mojaisk, 24th Aug. (Sept. 5), 1812.

On my arrival at Mojaisk the 21st Aug. (2d Sept.) the head-quarters were at eight wersts from this town. The line of the two united armies was at six wersts. The first army occupied the right, the second the left; the corps of reserve consists of 15 battalions.——The Prince is determined to

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the COURIER:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY, from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "*ringleaders* were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."——That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Incendiaries of Moscow.——From the official documents, which the reader will find in the present sheet (if I have room for them), it appears that the Emperor of France has quitted the ruins of Moscow, and that a part, at least, of his army has been defeated by the Russians. Indeed, if we give full credit to the statements of the Russians and of our news-papers, we must be ready to expect the total, or, nearly the total, overthrow of the French army. For my part, I receive with great distrust, whatever comes from this quarter. The Russian accounts have uniformly been in direct opposition to those of the French army. If we had believed the Russian accounts, we must have believed, that the French were defeated in every battle; and yet, we, at last, found, that the French army had actually arrived at Moscow, into which the Generals as well as the Bishops of Russia declared that it was impossible for them to enter.——However, as "the "father of lies" is said, upon *one occasion*, to have uttered truth; so it may be with the writers of Russian Bulletins and their co-operators in England; and the great conqueror may, possibly, have been, at last, put, as we are told he has been, to disgraceful flight.——Of the use which other powers, and which England in particular, ought to make of this event, it will be time enough to speak when we have the confirmation of the important intelligence; and, in the meanwhile, we will turn back to, and discuss, a matter of great importance to the safety of the people of every country; I mean, the *trial and execution of the incendiaries, or, rather, a few of the incendiaries, of the city of Moscow*, the circumstances of which transaction are, in the French news-papers, stated to have been as follows: "that, on the 24th of "September last, Buonaparté caused to be "assembled at Moscow a military commis- "sion or Court Martial, for the trial of "twenty-six of the persons accused of set- "ting fire to that city: ten of them were "condemned to death, and the other six- "teen were sentenced to be imprisoned, "there not being sufficient evidence against "them to justify the Court Martial in con- "demning them to death."——This transaction has been commented on, in some of the English news-papers, in a manner that has excited in me a great deal of surprise; for, though scarcely any thing in the way of either falsehood or folly would surprise me in the far greater part of those papers, yet, there are others, and especially the Morning Chronicle, from the editor of which better things might be expected.

The comments to which I here allude, contain the most extraordinary, the most alarming, and the most horrible doctrine that I remember ever to have met with in print, or to have heard broached in conversation.——The leader upon this occasion appears to have been the editor of the Times news-paper, who, on the eleventh instant, put forth a justification of that terrible act, the burning of the city of Moscow. I will first insert this article; I will then insert what the Morning Chronicle of the same day said upon the same subject; and then I will submit to the reader my observations thereon.——It will be seen, from a perusal of these articles, that their authors assert, First, *that the Emperor Alexander had a plain, full, and perfect right to give orders for the burning of Moscow, at the time, and in the manner, described by the French.* Second, *that his subjects had an equal right to act as they are alleged to have done, that is to say, to set fire to the city of Moscow at the time mentioned, and that they had a right thus to act, without any other authority than their own brave and laudable resolution.* Third, *that Napoleon had no right to create any tribunal to try these persons, and that it was a tribunal equally unknown to the laws of God and man, of nature, and of nations, and only competent to pronounce a sentence of judicial murder.* Fourth, *that it concerns all the nations of the world, solemnly to protest against this act of the Emperor of France.* Fifth, *that the Emperor of Russia would act justly by putting ten French officers of high rank to death,*

for every individual Russian executed upon this occasion by the orders of Buonaparté. ——The whole of these assertions are, I think, wholly unfounded; in support of which opinion, I shall submit my reasons to the reader when I have inserted the whole of the articles from which I have extracted the assertions. This latter I deem necessary, in order that the reader may see the arguments on both sides of the question. ——The article from the Times newspaper is as follows:——"In pursuing our "extracts from the French papers received "on Monday, we earnestly call the atten- "tion of our readers to one, which presents "an instance of the most atrocious inso- "lence recorded in history. The MON- "STER, who, *without a shadow of rea- "sonable pretence, invaded the Russian "empire*, and seized its capital, has dared, "in impious mockery of the forms of jus- "tice, to bring to trial, to condemn and "execute, certain Russian subjects, charg- "ing it on them as a crime, that they "*obeyed the orders of their Sovereign*, in "*destroying property which would other- "wise have fallen into the hands of the "public foe.* We ask not, whether the "accused parties had, or had not, any "thing to do with the transaction, in point "of fact. We ask not, whether the con- "flagration was accidental, or intentional, "—whether it was occasioned by the can- "nonade of the French, or by the despe- "rate fury of the enraged Moscovites, or "by a combination of both these causes. "*We assert, that the Emperor Alexander "had a plain, full, and perfect right to "give orders to the effect stated; and that "his subjects had an equal right to act, as "they are alleged to have done, without "any other authority than their own brave "and laudable resolution.* The judgment "pronounced by the Military Commission, "created at Moscow by Buonaparté, is, in "point of *legal effect, a mere nullity.* He "had, he could have *no right to create any "such tribunal,—a tribunal equally un- "known to the laws of God and man,—of "nature and of nations,—and only compe- "tent to pronounce a sentence of judicial "murder!* It concerns all the nations of "the world openly, instantly, solemnly to ...ainst the usurped authority of "this self-created "surrogate of justice." "It concerns none more than the English "nation. Upon the very same grounds "that these ten Russians have been con- "demned to death, *any number of indivi- "duals who belonged to our retreating "army in the Portuguese campaign of* "1810,—nay, the gallant, and beloved "Commander of that army himself, "*cer- "tissima oppressæ Europæ spes,*"—might "then, or may hereafter, be led forth to "execution; for it is idle to say, that the "hand that executes is more guilty than "the head that plans; or that Lord Wel- "lington *had greater authority to command "in Portugal than Count Rastopchin in "Moscow:* and we know that he was at "that time accused by the Moniteur in the "same terms as the other is now, of "em- "" ploying extraordinary means of de- "" fence, by fire and destruction, disap- "" proved by all civilized nations." And, "lastly, it is evident, that if such conduct "be criminal in 1812, it was so in 1810, "and the liability to punishment for it "will attach to the party implicated, "throughout the whole course of his life. "——But it is not Lord Wellington, or "Count Rastopchin, or the Emperor Alex- "ander alone, that is struck at; though "they have all been honoured by the pre- "scriptive pen of Buonaparté;—*every wise "and cautious Government, every brave "and patient people has incurred, or is "ready at every instant to incur, this new "species of moral turpitude.* If I may "not *fire my house to prevent its affording "shelter to my enemy, I may not destroy "my corn, or drive my cattle beyond his "reach, or even refuse my wife or daugh- "ter to his brutal lust.* There is abso- "lutely *no line to be drawn* between the "denial of a perfect right of defence by "means of fire and destruction, and the as- "sertion of a positive duty in the most base, "creeping, slavish non-resistance:—and "this he knows well enough. He loves to "reign by terror, and by terror only can he "maintain such an entire subjugation of "the mind of Europe, as that at which he "aims. This pretended judgment is part "of his scheme, and emanates naturally "from his system; and is not meant to "operate specially in Russia, but in Aus- "tria and Prussia, in America, in England; "—and all this under the flimsy veil of a "regard for the laws of war, as practised "among civilized nations.——We admit, "that the strict laws of war should be en- "forced, even against enemies,—but *who "is this grand reformer of the practice of "nations?* If a similar, or even a far "more equitable and justifiable severity "had been practised toward him and his "agents, they would long since have been "hung up like dogs, the objects of scorn

"and abhorrence to every passer-by, for "their unmanly, and (except in their own "bloody revolution) unprecedented cruel "ty. *Look at the French proclamations* "*of* 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, *in* "*in Germany, in the Tyrol, in Portu* "*in Spain*, subscribed with the names "Kosinski, Parigot, Lefebvre, Junot, So (we take these at hazard, from a heap of "similar compositions). Are they not *enough to make the blood run cold with* "*horror, and the hair stand on end with* "*awful fear of the* DIVINE *vengeance on* "*such iniquities?* Do they not contain "*threats* of razing houses, burning down "whole towns, shooting individuals, and "banishing families, for mere adherence to "the duties of *loyalty* and *patriotism?* "Were not these infernal denunciations "*executed in Portugal*, until *the Deliverer* "*came;* and were they not fearfully re-"tracted in Spain, when retaliation was "threatened?——This last consideration "points out the just, and only answer, that "the Emperor Alexander ought to make to "the audacious Manifesto in question. "For the first native Russian in the list of "those confessedly murdered by order of "Buonaparté, *let him instantly hang ten* "*Barons of the French Empire, or Knights* "*of the Legion of Honour, and so on for* "*every other individual that has been exe-*"*cuted.*"——Thus far the *Times* news-paper. We will now hear the Morning Chronicle.——"It will be recollected, "that one of the late French Bulletins re-"corded the fact of several Russians hav-"ing been put to death, for no other crime "than that of being faithful to the cause "of their country, in endeavouring to ren-"der the possession of Moscow of as little "avail as possible to the invaders, by de-"stroying it. It now appears that this "atrocious act was attempted to be cover-"ed by *the mock solemnity of a Military* "*Commission*, at which the charge of set-"ting fire to the City was formally made "against 26 Russians, several of whom "were natives of Moscow, and for which "ten of them were sentenced to death; "and the remaining 16, although it was "acknowledged that there was not evi-"dence sufficient to convict them, were "ordered to be detained in the prisons of "Moscow, to prevent the mischief they "might commit! The detail of the pro-"ceedings of this Military Commission we "have extracted from the French papers. "Had it not been for their own record thus "published to the world, it would, per-"haps, have scarcely been believed that so "*wanton and barbarous a violation of* "*every principle of justice had really been* "*committed;* yet such is the fact avowed "in the French official document. A Mi-"litary Commission, consisting of French "officers, is appointed to try 26 natives of "Russia, upon no other charge than that "*of the fair exercise of the right's of war* "*against an invader;* and by that Military "Commission ten of these individuals are "condemned to death, and the rest sen-"tenced to linger in a prison!"——I shall now enter upon those reasons, upon which I found my denial of the assertions above stated; but, first of all, there are some other assertions, introduced here incident-ally, and which, it seems to be supposed by the writers, will be taken for granted; and which I am not for so taking.——We are told, that "the MONSTER invaded "the Russian Empire without the shadow "of *reasonable pretence.*"——By the *mon-ster* is meant the Emperor of France, he whom we recognized in a solemn treaty as lawfully the Chief Magistrate of that coun-try; he whom we sent an Envoy to treat with in 1806; he for holding whom forth to the execration of the people of France Mr. Peltier was, in our Court of King's Bench, found guilty of a criminal libel; he, in short, with whom, in all human proba-bility, we must treat again, if we are ever to have peace.——However, monster or monster not, it is a *falsehood*, it is a direct, clear, known falsehood, to say, that Napo-leon invaded Russia "without *a shadow of reasonable pretence;*" for, as this hire-ling of the Times news-paper well knows, the Emperor of France complained of the Czar's *not having adhered to the Treaty of Tilsit;* he complained that the Czar, hav-ing, at Tilsit, obtained an equivalent for shutting out the commerce of England, had, with that equivalent in his possession, refused to shut out the said commerce. He said, "when I had you within my grasp 'at Tilsit, I let go my hold upon condi-"tion that you would faithfully adhere to 'the Continental system against England; 'and now, being free from my grasp, you 'do not adhere to that system."——Whe-ther the facts here alleged be true or false is not the question. The question is, whe-ther there be here a *reasonable pretence;* and, as it is obvious that the pretence is not only reasonable, but very plausible, it follows, of course, that the assertion of the Times is, as to this matter, *wholly false.*

The next assertion that I notice is,

that the conduct of certain French Generals was "enough to make the hair stand on end with awful fear of DIVINE *vengeance on such iniquities.*"——I beg the reader to compare this with the cant of Mr. Canning, who represents Buonaparte as "*let loose upon us by Divine Providence.*" Why, then, are we to suppose that that same Providence is *displeased* with what he and his Generals do? What a capricious, and, indeed, what an unjust Being, do these men of cant make of Providence! They first tell us, that Providence employs Napoleon as a scourge on mankind. This is not placing Providence in a very amiable light; but, what are we to think of them when they add, that Providence, having first let loose the French to scourge mankind, then is ready to inflict *vengeance* upon them for having been a scourge?——Reader, pray consider these things! Pray, do exercise your *senses!* Pray, be not cheated any longer for want of a little reflection! Pray withdraw yourself from the disgraceful situation of being the gull of these hypocrites. ——I now come to the five above-stated assertions, the FIRST of which is, *That the Emperor Alexander had a plain, full, and perfect right to give orders for the burning of Moscow, at the time, and in the manner described by the French.*——Now, the French report says, that the government of Russia had prepared before-hand the means of destroying Moscow by fire, if it should fall into the hands of the French; that the plan was to set fire to the city twenty-four hours after the arrival of the French, the engines for putting out fire being previously carried away; that divers persons were ordered to remain disguised at Moscow, in order to put the plan in execution; that accordingly, the city was set fire to by these persons, in the night of the 14th of September; that many of the incendiaries were killed upon the spot by the French soldiers; and that the persons condemned and executed as above mentioned, were in the number.——This is the account of the facts as given by the French, and it is upon an admission of these facts being true, that the Times news-paper makes the assertion which I deny.——He says, that the Emperor Alexander had a plain, full, and perfect right to give orders for the burning of Moscow at the time and in the manner above described. I say that the Emperor Alexander had *no such right*. Mind, I do not pretend to say, that he *did order* the ancient Capital of his Empire to be burnt; and but a few weeks have elapsed since the hirelings of the Times and the Courier *accused the French of having burnt the City*, and represented them as horrible monsters for the act. On the consistency of this I shall speak by and by; I only mention it now to shew that there has been two stories as to the fact. I do not, therefore, say, that the Emperor Alexander did actually give orders for the destruction of the Capital of Russia, and of no small part of its inhabitants, but I say, that he had no right to give such orders.——It is a maxim not to be controverted, except by those who hold the people to be the mere property of the Sovereign, that *protection* and *allegiance* go together; that they are inseparable; that the latter cannot justly be demanded where the former does not exist; and that, when a Sovereign has no longer the power to afford any portion of his subjects protection against an invader, he has no right to demand obedience at their hands, and has no right to do any thing to them to cause them to suffer, except in the way of open war for the recovery of that part of his territories that they inhabit. Upon what other condition is it, upon what other principle, that men are called upon to yield up their natural rights, to pay taxes, to perform personal services, and to obey any Code of Laws? They do all this upon the condition of their being *protected* in the quiet enjoyment of their lives and property; and, of course, when the Sovereign ceases to have the power to protect them; when his armies flee before those of the invader, leaving his people to the mercy of the latter, those people, during the time that the enemy is master of the country, owe their Sovereign no allegiance. The conqueror becomes, for the time being, and perhaps, for ever, their Sovereign; the people cannot owe allegiance to both at once.——The people of Moscow had a right to demand protection at the hands of their Sovereign; this right they possessed in consequence of their having paid him taxes and yielded obedience to his laws. He was, it appears, unable to afford them protection; he could not, therefore, be blamed, perhaps, for not protecting them; but surely, this circumstance gave him no right to destroy them or their property? It was enough, one would suppose, for him to leave his people unprotected; it was enough for the inhabitants of a great City to find themselves exposed to the ravages of an enemy; what, then, must they have thought, and what

must the world think of their being almost exterminated by the orders of him, to whom they had so long paid taxes, whose laws they had so long obeyed, whose "*be-*" "*loved* subjects" they were called, and whose duty it was to have afforded them protection?——The sophistry resorted to upon this occasion, in order to justify this terrible act, an act, you will observe, which, while it was supposed here to have been committed by the French, was held forth as worthy of "the *monster*" to whom it was then imputed; the sophistry resorted to in order to justify this act, pretends that the Czar had a right to cause to be destroyed *property* which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the public foe. Certainly he would have had a right to cause to be destroyed ships of war, magazines, fortifications, and even private property, where the lives of the owners or occupiers were not put in jeopardy, and where the object to be attained by such destruction was of sufficient importance. But, what was the case here? Here are three hundred thousand persons, of all ages and sexes, whose dwellings, whose food, whose raiment, whose beds, are all at one and the same time, consumed by fire! It is very easy for the hirelings of the Times and the Courier to talk lightly upon this subject; to talk about the *right* of causing this terrible destruction; but, reader, if the fear of Buonaparté, if anxiety for your own safety, if this merciless feeling has not bereft your heart of those qualities which it ought to possess, transport yourself in idea to the City of Moscow; see the flames devouring the dwellings of three hundred thousand people; see the confusion, the uproar; see the frantic parents snatching their children from the flames; hear the groans, the screams of the aged, the lame, the blind, the sick, the bed-ridden, the women in child-birth. And, then, if you can coolly say, with the hirelings of our press, that any one had a *right* to cause this thing to be done; why, then, go and join Mr. Canning, and talk about "*Divine Providence* letting loose "upon us the scourge of mankind:"——In such a city how many thousands must have been in a state perfectly helpless; it is said, in the official report, *that* 30,000 *sick Russian Soldiers were burnt.* And this is what the Morning Chronicle calls "the *fair exercise of the rights of war*!" The babies must have been very numerous; the women in child-bed; the bed-ridden; the sick of palsies, fevers, gout, dropsy; all these, in a population of 300,000, must have amounted to many thousands; and to all these such a conflagration must have been certain death. For, where were they to find shelter supposing them to escape the flames? Where were they to get food, raiment, bedding? Reader, I beseech you to fix your eyes on the scene; and then, recollect, that our hireling press has asserted, that the Emperor Alexander had a *plain*, *full*, and *perfect right* to give orders for the producing of such a scene! There is something so monstrous in this assertion; there is something so daringly cruel in it, that I should here leave it to the abhorrence which it is calculated to excite, did I not think it necessary to strip it of all the sophistry by which it is attempted to be maintained.——The Czar had, we are told, a right to cause to be destroyed *property* which would otherwise fall to the invader.——We have seen how far this right may, in certain cases, be carried; but, it was *persons*, it was *life*, that was destroyed here, and that must, from the nature of the case, *necessarily* have been destroyed; and I deny, that, in any case whatever, the sovereign has, for the sake of preserving territory, or even his crown, *the right to take away the lives of any part of his subjects.*——The hireling of the Times says: "If I may "not fire *my* house to prevent its affording "shelter to my enemy, I may not destroy "my corn or drive my cattle beyond his "reach, or even refuse my wife or daugh-"ter to his brutal lust."——If, indeed, it appeared, that *people* of Moscow had fired their *own* houses, this argument might be worth attending to; but, as the act is justified upon the ground of *its having been committed by the order of the Czar*, this argument does not apply; and is but a poor pitiful attempt at deception. I am not contending that the people of any portion of territory have not a right *to set fire to their own dwellings*, supposing it possible for them to be unanimous in a wish so to do, and which would imply *previous preparations of all sorts.* I am contending that no sovereign has a right (let his object be what it may) to burn his subjects, or any portion of his subjects, to death; or, otherwise to destroy them. ——It is said, that suburbs of Towns, and that private property of various descriptions, have frequently been destroyed, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of an invader. But, in such cases, *compensation* is always contem-

plated. If, for instance, the French were to invade Hampshire, and I were to be ordered, by the Commander of the District, to burn my house, my barns, and my ricks, to give him up my horses for his use, and to cut the throats of my other cattle; such an order would be very foolish indeed, and would not at all tend to the defence of the country: but suppose it to be given and to suppose me to obey it, is it reasonable to think, that I should not receive *compensation* from the country at large? If by the destruction of my property, the King is preserved on his throne, and the country at large is finally preserved from subjugation, or, if it is with this view that my property is destroyed by order of the Government, will any one deny my right to a compensation for the loss of that property? Upon this principle, then, how can the Czar be justified in ordering, as the Times news-paper says he did, the sudden destruction of a City, like that of Moscow? For, who shall give *compensation* for *lives* taken away; for the death of the aged, the lame, the blind, the sick, the women in child-birth, the wounded soldiers, who perished, and who *necessarily must* have perished, upon this occasion? For the taking away of life nothing can compensate; and, if it should be said, that, by the means of this terrible act at Moscow the Empire of Russia will be finally preserved from the dominion of Buonaparté; nay, if we grant, that it is *certain* that that act will produce this effect, I not only deny that the act was justifiable, but I deny the right on the part of the Czar to cause the life of any one man to be taken with a view of securing that object. ——Government makes laws for the ruling of the people; it takes from the people a considerable portion of their property; it compels them to yield personal services, and for what? What is the answer when we complain of heavy burdens? When we complain that so large a share of our property is taken from us in taxes? When we complain of the quantity of our necessaries of life being so much reduced? The answer always is, that *these privations are necessary to the defence of our country against the enemy*; that they are necessary to secure us in the quiet enjoyment of what the government does not take from us. And, what sense is there in this, unless it be meant to tell us, that, if we give the government all that is demanded from us in taxes, the government, on its part, will be able and willing to afford us protection against the said enemy? This is the plain meaning of the thing; and, what, then, are we to think of those, who are ready not only to apologize for the government not yielding the people protection against an invader, but who are ready to justify it in destroying any portion of the people, lest, for want of that protection which is their due, they should fall into the hands of the enemy? It is easy for some persons, sitting safe by their fire-sides in England, to talk about the right of the Czar to burn out his subjects at Moscow; but, people of the City of London, Aldermen, Common Council-men, and all you, Bankers, Merchants, Shop-keepers, and men in Trade of all sorts; how, if Buonaparté and his army were in Essex, would this doctrine suit *you?* If the Prince Regent, and the Royal Family, seeing that they were unable to keep the French out of London, were to retire to Dublin, and leave orders for the setting fire to London in a hundred different places at once, and for the reducing of it to ashes amidst the expiring screams and groans of the people; what, in such a case, would *you* say? Would you say, that the Prince Regent, being safe at Dublin himself, had a plain, full, and perfect *right* to give such an order?——If you would, then, you may applaud the doctrine of the Times newspaper, if you would not, pray recollect, that the people of Moscow were human beings as well as yourselves.——The SECOND assertion hangs upon the first. If I have succeeded in showing, that the Czar had no right to order the burning of Moscow at the time and in the manner described by the French, it follows, of course, that, the act, being in itself a criminal act, no one could be justified in obeying those orders, any more than I could be justified in obeying the orders of the Prince Regent (if it could be supposed possible that he would give me such orders) to fire the house of any one of the King's subjects. But our hirelings contend that the people, who have been tried and condemned by the French, had a right to set fire to the City of Moscow, "without any "other authority than their own *brave* and "*laudable resolution.*"—Brave and laudable resolution! Impudent hirelings! The "*brave* and *laudable* resolution of setting fire by night to the dwellings of 300,000 poor defenceless creatures! The *brave* and *laudable* resolution of burning to death 30,000 men who had been wounded in battle against the enemy! Reader, in

all Europe there is not to be found wretches so base as to hold such language, except in England. *Here*, and *here only*, the promulgators of such horrid sentiments could find encouragement.——But, observe what a field of destruction is here opened! what a scourge is here let loose! Admit this doctrine, and then, the moment a country is invaded it is exposed to fire and sword, at the hands of any part of the people. Any band of ruffians who may wish to profit from confusion, will here find a complete justification for any crimes, any acts of cruelty, any arsons, any murders, that their views may lead them to commit.——In order to illustrate a little further the nature of the act committed at Moscow, it may not be amiss to observe on what has been sometimes said of the conduct of Napoleon and the French Generals.——They have been accused, and they are accused by the Times news-paper upon this occasion, with having issued proclamations containing "*threats of razing houses, burning* "*down whole towns, shooting individuals*, "and *banishing families*, for mere ad-"herence to the duties of *loyalty* and *pa-*"*triotism*." Now, this latter part of the assertion is false; because they never told any body, that they would punish them for being either *loyal* or *patriotic*; or for the adherence to any *duty* whatever. This is an addition by the Editor of the Times news-paper. The French Generals only told the people that they would punish them in this manner, if they were *guilty of resistance to their will*.——And now, without stopping to inquire how far they were justified in these their threats by invaders in *former* wars, let us see how far they stand justified by the combination of crowned heads, under whose orders *France itself was invaded* in the year 1792, when this long and bloody series of warfare was begun under the late Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg. This Duke, in his proclamation, dated at his head quarters at Coblentz, on the 25th of July, 1792, and addressed to the inhabitants of France, told them, that, unless they obeyed his commands, he would treat them as *rebels*; that he would cause them to *lose their heads and estates*; that the inhabitants of towns, burghs, and villages, who should *dare to defend themselves against his troops*, in any way whatever, should be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their *houses should be demolished or burned*; that the City of Paris and *all its inhabitants*, without distinction, should be made *personally responsible*; and that all the members of the national assembly and other persons in authority, not excepting the national guards of Paris, should be made personally responsible for all events, on pain of *losing their heads*, pursuant to *military trials, without hope of pardon*; that the City of Paris should be *given up to military execution*, and should be *exposed to total destruction*; and finally, that, every place and town whatsoever which should concur with the City of Paris, should also be *given up to military execution and exposed to total destruction*.——Mr. Editor of the Times news-paper, you tell us, that you have proclamations of the ruffian Generals of France as you call them. Find us one *equal* to this, and then we may allow, perhaps, that the French Generals have come up to the example, set them by the *kings* of Europe.——I was in France when this memorable proclamation was issued; and when it was, soon afterwards, followed by the actual invasion of France, with a view to put these horrid threats into execution.——However, if it was cruel and atrocious in the French Generals to issue *threats* of razing houses and of burning down whole towns: if this was cruel and atrocious; if the bare *threat* was cruel and atrocious in an *enemy*, what must the *execution* be, in a *friend*, nay, in a *sovereign* himself? And, what a character are these men providing for the Emperor of Russia?——The THIRD assertion is, *that Napoleon had no right to create any tribunal to try the incendiaries, and that it was a tribunal equally unknown to the laws of God and man, of nature and of nations, and only competent to pronounce a sentence of judicial murder*.——This assertion is equally false with the two former; for, at the time that this tribunal was created, and at the time when the crime was committed, the city of Moscow was under the dominion of Buonaparté, and the people of that city owed him allegiance as their sovereign by conquest. Those who have written upon the law of nations, lay it down, that a conqueror has a right to make prisoners of war if he chooses, of all the subjects of the hostile power who may fall into his hands, though they have committed no violence against him; but, that, now-a-days, the conqueror generally carries his rights, in this respect, no further than to exercise certain rights of sovereignty over them, such as raising and quartering troops among them, making them pay taxes, obey his laws, and punishing as rebels those who

attempt to betray him or shake off his yoke. —It is clear, then, that, according to the law of nations, as practised amongst the old governments of Europe, the city of Moscow became subject to the Emperor Napoleon on the day that his army marched into it, which was on the fourteenth of September, and it is stated that it was on the 14th and 15th of that month that the persons executed by order of the court-martial, were detected in the act of setting fire to the city.——Upon what ground, therefore, can any man attempt to deny the right of Napoleon to create a tribunal for the trial of such persons? He had not only a *right* to do it, but it was his *duty* to do it; for, not to have done it, would have been to wink at one of the greatest crimes that ever was committed in the world. That the firing of the city took place after it was in his possession cannot be denied, because it was his own soldiers who detected the incendiaries in the act; and, therefore, unless we deny, that the conqueror of any country or place has a right to punish men for criminal acts committed in any country or place, we must allow, not only that Napoleon had a right to erect the tribunal in question, but also, that, allowing the facts to have been clearly proved, this sentence of that tribunal was just.——Let us apply this doctrine of the Times news-paper to ourselves. I beseech the reader to believe, that, notwithstanding all the impudent boasting of the hired news-papers; notwithstanding all the braggings of these vile flatterers of folly; I beg the reader to believe, that notwithstanding all this, the world has a right to judge, and will judge, our conduct by the same standard that we judge the conduct of others. I ask, therefore, this question: if, in the night following the day when we took possession of Flushing, a number of the natives of that town had been detected by our soldiers in setting fire to the houses while the people were asleep; and, if our commander had tried them by a court-martial, and ordered them to be shot, I ask, whether we should not, in such a case, have applauded the conduct of our commander? The reader must know that we should have applauded such conduct; and, therefore, he must acknowledge that these accusations against Napoleon are unfounded.——It is not, however, to defend him that I have entered upon these observations. It is in order to expose to timely reprobation, a doctrine, which, if once generally tolerated, might lead to the most destructive consequences. If it were once to be admitted, that a sovereign, when unable to keep any portion of his dominions out of the hands of the enemy, has a right, while he himself is safe at a distance, to cause the destruction of all the houses, and the utter ruin, if not the death, of all the inhabitants of that part of his dominions; if this were once to be admitted as sound doctrine, no subject could look upon himself in any other light than that of a beast, propagated, and reared up, for the mere use and pleasure of an owner.——The people have rights as well as their sovereign. The crown, as the Prince Regent once declared, is, in this country, held for the benefit of the people; but, what becomes of this maxim, if the people are to be sacrificed, to be actually burnt out of their houses, to lose their property or their lives, for the preservation of the crown? ——Having now, as, I think, proved the falsehood of the three first assertions above-mentioned, the fourth and fifth fall to the ground of course; and, indeed, it is not to be credited, that, except amongst our hired writers, any man living is to be found, capable of believing, or of affecting to believe, that all the nations of the world ought to protest against a conqueror exercising the rights of sovereignty, and that the Emperor of Russia would be justified in putting to death his prisoners of war to avenge that of the acknowledged incendiaries of the capital of his empire.——These vile writers, in the indulgence of their silly rage against Buonaparté, care not who they involve. In this case, not content with comparing the conduct of our army in Portugal with that of the incendiaries of Moscow, they tell us, that, in this act of Buonaparté, a blow is struck at every *wise and cautious* government, and every *brave* and *patient* people. And, they pretty broadly hint that our government would do right to complain of this act of Buonaparté, lest he should hereafter take occasion to proceed against some of our people in Portugal and Spain, on grounds similar to those whereon he has proceeded against the incendiaries at Moscow. Their object is, to blacken Buonaparté; to take the part of every one who is against him; but, I suspect, that very few of the persons composing the native part of our brave army in Spain and Portugal, will think themselves much honoured in being put upon a level with the incendiaries of Moscow; and as little should I think that Lord Wellington will regard it as a compliment to be defended upon the same

ground that a defence is set up for Count Rastopchin, who, according to the accounts published in these our news-papers, was the person who organized the burning of the Russian capital, and the almost certain destruction of its three hundred thousand of inhabitants.——I have now, I trust, placed this matter in its true light; and have shown how dangerous it is for us to couple the adoption of doctrines with our feelings towards Buonaparté. This may lead us into enormous errors; and, therefore, the sooner and the more effectually we divest ourselves of the habit, the better.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Wednesday, 18th Nov. 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Twenty-fourth Bulletin of the French Grand Army.—(Continued from page 638.)

give a general battle, and to employ every possible means to prevent the enemy from getting to Moscow. The position of our army is a very fine one, and gives every reason to hope for victory. The advanced guard, which is at the distance of 12 wersts from the first line, was engaged yesterday with a superior force of the enemy; they attacked several times, but were always repulsed. The advanced guard received orders to-day to retire upon the first line, to afford means to the enemy of giving battle to Moscow, and our army is ready to receive them. —— Eight battalions of my troops are with the first army, and six with the second. There remains to me 3,000 men, to take care of the security of the villages, which have been plundered, and several of which have been burnt by our baggage attendants, and by the Cossacks. I have likewise a column of 4,000 men in reserve in the left wing. We reckon on a battle to-morrow. I will write to you if it takes place, which depends entirely upon Napoleon. We wait for his attack.——If, however, he delays too long, the Prince is determined to attack him. He continues to fortify his camp. I have entreated him, as well as all the other Generals, to give battle, and force the enemy to retire. The Prince says himself that it will be necessary, to prevent the enemy from Moscow, as if he gets there it will render him master of all Russia.——Barclay de Tolli remains still in possession of the command of the first army, and of the Ministry of War. He continues to correspond with ———. Business prevents my writing at greater length. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) MARCOFF.

Translation of a Letter addressed by Count Rastapchin to the Emperor Alexander, dated Moscow.

Sire,—The oaths I have taken to your Majesty guarantees my fidelity. I fulfil the duty of a Christian, and of a faithful subject, in exposing to your Imperial Majesty considerations which have been suggested by existing circumstances, by a knowledge of mankind, and the zeal which animates me for the glory of my country, and the preservation of the Nobility whom your Majesty yourself deems to be the sole support of the throne. This illustrious body, animated by the spirit of Pojarsky and Minine, are ready to sacrifice every thing for their country, and the pride of bearing the Russian name. The militia being formed, will oppose an insurmountable barrier to the enemy of the world, and put an end to his desire of entering a country protected by God, and where the foot of an enemy has not trod for an hundred years past.——But all these measures, all these armaments hitherto unheard of, will vanish in the twinkling of an eye, if the desire of acquiring a pretended liberty should raise the people upon the ruin of the nobles, the only object of the populace in all troubles, and in all revolutions. This class of men would now so much the more readily deliver themselves to their excesses, after the examples of the French, and these sad events, the inevitable consequences of which, are the destruction of laws and of Sovereigns.——The measures taken to send foreigners out of the empire have only produced ill, as scarcely one in forty has determined to quit country, where every foreigner receives consideration and fortune. If the French have taken the oath of naturalization, it is through fear and cupidity, and without its producing any change by their manner, or their desire of injuring Russia, which is proved in their insinuations in the Corporations, that they only wait for Napoleon to be free. Sire, purify Russia, and keep none but priests; order to be sent back beyond the frontiers a troop of wretches, whose sad influence corrupts the souls and minds of your virtuous subjects.——My duty, my oath, my conscience, direct me to fulfil a sacred duty, in laying before you the truth, such as I present it to you at a time when your heart will render justice to

my sincere attachment.——I conjure you, therefore, Sire, in the name of the Most High, to think of the past and the present, of the treason of Stepanoff, of the disposition of the public mind, of philosophers, of martinists, and of the election of a Chief of the Militia of Moscow. Appear for some days in this capital, and your presence may revive, in the hearts of your subjects, that love which has been almost extinguished by dissension, forgetfulness of the laws, and contempt for the Ministry. I am, &c.

COMTE THEODORE RASTAPCHIN.

Copies and Translations of three Letters, signed Leppich, addressed to the Governor-General Rastapchin.

[This Leppich is a quack mechanician, who appears to have been charged with the direction of the formation of the famous infernal balloon. It will be seen by the first Letter, that M. Rastapchin himself furnished the necessary funds for this work.]

To M. Le Comte Rastapchin.

July 30 (*Aug.* 11), 1812.

M. le Comte, I pray you to transmit to me by this opportunity 12,000 roubles in bank-notes.——I greet you sincerely, and am your Excellency's very humble, &c.

(Signed) LEPPICH.

Translated from the Russian, 24th Aug. (4th Sept.), 1812.

M. Le Comte,—Your Excellency can scarcely figure to yourself how much trouble I have had in finishing my balloon. The want of practice in my workmen has placed me under the necessity of doing the more trifling things myself; and not knowing the Russian language, I could only employ Germans. All this has prevented my ascension to-day; but at length my balloon is finished. To-morrow at noon, without fail, I shall ascend in it, and in a few hours the aerostat will be only visible from Moscow with a telescope. I have the honour, &c. (Signed) LEPPICH.

(*This Letter was written in French.*)

M. Le Comte,—You cannot imagine how many difficulties I have had to surmount to succeed in my enterprize; and, what chagrins me more, is, that yesterday, when my object appeared to be attained, the mechanical springs failed in consequence of the badness of the steel. The machine advanced well and made some movements with the wings, but at length the springs broke, and I was obliged to terminate my operations. The balloon is filled and all the other apparatus in order, and I shall be well content if you will convince yourself upon these points, by honouring me with your presence.——As I have said that the delay is owing to bad steel, although it is the best that could be procured in Moscow, it may be necessary to state that a person has promised to relieve me from this embarrassment, by furnishing me with better steel, and I must wait the result.——I flatter myself that your Excellency will believe me, when I say, that this delay has caused me much chagrin; but when I shall have received the promised steel, all will go on well.——I am, &c.

(Signed) LEPPICH.

Report annexed to the Twenty-fourth Bulletin.

Reports respecting the Battles of Frasnoi, Smolensk, and Valontino.

Report of the Duke of Elchingen to the Major-General, respecting the Bivouac of Kanosdva, seven leagues from Smolensk, 14th Aug. 1812, *at eleven o'clock in the evening.*

Monseigneur,—I have the honour to acquaint your Highness, that the 5th Corps D'Armée deployed this morning from Karasinim, by the wooden bridge over the Dnieper, near Khomino, in the direction of Krasnoi.——Having received orders from the Emperor to proceed rapidly towards that town, where, according to a report received by his Majesty, the enemy had a regiment of infantry, the head of my column arrived there about three o'clock in the afternoon. The 24th light infantry, supported by the remainder of the 10th division, attacked the enemy with a wonderful degree of boldness, and Krasnoi was carried by assault without any hesitation. ——The enemy, whose strength amounted to nearly 6,000 infantry, 1,200 cavalry, and ten pieces of cannon, had formed in echelon, and assumed a threatening aspect behind the town; but the infantry attacked them so vigorously that they were forced to retreat, which they did in good order, under the protection of their artillery, which was very well served.——At half a league distance from Krasnoi, the cavalry, commanded by the King of Naples, also attacked and pursued the enemy; the Russian infantry, which had been abandoned by their cavalry, formed at first two close co-

lumns, and afterwards a full square, which, though surrounded on all hands, continued to retreat with promptitude, continuing always fighting. Our light cavalry made more than forty charges on this infantry. ——Several squadrons penetrated into the square, and cut off battalions from it; but the enemy was saved from a total loss by the dead force opposed by its mass much more than by the effect of its fire, which, though it made much noise, did very little mischief. The Russians were pursued till night, and as far as the defile of Kanosava. We took from them eight pieces of cannon and about 800 prisoners, and killed at least 1,000; so that this division, which is the 27th, composed of four regiments of musquetiers and two of chasseurs, under the command of General Newierowski, must have lost more than the half of its numbers in killed, wounded, and prisoners.——According to the most general account, it appears that the numbers at Smolensk are not great; and it would seem that the enemy is marching towards Porietche, to appear with a strength of cavalry on the Dwina. ——The loss of the corps d'armée is nearly 200 killed and wounded. I shall request favours from the Emperor, for those officers and soldiers who distinguished themselves the most.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Marshal the Duke of Elchingen.

Report of the Duke of Elchingen to the Major-General, respecting the Bivouac before Smolensk, near Dienowo Golomisk, 16th August, 1812.

Monseigneur,—I have the honour to acquaint your Highness, that the troops of the 3d corps d'armée put themselves in march this morning, from their position of Loubna, and the environs in the direction of Smolensk. The enemy defended the exterior of the town obstinately, with dragoons and numerous pulks of Cossacks, so that we were obliged to employ infantry to drive them off, which was executed, notwithstanding a very brisk discharge of artillery from the place. A battalion of the 46th displayed such ardour, that I allowed it to advance at a charge against one of the bastions on the height, that I might by this means discover the force of the enemy. ——All the Russian infantry who defended the covered way was forced to fall back into this city in disorder, with great precipitation. I then ordered a second battalion to advance, not so much for the purpose of supporting the first, as to protect its retreat; the enemy kept up a terrible fire of artillery and infantry on this battalion, which did not give way till masses of infantry sallied out against it. It effected its retrograde movement in the greatest order, the enemy not daring to pass the fosse in its pursuit. This victorious attack of one battalion against more than 4,000 infantry protected by 60 guns, was one of the most valorous achievements which I have ever seen since I was a soldier. It will certainly inspire the enemy with a high idea of the courage of our troops.——I am, &c.

Marshal the Duke of Elchingen.

Report of Marshal the Duke of Elchingen to the Major-General, respecting the Bivouac before Smolensk, the 17th August, 1812, at 11 in the evening.

Monseigneur,—I have the honour to acquaint your Highness, that the enemy has incessantly, from five o'clock this morning till three in the afternoon, sent out successive detachments of the troops of the place of Smolensk to attack our posts.——Agreeably to the order which I received, to second the attack made on the right of the town, by the troops of the first corps, and to attack the bastion which was attacked yesterday by a battalion of the 46th, I ordered the same regiment to march, which forced the enemy to evacuate its position. ——The 25th division, in like manner, did not cease to fight during the whole day.

It was remarked, that some time after the commencement of the attack against the place, the enemy's columns, which were seen to disappear in the morning, retraced their steps, and again deployed themselves on the heights of the right bank of the Dnieper, so that the position of the enemy this evening appears to be the same as it was yesterday.——I am, &c.

Marshal the Duke of Elchingen.

Report of the Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl to the Major-General, 30th August, 1812.

Monseigneur,—Agreeably to the orders of His Majesty, the 1st corps of the grand army took a position before Smolensk on the 16th of this month, in the following order:——The 1st division repaired to within 600 toises of the place, supporting its left on the Krasnoi road, where it joined the 3d corps. Its right extended as far as the Windmill on the Mohilow road.——The 1st division occupied the Windmill

with its left, communicating by its right with the 5th corps.——The three other divisions were posted behind at a short distance, the darkness not having allowed them to occupy the different points assigned them.——The 17th, the 3d, and the 1st division remaining in the same position, the 2d inclined to the left of the 1st, the 4th remained in the ravine behind that division, and the 5th occupied the plain of * * *.——His Majesty gave orders on the 17th to dislodge the enemy from their positions, and to drive them into the place; the 1st, 2d, and 3d divisions who were in the first line received the orders to attack at the same time. It took place towards mid-day. After shaking the enemy by a discharge of artillery, which was answered from the place and the redoubts, the troops advanced and attacked at every point the enemy's troops opposed to them.——The attack was very keen, and the defence obstinate; however, every thing gave way to the bravery of His Majesty's troops. The redoubts were carried, and the buildings with battlements were forced.——The enemy was pursued and driven into the place, where he took refuge after a great loss.——I cannot praise too highly the conduct of the troops on this occasion—Generals, Officers, and soldiers of all descriptions, were eager to rival one another in zeal, bravery, and devotion to the service of His Majesty.——The 127th regiment of the line, which stood fire for the first time, behaved in the most brilliant manner. I beseech His Majesty to bestow an eagle on it, which it could not better have deserved.——I must above all, mention in the warmest terms the 13th Light Regiment, which mounted with the greatest bravery, the *plateau* which it was charged with attacking, notwithstanding the grapeshot and discharge of musketry with which it was assailed. General Dalton, who led this attack, conducted it with the greatest bravery. We have to regret that he was disabled by a shot towards the end of the business. General Friant was struck by a spent ball. Our loss was very inconsiderable in comparison with that of the enemy.——The Generals of division, Morand, Friant, Gadin, gave in this affair new proofs of their talents and their valour.——I have the honour to address to you their particular Reports, as well as the accounts of the soldiers who distinguished themselves, and for whom they solicit favours from the Emperor. I beseech your Highness to lay them before His Majesty.——I must join similar demands in favour of several officers of my staff who displayed much bravery, and who serve with the greatest zeal.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) The MARSHAL DUKE of AUERSTADT, Prince of Eckmuhl.

Report of Marshal the Duke of Elchingen, to the Major-General, August 19, 1812.

Monseigneur,—The 3d corps, passed on the right of the Dnieper this morning at four o'clock, climbing the heights where the army took a position yesterday. The small posts which the enemy had placed near to the Convent, were forced to fall back; a few cannon shots also made the Light Cavalry retreat, which occupied the table land *(plateau)*. In proportion as the regiments formed, I directed the columns on the road to Moscow. At my arrival near Valontino, on the Stabna road, I found the rear-guard of the enemy in position: it was the corps d'armée of Bagawort; the business began with extreme vivacity, and the battle was prolonged till near two o'clock; at length after several charges very destructive for the enemy, he retreated in great disorder, and only shewed his Cossacks afterwards. The Emperor being arrived on the field of battle, gave orders to march forwards in the direction of Moscow.——At nearly a league and a half distance from Smolensk, I fell in with the rear-guard of the army of General Barclay de Tolly. The 11th division which opened the march, overthrew the enemy without any hesitation, as far as the position of————, where I found a great part of the Russian army in battle order; I then ordered this division to take a position, and wait till it was joined by the 10th and 25th. The enemy, however, seeing they were no longer pursued, began to act upon the offensive, and tried every effort to drive me from my position, but they were always repulsed; and it is impossible to express in strong enough terms, the fervour displayed by the troops under my orders in this conjuncture.——About five in the afternoon, the division of General Gadin arrived behind me. I made instantly the necessary dispositions for carrying the position of the enemy. The divisions of General Gadin and General Ragout were charged with the attack; and those of Generals Leduc and Marchand remained in reserve. This attack and the defence of the enemy were terrible. We

became masters of the table land, and the position of the enemy.——This affair may be considered as one of the most desperate battles which it is possible to fight. It was highly glorious for the arms of His Majesty, as General Barclay de Tolly who commanded in person had the half of his army in action, while, during the hottest of the combat, there were never more than two French divisions engaged.——I cannot praise too highly the courage of the troops, and the admirable zeal of the officers; I shall have many favours to ask; and I shall hasten to address an account to your Highness, as soon as I shall have a detailed statement from the Generals of division and heads of corps.——I am, &c.

MARSHAL THE DUKE OF ELCHINGEN.

Report of the King of Naples to the Major-General.

On the 4th and 5th, the advanced guard of the army of His Majesty, was warmly engaged with the enemy's rear-guard, and drove it from all its positions. The enemy made a stout resistance on the 5th. On the 4th, every one did his duty; but Count Perigord, Colonel of the 8th regiment of Horse Chasseurs, distinguished himself in repulsing successfully several charges of a cavalry much stronger than his own.——On the 5th in the evening, His Majesty ordered me to attack the redoubt with the cavalry, the division Compans, and the Polish corps.——General Compans disposed his columns for attack, and marched on the town of ————, situated at the foot of the redoubt, and of the wood at its right. The cavalry supported it; master of the village and the wood, General Compans marched against the redoubt, which was carried by the bayonet by the 61st regiment. However, several charges of cavalry took place, and the Russian cuirassiers were overpowered by the fire of our infantry and artillery, and by our cavalry.——The enemy returned to the charge with two columns of infantry to retake the redoubt, but he was vigorously received by the division Compans, and obliged to withdraw after a long fusilade. During this time Prince Poniatowski drove the enemy at my right before him, and took possession of a mountainous position. The combat lasted till ten in the evening, and we posted ourselves.——The result of this day gives His Majesty some prisoners, seven pieces of cannon, and the position which he was desirous of occupying.——Every man did his duty. General Calane and the Marquis of Guilano, my Aid-de-Camps, were wounded. I shall send to the Staff an account of the officers and soldiers who most distinguished themselves, soliciting for them the advancement and rewards which they deserve.

(Signed) J. NAPOLEON.

Mojaisk, 9th September, 1812.

Paris, Oct. 30.—Extract from the Judgment delivered the 29th October, 1812, which condemned Malet, Lahoire, Guidal, Ex-Generals of Brigade; Rabbe, Colonel Soulier, *chef de bataillon;* Steenhouwer, Borderieux and Piquerel, Captains; Fessart, Lefebvre, Regnier and Beaumont, Lieutenants; Rateau, Corporal; and Bocchicampe, prisoner of state; to the punishment of death; the first in reparation of a crime against the interior safety of the state, by an attempt, the object of which was to destroy the government and the order of succession to the throne; and to excite the citizens or inhabitants to arm themselves against the Imperial authority; and the other for being accomplices with the said Malet.——The same judgment acquitted Sieurs Gomont, Lebis, Provost, Godard, Viallevielhe, Caron, Limozin, Julien, Chaumette, and Routt, of the crime of being accomplices.

Napoleon, by the Grace of God and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, to all present and to come, greeting.

The Military Commission sitting at Paris has delivered the following judgment:—

By the EMPEROR and KING,

This day, the 28th day of the month of October, in the year 1812, the Military Commission created on the 23d of the present month by an *arrêté* of the Council of Ministers, under the Presidency of His Serene Highness Monseigneur the Prince, Arch Chancellor of the Empire, conformably to the orders of His Majesty, the said Commission formed by His Excellency the Minister of War, and consisting conformably to the Imperial Decree of the 17th Messidor, year 12 of——His Excellency the Count Dejean, Grand Officer of the Empire, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, and First Inspector General of Engineers, President;——The General of Brigade Baron Deriot, Commandant of the Depots of the Imperial Guards, one of the Commandants of the Legion of Honour,

and Chevalier of the Iron Crown, Judge; ——The General Baron Henry, Major of the Gendarmerie d'Elite of the Imperial Guard, Officer of the Legion of Honour, and Chevalier of the Iron Crown, Judge; ——M. Geneval, Colonel of the 18th Legion of the Imperial Gendarmerie, Officer of the Legion of Honour, Judge;——Colonel Moncey, First Aid-de Camp to the First Inspector General of the Imperial Gendarmerie, Officer of the Legion of Honour, Judge;——M. Thibault, Major of the 12th regiment of light infantry, Member of the Legion of Honour, Judge;——M. Delon, Captain Adjutant to the Etat-Major of the 1st Military Division, Judge, appointed by the decision of Military Commission, to fulfil the functions of Reporter; ——Assisted by M. Boudin, Clerk, appointed by the Reporter:——Whom, according to the terms of the law, are not related nor allied amongst themselves, nor to the accused, in the degrees prohibited by the Constitution.——The said Commission, convoked by His Excellency the Count Dejean, President, assembled in the Hall of the Sittings of the first permanent Council of War, of the first Military Division at Paris, for the purpose of trying the under-named:—— Claude Francois Malet, born the 20th June, 1754, at Dole, (Jura,) of the Military profession, without any fixed domicile, having been bred to arms, (formerly a Captain of Cavalry,) at present a General of Brigade, on half pay since his arrest, 4½ years since, one of the Commandants of the Legion of Honour.——Victor Claude Alexander Fanneau, born the 6th January, 1766, at Gavron (Mayenne), Ex-General of Brigade. ——Maximilien Joseph Guidal, aged 47 years, native of Grasse (Var), Ex-General of Brigade, on half pay for about ten years. ——Gabriel Soulier, born the 2d December, 1767, at Carcasson (Aude), Chef de Bataillon, Commandant of the 10th Cohort of National Guards, Member of the Legion of Honour.——Gomont, called St. Charles, (which is his baptismal name) born the 27th March, 1768, at Metz (Moselle), of the military profession, habitually domiciled at Paris, Sub-Lieutenant of the 10th cohort, 1st company, in barracks at Paris.——Antoine Piquerel, born the 11th November, 1771, at Neufmarche (Seine Inferieure), domiciled before his entering on service at Pontoise (Seine and Oise), Adjutant Major of the 10th cohort, Member of the Legion of Honour.——Louis Charles Tessart, born the 22d February, 1769, at Meru Canten, of the said place (Oise), Lieutenant of the 10th cohort, 3d company, in barracks at Paris. Louis Joseph Levebre, born the 2d June, 1767, at Lille (Nord), of the military profession, on half-pay, at Nogent le Rotru, Sub-Lieutenant of the 10th, 2d company, in barracks at Paris. Member of the Legion of Honour. Nicolas Josue Steenhouwer, born the 7th October, 1763, at Amsterdam (Zuydezu), an officer on half-pay, residing at Bearvais, Captain Commandant of the 1st company of the 10th cohort, in barracks at Paris. Louis Marie Regnier, born the 5th April, 1778, at Chateau Renard (Loiset), residing at Chateau Renard, a Sub-Officer, on half-pay by permission, and Lieutenant of the 4th company of the 10th cohort, in barracks at Paris. Joachim Alexandre Lebis, born the 19th April, 1773, at Vimoutier (Orne), domiciled at Beavais, Lieutenant of the 10th cohort, 2d company, in barracks at Paris. ——Joseph Louis Boccheimpe, born in 1770, at Olletta (Corse), and for ten years a prisoner of state, since the month of February last in more rigorous confinement.

Pierre Charles Limozin, born the 8th June, 1773, at Bourges (Cher), Adjutant sub-officer of the regiment of infantry of the guard of Paris, in barracks at Minimes, domiciled at Bourges before entering on service.——Jean Charles Francais Godard, born the 18th April, 1760, at Paris (Seine), copper-plate engraver by profession, Captain of the 1st class of the 1st battalion of the regiment of the guard of Paris infantry. ——Hilaire Beaumont, born the 28th October, 1773, at Poitiers (Vienne), Lieutenant of the regiment of infantry of the guard of Paris. Jean Joseph Julien, born the 4th April, 1783, at Farm Fontaine (Forets), and there domiciled, a farmer before entering on service, Serjeant-major of the regiment of infantry of the guard of Paris, 2d company, 2d battalion. Pierre Borderieux, born the 29th September, 1771, at Rouanne (Rhone), and under the colours of the 62d regiment, being a child of the troop, Captain of grenadiers of the regiment of infantry of the guard of Paris, Member of the Legion of Honour. Jean Henri Caron, born the 15th of December, 1773, at Paris (Seine), residing at Versailles, Adjutant, Sub-officer of the regiment of infantry of the guard of Paris, 2d battalion. George Rouff, born the 6th January, 1764, at Bouxweiller (Bas Rhin), Captain of the regiment of infantry of the guard of Paris, 1st

company, 2d battalion, and Commandant of the battalion par interim. Jean Francois Rabbe, born at Pesmes (Haute Saone), the 16th January, 1767, domiciled at Pesines; before his entering on service, a farmer by profession, Colonel of the regt. of the guard of Paris, infantry officer of the Legion of Honour. Amable Aimé Provost, born in July 1789, at Clermont (Oise), Lieutenant of the 1st company of the 10th cohort, in barracks at Paris.——Joseph Antoine Viallivielhe, born the 27th December 1781, in the Commune of Paris (Puy de Dome), Adjutant, Sub-officer of the regiment of the guard of Paris.—Jean Baptiste Caumette, born the 23d July, 1784, at Paris (Seine), Serjeant-Maj. of the regiment of infantry of the guard of Paris, Member of the Legion of Honour.——Jean Auguste Rateau, born the 12th March, 1784, at Bourdeaux (Gironde), distiller, domiciled in the said town before entering in service, corporal of the regiment of infantry of the guard of Paris, 1st battalion, 2d company.——Accused, to wit, the Ex-General of Brigade Mallet of a crime against the internal safety of the state, by an attempt, of which the object was to destroy the Government and the order of succession to the throne, and to excite the citizens and inhabitants to arm themselves against the Imperial authority.——And the under-named Lahorie and Guidal, Ex-Generals of Brigade; Soulier, Chef-de-Bataillon; Steenhouiver, Captain; Piquerel, Adjutant-Major; Fessart, Regnier, Lefebvre, Lebis, Provost Lieutenants; Gomont, Sub Lieutenant; Rabbe, Colonel; Rouff, Borderieux, and Godard, Captains; Beaumont, Lieutenant; Simozin, Caron, and Viallivielhe, Adjutants, sub-officers; Julien and Caumette, Serjeants-Major; Rateau, Corporal; and Boccheimpe, prisoner of state, accused of being accomplices with the Ex-General Malet.——The sitting having been opened by his Excellency Count Dejean, President, and a copy of the Imperial Decree of the 17th Messidor, year 12, being laid on the table, the Judge Reporter, on the demand of the President, read the papers as well in charge as in discharge of the accused.——The reading being terminated, the sitting was adjourned till one in the afternoon, and having been resumed at that time, his Excellency the Count Dejean, President, ordered the guard to bring in the accused, who were introduced free and without fetters before the Commission.—— After having given information to the accused of the facts with which they were charged—having put interrogatories through his Excellency the Count Dejean, President—having explained to them the papers material to the charge—having also shewn to the accused, Malet, the pistols and sabre produced as proofs of the charge,——The Military Commission heard the Judge Reporter in his Report, and the accused in their defence, as well by themselves as by two Advocates, who pleaded for several of the said accused,—his Excellency the Count Dejean, President, demanded of the Judges if they had any observations to make; on their answering in the negative, and before collecting their opinions, the President desired the Defenders, and persons assisting at the sitting, to retire. The accused were reconducted by the escort to prison, and the Clerk also retired.——The Military Commission deliberated with closed doors; his Excellency the Count Dejean, President, put the questions.——The votes were collected on each, beginning with the inferior rank; his Excellency the Count Dejean, President, having given his opinion last. ——The Military Commission condemned, to wit—1st. Unanimously, Claude Francois Malet, Ex-General of Brigade, in reparation of a crime against the internal safety of the state, by an attempt, of which the object was to destroy the government and the order of succession to the throne, and to excite the citizens or inhabitants to arm themselves against the Imperial authority, to the punishment of death, and confiscation of his property.—2d. Unanimously, Victor Claude, Alexander Farmeau Lahorie, and Maximilian Joseph Geidal, Ex-Generals of Brigade; Gabriel Soulier, Chef de Bataillon; Nicolas Rosué Steenhouwer, Pierre Borderiux, Antoine Piquerel, Captains; Antoine Tessart, Joseph Lefebvre, Louis Marie Regnier, Hilaire Beaumont, Lieutenants; Jean Auguste Rateau, Corporal, in reparation of the crime of being accomplices with the above-named Malet, to the punishment of death, and confiscation of their property.—3d. By a majority of six to one, Jean Francois Rabbe, Colonel, in reparation of the crime of being an accomplice with the above named Malet, to the punishment of death, and confiscation of his property.——And, 4thly, by a majority of five to two, Joseph Louis Boccheiampe, prisoner of state, in reparation of the crime of being an accomplice with the said Malet, to the punishment of death, and confiscation of his property.——The said sentences were pronounced against the

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the COURIER:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the 'ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and '*sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which 'punishment they received on Wednesday, and 'a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."——That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WAR IN THE PENINSULA.—After confident predictions, that the French would be speedily expelled from Spain; after such a description of the decrepid state of the enemy, as might have led one to suppose it impossible that he could longer maintain his ground in that country; after, in short, the people of England, the thinking people of England, the "*most thinking people*," had, through the representations of a hired press, been made to believe the war in Spain as upon the eve of a most glorious and successful conclusion, and had been induced, accordingly, to make bonfires, to illuminate their houses, to give balls and masquerades, and to waste, in expressions of joy, the means of feeding their two millions of paupers for one day, at least, in the year; after all this, we now are informed, that those same Frenchmen, whom we looked upon as nearly annihilated, have risen up in greater force than ever: have driven our army from its advanced positions; have re-entered the capital of Spain in triumph; have greatly harassed our army on its retreat towards Portugal; and, as appears from the official dispatches of Lord Wellington, was continuing its pursuit of parts, at least, of our army when those dispatches came away.——There is nothing in this reverse in Spain to excite any peculiar degree of surprise. Such reverses have frequently happened in war; and, by every wise man they will be expected; because war is, in many respects, a game at chances. There are so many circumstances, wholly unforeseen, which arise in every war, that there is no commander who has not, at some time or other, experienced a reverse.—But, in our case, it is the *boasting*; it is the *bragging;* it is the exaggerated statements which our news-papers promulgate, and which the people believe; these are the things that make any reverse in war of great consequence in England. In the present instance, the bragging was carried to such a length; the exultation at our entrance into Madrid; the hyperbolical stuff that was published upon the occasion, naturally makes the nation hang down its head, when, before the bonfires are well extinguished, they see the enemy, who was described as being reduced to almost nothing, re-entering that city.——These reflections are, however, useless; similar impositions will continue to be practised upon the people; and the people will continue to be the dupes of the hirelings whose business it is to buoy up their spirits by the means of falsehood, ushered forth in bombastical language. The impostors who carry on this trade of deception, are not to be reclaimed, or to be shamed. The detection of them to-day will be no check upon them to-morrow. It is their *business* to deceive the people; to which may be added, that no small part of the people love to be deceived. They are afraid to look their situation in the face; they feel a conviction, that things cannot go on long in the way they are now going. They are afraid to know the truth; they hate the man that tells it them; they say, as did the Israelites of old, "prophesy unto us smooth "things, prophesy unto us lies;" and to do their prophets justice, they are by no means backward in complying with their request; for of all the liars that the world ever saw, the Editors of the hired papers in London are certainly the greatest.——Nevertheless, they have, as we shall presently see, certain inconveniences to contend with, arising out of their own falsehoods. In the present instance, they find themselves not a little puzzled to account for the evacuation of Madrid and the retreat of our army. They represented the success of Lord Wellington as being so complete; they represented the French as being so cut up; so reduced in numbers; so fallen in spirit; so destitute of the means of even withstanding the further progress of our army; that they now do really seem to boggle; the falsehood does not seem to be quite ready at the tip of their lips.——As to the real events of the war, it appears, that Lord Wellington had advanced further than his means could well allow. After the battle of Salamanca, he was tempted to push on to Madrid, and then

to attempt the capture of the fortress of Burgos. In this latter attempt he appears to have failed, after sustaining great loss in men, and, which was of full as much importance, after giving the enemy time to gather round him. Hence he has been compelled to retreat, and, from the tenour of his dispatches, it appears probable, that he will be compelled to continue his retreat till he once more reaches his lines in Portugal, or, at least, until he gets back to the point whence he started at the beginning of the campaign.——With regard to the *detail* of his operations, it would be impossible to give so good an account of them as the reader will find in the dispatches which are inserted below. There are, however, two or three facts stated, respecting the conduct of the *German Troops*; which appear to me worthy of particular notice.——It appears, that Lord Wellington, having been informed of the intention of the enemy to advance for the relief of the Castle of Burgos, posted a picquet to watch their approaches in a certain quarter; that this picquet was commanded by an Officer of the Brunswick Legion; that this subaltern *disobeyed his orders*, and was *taken* with his picquet; and that in *consequence* of this, the enemy obtained possession of a point of great advantage to them. It is here said positively that the Officer *disobeyed* his orders; and, as he and his picquet were taken prisoners, the reader will form his own opinion as to the motive for such disobedience.——In another part of his dispatches, Lord Wellington says, that he had sent orders to the regiment of Brunswick Oels to take post on the ruins of a bridge, in such manner as to prevent the enemy from repairing it; and that he had the *mortification*, however, of learning, the next night, that this regiment had been obliged to *abandon its post*.——He says no more upon the conduct of this regiment upon this occasion. He does not add the *reason* why they were obliged to abandon it.——Of far greater interest, however, are other views of these military operations. And, first, as connected with *party* politics at home. The intelligent reader must have perceived, that, of late, a junction has been in view between the *whigs* and the little *knot* of Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning. Hence on the part of the former an incessant *crying up of Lord Wellington*, to which they were formerly not at all accustomed. The more immediate partisans of Lord Wellesley cry up Lord Wellington, of course, as they always have done. The partisans of the Ministers also cry him up, because he is their cock. Hence he has all these parties for *him;* but the two former parties confine their praise to him exclusively; whereas the partisans of the Ministers give, of course, the Ministers a share of the praise arising out of the victories in Spain.——These different views of the parties have given rise to some very curious observations as to the *cause* of the recent disasters. The opponents of the Ministers contend broadly, that it is their fault, and their fault alone, that Madrid is re-occupied by the French, and that our army has been compelled to retreat before an enemy which, but a week ago, he was understood to have driven nearly out of Spain.——It behoves us, who, as real friends of our country, avoid attaching ourselves to either of these interested parties, to form a correct opinion of this matter; to determine, to whom, if to any one or any body of men, the fault of this reverse in Spain belongs.——The Times news-paper, which, for very sufficient reasons, I dare say, is become the indefatigable partisan of Lord Wellesley, ascribes the necessity of the retreat from Madrid wholly to the Ministers. I call it retreat from Madrid. The hired news-papers say that Buonaparté has *run away* from Moscow; but, in speaking of what has recently taken place at Madrid, they, like Master Mathew, call it, "for "more grace," not running away, but *retreating, withdrawing, retrograding, flinging back the army, changing front, taking up a new position*, or the like; in which respect I shall beg to be permitted to follow their example, and shall, in no case, call it *running away*.——The Editor of the TIMES has, then, asserted, the necessity of flinging back our army is to be *wholly ascribed to the Ministers;* than which I do not remember a more bold assertion. The assertion is not, indeed, attempted to be *proved*, except by some vague statements as to *a want of means*, founded upon that passage in the dispatches where the writer says, that "his *means were limited;*" a phrase, by the bye, which does not appear to carry any great signification in it; for, whose means are not limited? Where is the commander; where is the human being; where is the nation, whose means have not *some limits?* This phrase, therefore, contains, and can contain, no complaint against the Ministers, until it be proved, that they were enabled to put *unlimited means* into his hands; and, as such a position cannot be maintained, the charge against the Mi-

nisters, founded upon this phrase, must fall to the ground.——The same writer talks of "a *miserable economy.*" What does he mean? Does he know of any men, any money, any warlike means that we have to *spare?* Does he want the war in the Peninsula to cost us more than twenty millions of pounds in a year? This writer says, that if 10,000 men had been sent out instantly upon our Ministers hearing of the victory of Salamanca, great things might have been done. He says, that "the "whole mechanism of the French force in "Spain would have been broken to pieces, "*never more to be re-constructed;*" and, at this very moment we are told, that the French have a force nearly double in point of numbers to our's. How, then, were 10,000 men to have produced such wonders? Besides, whence were they to come, and whence the means of transporting them? The Courier of the 24th instant gives us a specimen of the sort of troops now shipping off to fill up the gaps, made in our army by the late battles.* It is impossible to believe, that the Ministers are not driven to take recruits of this sort by the absolute want of native soldiers. In short, it is notorious that the country has been drained, till the Government have been compelled to resort to the inlisting of poor, feeble creatures, such as would, on no account, have been received into the army only a few years ago; and, that, for want of *men* of any size or description, *boys,* at even 13 years of age, are anxiously sought after, and with great difficulty obtained, at ten times the bounty, and more than ten times the bounty, that was given to a grenadier of twenty years of age, at the time when I entered into the army. I myself have seen, not long ago, upwards of three hundred men together, not one of whom would have been received into any regiment in the service, previous to the commencement of the anti-jacobin war. It is easy to *talk* about dispatching ten thousand men to Spain at a moment's warning; but, in the present state of our resources, the execution of such a measure is a matter of some difficulty. If Lord Wellington stood in need of an immediate reinforcement of ten thousand men to enable him to keep his ground at Madrid, it was his fault, and not the fault of the Ministers, that he was compelled to retreat; because, he must have known, that it would be a matter of great difficulty for the Ministers to send him ten thousand men in the course of several months, and that it was physically impossible for them to do it on a sudden. It appears, that, even if he had applied for the men the moment he got possession of Madrid, there was not time to assemble them at the sea-ports in England, to ship them in transports, to land them, and to march them to join him before the time when he was obliged to retreat.——It appears to me, therefore, that, his being obliged to abandon the capital of Spain, and to retreat before the French army, cannot fairly be ascribed to the Ministers, in any degree whatever, unless it should appear, that his advance to Madrid was in consequence of *peremptory commands from home.* If that was the case, then, indeed, it was for the Ministers to know the extent of his means, compared with those of the enemy, and it was for them to provide him amply with every thing necessary for maintaining the ground which they had ordered him to take. That this, however, should have been the case, is altogether improbable; and, indeed, the friends of Lord Wellington ought to be the last to encourage the supposition; for, the affirmative of it would completely strip him of the far greater part of the merit which has been given to his victories; it would strip him of the merit of conception, arrangement, and combination, and leave him merely that of execution.——These opponents of the Ministers, who profess a species of admiration of Lord Wellington approaching to Eastern adoration, in their eagerness to cast blame upon the Ministers, seem to overlook the dilemma, in which they place the object of their worship; for, either he was left to pursue his own plans, or he was not; either his advance forward into Spain was the effect of his own choice, or, it was the effect of orders which he received from home. If

* Last week about a thousand men from the *King's German Legion* marched into this town, in three divisions, from Bexhill, on their route to Portsmouth, there to embark to join Lord Wellington's army in Spain. Most of them had been *taken prisoners in the French service,* and *volunteered from the different prisons* in which they were confined. They are for the most part *fine looking young men;* and their uniform gives them an appearance very different from that which they exhibited when they passed through this town, a short time since, in their yellow jackets, from the depot at the Isle of Wight, to join their Legion at Bexhill.—*Sussex Paper.*

the latter, the merit, or, at least, all the higher part of the merit, of the victory of Salamanca and of the capture of Madrid, belong to the Ministers; if the former, then, he, himself, was the master of his own movements, and ought to have proportioned them, together with all his undertakings, to the extent of the means which he had within his power.——Nothing, in my opinion, can be more foolish, to say nothing of the injustice of it, than to impute the failure at Burgos to the Ministers. They are charged with neglect in not supplying the commander with battering cannon for the carrying on of the siege. Why, before the Ministers did know, or could know, that he had undertaken the siege, it was too late for them to send a *dispatch* to him on the subject; he was obliged to give up the siege before there was time for them to send him a *letter* in answer to any application that he might have made for battering cannon. How, then, was it possible for them to ship those cannon, to convey them to a sea-port in Spain or Portugal, and to cause them to reach him 400 miles by land? To have supplied him with cannon in time to have been of any service to him, they must have possessed the means of sending him the cannon in a letter; they must have been conjurors, and, whatever they may be else, Lord Wellington knew too much of them to suppose them to be that.——It seems to me, though, certainly, I profess not to be a General, that, before I undertook a siege, I should have made an estimate of my means for carrying that siege through; in that estimate, I might have erred, and might have undertaken the siege with inadequate means, which appears to have been the case, in this instance; for, it is impossible to believe, that any man of common sense could have undertaken a siege in the heart of Spain, could have undertaken the siege of a fortress there, in the expectation of being supplied with a battering train from the banks of the Thames, and that, too, while he knew that the army of the enemy was equal in force to his own. The supposition is so absurd that it never could have been engendered in the brain of any man not stultified by party rancour. ——Fair, as I flatter myself, is this view of the matter; obvious as, it appears to me, is the fact, that no blame whatever can attach to the ministers for the recent reverses in Spain, one of the assailants goes so far as to throw out a hint of the possibility, that Lord Wellington may *resign in disgust and leave the army to find its way back to Portugal as it can*, in consequence of this alleged neglect on the part of the Government at home. But, the whole paragraph (in the Times news-paper of the 23d instant), is so curious and so ominously important, that I shall quote it at length before I proceed farther with my observations.——The writer says, "It is "the business of a General to *gain victories*, "—it is the *business of a Minister to turn* "*those victories to good account*, and to "make one 'the *fruitful mother of a hun-* "*dred more*.' Our General has, over "and over again, discharged *his* duty. "How grating must it be to him to have "discharged it *without benefit to his coun-* "*try or her cause*; and to find his most '*glorious victories followed by the neces-* '*sity of retreat!* It would be matter of 'curious speculation to see how Ministers 'would act, if his great mind would allow him to give way to this distressing 'sentiment; if he *were to resign in dis-* '*gust* and *leave the army to find its way* '*back to Portugal as it could*. Are they 'prepared for such an event? Have they 'a plan of their own for closing the campaign with success?—and have they a General of their own, another Lord "Chatham, ready for its execution? Our "army is, indeed, *critically situated*. "*Reduced as it has been by sickness and* "*service*, we understand that the united "force of Lord Wellington and Sir Rowland Hill, at present (we hope) united "on the Douro is barely 36,000 British "and 20,000 Portuguese. Soult with "60,000 is at Madrid. Should he form a "combined plan of operations with Souham, he might bring a force of nearly "100,000 men to bear upon the British "army. In such an event Lord Wellington must of necessity fall back. He "could not even stop at Salamanca; he "must retire behind Ciudad Rodrigo. One "step preparatory to such a course of action has been taken, as matter of laudable precaution: the sick and wounded "were moved on the 25th ult. from Madrid to Salamanca. This circumstance "gave the real patriots of Madrid much "concern, as well it might. It was but "too indicative of a change about to overcloud all the bright prospects of loyal "hope. We, however, trust that the "*deficiencies of the Cabinet* will still be "(as they have been hitherto) counterbalanced by energy in the field. We "rely on the talents of the Marquis of

"Wellington, to frustrate all the skill of "all the French Commanders united; but "we cannot help reflecting, that our beloved Hero is mortal; a chance shot,—"a fever, might blast all our hopes; and "the prospect of dragging on the war in "Spain, *like a Walcheren expedition*, "would be *enough to reduce the most zealous friend of his country to despair*."——This paragraph sets out with a position, from which, though laid down in so dogmatical a manner, I must beg leave explicitly to dissent. In one way, indeed, it is the business of a minister to turn victory to account. It is his business, and I said at the time, that it was the business of our ministers, to turn the victory of Salamanca to account, by offering Napoleon, who was alleged to be the defeated party, *terms of peace*, but, in a *military* point of view, it is not only the business of a general, and especially of a *commander in chief*, to turn his own victories to account; but, it is his business to avoid fighting, and, of course, to avoid gaining victories, unless he be convinced that he can turn them to account, for, unless victory be attended with *beneficial results*, every life lost in the acquiring of it is *a life thrown away* Strictly speaking, it is *not a victory*, with which word we always associate the idea of advantage as to the *main object contended for*. If, for example, a commander be successful, as MELAS was at the battle of Marengo, in the former part of the day, and if he be defeated in the latter part of the day, no man thinks of saying that he has gained a victory. And, if he be successful in his attempt at advancing to day, and be compelled to abandon his ground to-morrow, can he with reason be said to have been victorious? It is in the results of battles that we are to look for the proof of victory, and, if it belong to ministers to be the cause of the results, the merit of all victories must remain with them.——This writer says, that it must be *grating* to Lord Wellington to find his most glorious victories followed by the necessity of retreat. Doubtless, it may have been grating to him, but then, who has he to blame for it? The Spaniards, perhaps those who ought, or whom he expected to second his efforts, but, certainly, not those by whom those efforts were not commanded to be made. He was commander-in-chief, he was upon the spot, he, if any one could, must have known the extent of his own means and of those of the enemy; and if *he* was unable to perceive that his most glorious victories would be followed by the necessity of retreat, how were the ministers in England to be able to foresee, much less to prevent, such necessity?——This writer, who, a few weeks ago, ascribed to Lord Wellington exclusively the merit of having nearly annihilated the French army, has now the cool impudence to tell his readers that the British army is, in numerical strength, not much more than a third part of that of the French army; and that, if the latter should bear down upon him, he must be compelled to retire into Portugal. Well, and what of that? Could the ministers in England prevent the French army from being so strong, or did they give imperative orders for undertaking those marches, those battles, and those sieges, by which the English army must have been so materially reduced? Let any candid man put this question to himself, and I am persuaded the answer will be the contrary of that which is suggested by this writer.—We are here told, that our sick and wounded being removed from Madrid to Salamanca gave our friends at the former place much concern; that it was indicative of a change about to over-cloud all their bright prospects There is no question of the truth of this; but, how could this change be ascribed to the *deficiencies of our cabinet*, who were not upon the spot, who could know very little of what was going on, who had exercised no control over the movements of our commander, and in whose power it was not to prevent any of the causes which compelled him to retreat? If our army be, as this writer asserts it is, reduced by sickness and service, to whom is the cause of that effect to be ascribed? If it be *critically situated*, that situation may have been caused by the *zeal*, by the *bravery*, by any other estimable quality in the commander; but, surely, common sense, as well as common justice, forbid us to ascribe it to the ministers in England, who have had no more to do in all probability, in causing those movements which have placed the army in such a critical situation, than they had in gaining the victory of Salamanca.—It may suit the hireling who writes in the Times newspaper, and it may suit the proprietor of the Morning Chronicle, who condescends to make his columns subservient to the purposes of an insolent and greedy faction of oligarchs; these, it may suit to give to Lord Wellington all the merit of every advantage that he obtains over the enemy with the immense means placed in his hands; and to give to the

ministers all the demerit of every reverse that he sustains. But, men in general do not, and will not, decide in this way. They will say, that, if to him belongs exclusively the glory of victory, to him also belongs exclusively, whatever attribute attaches to retreat; and I am sure, that, if the whole nation were put to the vote upon the subject, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand would say with me, that this writer, in supposing it possible, that Lord Wellington, now that he sees his army *critically situated*, should resign in disgust, and leave it to find its way back to Portugal as it could, has imputed to him the possible possession of a mind, the seat of baseness itself. What! A commander in chief, who has advanced into a country of his own accord; who has been absolute master of his operations; who has had ascribed to him exclusively all the advantages he has gained; who has been covered with honours and rewards, in which even his posterity is to partake; shall such a man, when, before the close of the campaign, he finds himself beset with difficulties, resign in disgust! Shall he abandon his post, and, with it that army by the valour of whom he has gained a profusion of titles and of pecuniary compensation! The very idea must fill every man of honour, every man who has the ordinary sentiments of morality, with indignation and abhorrence. If ever there was a commander who had no reason to complain of being thwarted in his plans and operations, Lord Wellington appears to me to be in that state. He has had, and has, every thing within his reach, under his absolute control. He is commander in chief of the English forces; he has long been generalissimo of the Portuguese army, and he is now generalissimo of the Spanish army. His brother is our ambassador to the Spanish government; the political parties at home have vied with each other in their praises of him and his deeds. No fault has ever been found of any thing that he has done: advancing or retreating behind his lines and in the open field, capturing fortresses or raising sieges; still has he been praised; with him the tide of titles and rewards has never ceased to flow. It is, therefore, most abominably unjust towards the government to pretend, that they are answerable for every reverse that may happen to him. I, for my part, should rather be inclined to say, that if the war should finally prove disastrous, the fault was his, or at least, as much his as theirs. I do not mean in a military point of view; for of that any one in my situation can be but a poor judge; but, I should, in case of final failure, blame him, who must have such excellent means of obtaining information, for not discovering in time, that the cause was a cause not to be maintained. I do not pretend to the gift of prophecy; and I do not know how the contest may end; but, if we should be finally compelled to yield up the Peninsula to the French, I am not one of those who shall be disposed to lay all the blame upon the ministers, who cannot be so well informed as to many important points as those who have been upon the spot, and who have had such ample means of observation as well as of information. Of this way of thinking, however, is not our good hireling of the Times newspaper. He, on the contrary, would lay the sins even of the Spanish government, as it is called, upon our ministers, that is to say, upon the present set, without Lord Wellesley amongst them, whom he denominates the "*first Statesman in Europe.*" He says, "the Government of Spain is new. It needs the guidance of experience. It requires to be protected and to be directed. Protection has been afforded to it by the blood and treasure of the British nation; to give it direction and advice is the proper task of the British Ministry. Three years ago it was stated, that there was no absolute want of resources in the country, no inherent or incorrigible defects in the materials of which the body of the Army was composed, and no perverse or untractable disposition in the mass of the people of Spain, yet at that time no system had been established by which the deficiencies of one district could be supplied from the abundance of another, or by which the resources of any one province could be made properly available for its own or the general defence; there were corruption and treachery among many of the Civil Authorities,—the numbers, composition, and discipline of the army were defective,—and many of its chief officers were notoriously incapable, or disaffected. If these defects were now wholly removed, it is utterly incredible, that Spain should not have shaken off her invaders "like dew-drops from the lion's mane;" but if the defects exist, we say they argue not merely an *imbecility* in Spain, but *here in England*,—here, at the head-quarters of the cause. *Our Ministers are to blame*, if they do not exercise the weight they possess in

" Spain, to improve her internal system,
" —they are infinitely *more to blame*, if
" *they possess no weight in that country.*
" We have heretofore censured them for
" *not sending a larger British army into*
" *the field*; we now charge it on them as
" a fault, that they have *not sent*, or
" *caused to be sent into the field, a larger,*
" *better equipped, and better disciplined*
" *Spanish army.* If they should say, they
" are unable to effect this, we must own
" that we should partly believe them; but
" we are convinced, that *there are others*
" *who would be able to effect it*; we are
" convinced, that until it is effected, the
" heavy burden of taxation in this coun-
" try will be borne the more impatiently,
" because it will appear *to the multitude* to
" be borne in vain."—At the close of this paragraph one cannot help smiling. *There are others* who would be able to effect the desirable object of drawing forth the people of Spain to assist us in driving out the French. That is to say, if the ministers would but make room for the patrons of this writer, we should see all the people in Spain armed against the French, and fighting like Christian heroes, under the banners of St. Dominick, to drive the French across the Pyrennees. Alas! The people of Spain neither know nor care who are ministers in England, any more than they know or care about what is passing in the moon. They have no interest in the question of who is to enjoy the sinecure places, and who is to have the giving away of commissions, leases, grants, and the like, in England. They have their eye stedfastly fixed upon one thing, and that is, who is doing in their country that which is best for them, and they are very likely to regard him as their friend who shall seem disposed to suffer them to have the greatest share of victuals and drink. Spain is in a state of revolution. There are two armies, two foreign armies, fighting in the country, and, like all other people in a similar situation, the Spaniards are rather spectators than actors in the scene. The deception so fatal to us, has been, that we have continually been told that the Spaniards were *unanimously on our side.* If this had been true, the French must long ago have been driven from the country. When we shall be convinced of our error I know not. Very likely the delusion may last for a year or two longer, though I do not think that that is very probable. At any rate this notion, that a change of ministry in England would effect a change of disposition in the people of Spain is perfectly ridiculous, and especially as the writer, whose words we have quoted, obviously aims at the introduction into power of Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, one or the other of whom has always been in place until February, ever since the war in the Peninsula began. If they could do nothing to rouse the people of Spain, when they were in power before, why should they be able to effect that object if they were in power again! It would be difficult, I believe, for the hireling of the Times to answer this question; yet, until he can answer it, he may be assured that it is full as well for him to hold his tongue.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Thursday, 26th Nov. 1812.

WAR IN SPAIN.

Downing-Street, Nov. 17.——*Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received at Earl Bathurst's Office, addressed to his Lordship by General the Marquis of Wellington, dated Cubeçon, 26th and 28th October, Rueda, 31st October, and 3d November,* 1812.

Cabeçon, 26th October, 1812.

I have been so much occupied by the movements and operations of the army since the 18th inst. that I have not been able to write to your Lordship.——The operations of the Castle of Burgos continued nearly in the state in which they were when I addressed your Lordship on the 11th instant, till the 18th. Having at that time received a supply of musket ammunition from Santander, and having, while waiting for that necessary article, completed a mine under the church of St. Roman, which stood in an outwork of the second line, I determined that the breach which we had effected in the second line should be stormed on that evening, at the moment this mine should explode; and that at the same time the line should be attacked by escalade.——The mine succeeded, and Lieutenant Colonel Browne lodged a party of the 9th Cacadores, and a detachment of Spanish troops of the regiment of Asturias in the out-work. A detachment of the King's German Legion, under Major Wurmb, carried the breach, and a detachment of the Guards succeeded in escalading the line; but the enemy brought such a fire upon these two last detachments, from the third line, and the body of the castle itself, and they were at-

tacked by numbers so superior, before they could receive the support, allotted to them, that they were obliged to retire, suffering considerable loss. Major Wurmb was unfortunately killed.——It is impossible to represent in adequate terms my sense of the conduct of the Guards and German Legion upon this occasion; and I am quite satisfied, that if it had been possible to maintain the posts which they had gained with so much gallantry, these troops would have maintained them. Some of the men stormed even the third line, and one was killed in one of the embrasures of that line; and I had the satisfaction of seeing that if I could breach the wall of the Castle we should carry the place.——Another mine was commenced under the second line from the church of St. Roman, of which we remained in possession.——The enemy had on the 13th moved forward a considerable body of infantry, and six squadrons of cavalry from Briviesca to reconnoitre our out-posts at Monasterio. They attacked the picquet at the bridge in front of that town, but were repulsed by the fire of a detachment of the Infantry of the Brunswick Legion. In this affair, Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable Frederick Ponsonby, who commanded at Monasterio, was wounded, but not severely, and I hope I shall soon again have the benefit of his assistance.——I had long had reports of the enemy's intention to advance for the relief of the Castle of Burgos with the army of Portugal, reinforced by troops recently arrived from France, and with that part of the army of the North which was disposable; and they did advance in considerable force against the post at Monasterio on the evening of the 18th. The subaltern of the Brunswick Legion, who commanded a picquet in St. Olalla, disobeyed his orders in remaining in that village upon the approach of the enemy, and he was taken with his picquet. The enemy consequently obtained possession of the heights which commanded the town of Monasterio, and our outpost was obliged to retire on the morning of the 19th to the Burgos side of the town.——I assembled the troops, excepting those necessary for carrying on the operations of the siege, as soon as it appeared by the enemy's movement of the 18th, that they entertained serious intentions of endeavouring to raise it, and placed the allied army on the heights, having their right at Ibeas, on the Arlanzon, the centre at Rio Vena and Magaradas, and the left at Soto Pallacio. The enemy's army likewise assembled in the neighbourhood of Monasterio. They moved forward on the evening of the 20th with about ten thousand men to drive in our outpost at Quintana Palla, and Olmos. The former withdrew by order, but the latter was maintained with great spirit by the Chasseurs Britanniques. Seeing a fair opportunity of striking a blow upon the enemy, I requested Lieutenant General Sir Edward Paget to move with the 1st and 5th divisions upon the enemy's right flank, which movement having been well executed, drove them back upon Monasterio, and our posts were replaced in Quintana Palla.——On the morning of the 21st, I received a letter from Sir Rowland Hill, of the 17th, in which he acquainted me of the enemy's intention to move towards the Tagus, which was already fordable by individuals in many places, and was likely to become so by an army.——The Castle of Chinchilla had surrendered on the 9th instant.——The enemy's force in Valencia was supposed to amount to not less than seventy thousand men, a very large proportion of which, it was expected, would be disposable for service out of that kingdom.——I had desired Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill to retire from his position on the Tagus, if he should find that he could not maintain himself in it with advantage; and it was necessary that I should be near him, in order that the corps under my command might not be insulated, in consequence of the movements which he should find himself under the necessity of making: I therefore raised the siege of Burgos on the night of the 20th, and moved the whole army back towards the Douro.——I felt severely the sacrifice I was thereby obliged to make. Your Lordship is aware that I was never very sanguine in my expectations of success in the siege of Burgos, notwithstanding that I considered success was attainable, even with the means in my power, within a reasonably limited period. If the attack made on the first line on the 22d or the 29th had succeeded, I believe we should have taken the place, notwithstanding the ability with which the Governor conducted the defence, and the gallantry with which it was executed by the garrison. Our means were limited; but it appeared to me, that if we should succeed, the advantage to the cause would be great, and the final success of the campaign would have been certain.——I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the officers and troops dur-

ing the siege of Burgos, particularly with the brigade of Guards. During the latter part of the siege the weather was very unfavourable, and the troops suffered much from the rain. The officers at the head of the artillery and engineer departments—Lieutenant Colonel Robe, and Lieutenant Colonel Burgoyne, and Lieutenant Colonel Dickson, who commands the reserve artillery, rendered me every assistance; and the failure of success is not to be attributed to them. By their activity we carried off every thing in the course of one night, excepting three eighteen-pounders destroyed by the enemy's fire, and the eight pieces of cannon which we had taken from the enemy on the night of the 19th ultimo in the storm of the hornwork. Having sent our cattle to meet the equipment expected from Santander, we had not the means of moving the latter.——The enemy was not aware of our movement, and did not follow us till late on the 22d, when ten thousand men encamped on this side of Burgos. ——The British army encamped at Celada del Camino and Hornillos, with the light cavalry at Estepan and Baniel. We continued our march on the following day, the right of the army to Torquemada, the left of Cordevilla, at which places we crossed the Pisuerga.——The enemy followed our movement with their whole army. Our rear-guard consisted of two light battalions of the King's German Legion, under Colonel Halkett, and of Major General Anson's brigade of cavalry: and Major General Bock's brigade was halted at the Venta del Pozo to give them support. The whole under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton. Don Julian Sanchez marched on the left of the Arlanzon; and the party of Guerillas, heretofore commanded by the late Martinez, on the hills on the left of our rear-guard.——Major General Anson's brigade charged twice with great success, in front of Celada del Camino, and the enemy was detained above three hours by the troops under Lieutenant General Sir S. Cotton, in the passage of the Hormaza, in front of that village.——The rear-guard continued to fall back in the best order, till the Guerillas on the left having been driven in, they rode towards the flank of the rear-guard of Major General Anson's brigade, and four or five squadrons of the enemy mixed with them. These were mistaken for Spaniards, and they fell upon the flank and rear of our troops. We sustained some loss, and Lieutenant Colonel Pelly, of the 16th dragoons, having had his horse shot, was taken prisoner.——The delay occasioned by this misfortune enabled the enemy to bring up a very superior body of cavalry, which was charged by Major General Bock's and Major General Anson's brigades, near the Venta del Pozo, but unsuccessfully, and our rear-guard was hardly pressed. The enemy made their charges on the two light battalions of the King's German Legion, formed in squares, but were always repulsed with considerable loss by the steadiness of these two battalions. They suffered no loss, and I cannot sufficiently applaud their conduct and that of Colonel Halkett who commanded them.——The exertions and conduct of Lieutenant General Sir S. Cotton, and of the officers and staff attached to him throughout this day, were highly meritorious, and although the charge made by the cavalry was not successful, I had the satisfaction of observing great steadiness in their movements. Major Bull's troop of horse artillery, under Major Downman and Captain Ramsay, distinguished themselves. ——The army continued its march on the 24th, and took up its ground on the Carrion, with its right at Duenas, and its left at Villa Muriel, and the 1st battalion 1st Guards joined us from Corunna.——I halted here on the 25th, and the enemy attacked our left at Villa Muriel. They were repulsed, however, by the 5th division of infantry, under the command of Major General Oswald, in the absence of Lieutenant Leith on account of indisposition.——I had directed the third battalion of the Royals to march to Palencia, to protect the destruction of the bridges over the Carrion at that place, but it appears that the enemy assembled in such force at that point, that Lieutenant Colonel Campbell thought it necessary to retire upon Villa Muriel, and the enemy passed the Carrion at Palencia. This rendered it necessary to change our front, and I directed Major General Oswald to throw back our left, and the Spanish troops upon the heights, and to maintain the Carrion with the right of the fifth division. The bridge of Villa Muriel was destroyed; but the enemy discovered a ford, and passed over a considerable body of infantry and cavalry. I made Major General Pringle and Major General Barnes attack these troops under the orders of Major General Oswald; in which attack the Spanish troops co-operated, and they were driven across the river with considerable loss. The fire

upon the left had been very severe throughout the day; from which we suffered a great deal; and Major General Don Miguel Alava was unfortunately wounded whilst urging on the Spanish infantry in pursuit of the enemy.——I broke up this morning from the Carrion, and marched upon Cabeçon del Campo, where I have crossed the Pisuerga.——The enemy appear to be moving in this direction from Duenas. I propose to halt here to-morrow. ——P. S. I have the honour to enclose returns of the killed and wounded.

Return of killed and wounded of the Army under the Command of His Excellency General the Marquis of Wellington, K. B. in the Siege of the Castle of Burgos, from the 11th to the 17th of October, 1812.

Royal British Artillery. 5 rank and file killed; 7 rank and file wounded.——Royal Military Artificers. 1 rank and file wounded.——Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. 3 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.——3d Foot Guards, 1st Batt. 3 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.——1st Foot, 3d Batt. 1 lieutenant wounded.——2d Foot, or Queen's. 10 rank and file wounded.——32d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 1 rank and file wounded.——36th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded. ——42 Foot, 1st Batt. 3 rank and file wounded.——63d Foot, 2d Batt. 1 serjeant, 1 rank and file wounded.——58th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 ensign wounded.——60th Foot, 5th Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.——61st Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file wounded.——79th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded. ——1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. 2 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded. ——2d Ditto, Ditto. 3 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded.——5th Ditto, Ditto. 1 serjeant, 1 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.

Total British loss. 1 serjeant, 23 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 3 serjeants, 39 rank and file wounded.——Total Portuguese loss. 4 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 27 rank and file wounded.——General Total. 1 serjeant, 27 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 3 serjeants, 66 rank and file wounded.

(Signed) S. A. GOODMAN, D. A. A. G.

Names of Officers Wounded.

11th October, 1812.

32 Foot. Ensign Quill, severely.

16th October, 1812.

1st Foot.—Lieutenant Rae, Acting Engineer, slightly.——58th Foot. Ensign Baylie, slightly.

Portuguese.—15th October, 1812.

12th Regiment of the Line. Captain White, severely.

(Signed) S. A. GOODMAN, D. A. A. G.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of his Excellency General the Marquis of Wellington, K. B. in the Siege of the Castle of Burgos, from the 18th to the 21st October, 1812, inclusive.

Royal Engineers. 2 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.——Royal British Artillery. 1 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded.——Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. 1 captain, 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 22 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 1 serjeant, 32 rank and file, wounded.——3d Foot Guards, 1st Batt. 8 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenants, 15 rank and file, wounded.——11th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded. ——24th Foot, 2d Batt. 4 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.——42d Foot, 1st Batt. 8 rank and file wounded.——53d Foot, 2d Batt. 1 rank and file wounded.——58th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, killed; 12 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing.——60th Foot, 5th Batt. 2 rank and file wounded.——61st Foot, 1st Batt. 2 rank and file wounded. ——79th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file wounded.——1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 24 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 22 rank and file, wounded.——2d Ditto, Ditto. 1 major, 2 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenants, 7 rank and file, wounded.——5th Ditto, Ditto. 12 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutent, 7 rank and file, wounded.

Total British loss. 1 major, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, 81 rank and file, killed; 4 captains, 5 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 119 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file missing. ——Total Portuguese loss. 8 rank and file killed; 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 41 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file missing.——General Total. 1 major, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, 89 rank and file, killed; 4 captains, 5 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 serjeants, 160 rank and file, wounded; 4 rank and file missing.

(Signed) S. A. GOODMAN, D. A. A. G.

Names of the Officers Killed and Wounded.

KILLED—18th October.

Coldstream Guards. Captain Harvey.

19th October.

Coldstream Guards. Ensign Burgess.——1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. Lieutenant Bothmer.——2d Ditto, Ditto. Major Wurmb.

WOUNDED—18th October.

3d Foot Guards. Lieutenants Holborn and Knox, severely.——Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. Captain the Honourable W. G. Crofton, slightly; Captain the Honourable J. Walpole, severely. ——1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. Captain Laroche, dangerously.——2d Ditto, Ditto. Lieutenants Hesse and Quade, severely.——5th Ditto, Ditto. Captain Backmeister, severely, right arm amputated; Lieutenant Schlaegar, slightly.

(Signed) S. A. GOODMAN, D. A. A. G.

Extract of a Dispatch from the Marquis of Wellington, dated Cabeçon, October 28, 1812.

Since I wrote to your Lordship upon the 26th, I have had an opportunity of seeing the enemy's whole army, as they placed themselves opposite to us, on the Pisuerga, yesterday. They are certainly in very great strength. The army of Portugal has received a reinforcement of ten thousand men, including cavalry, from France: and I have reason to believe that there are two divisions of infantry now with this army,

belonging to the army of the north. The cavalry of the army of the north is certainly with the army of Portugal, and they have at least five thousand good cavalry.—No event of importance has occurred since I addressed your Lordship on the 26th. The enemy formed their army in the plain in our front yesterday. They have cannonaded different parts of our line without doing us any injury, excepting that Lieutenant-Colonel Robe, of the Royal Artillery, was wounded severely, but not dangerously, yesterday.

Rueda, October 31, 1812.

The enemy crossed the Carrion on the 26th and 27th, and formed their army on the heights near Cijales, on the last of those days, opposite our position on the left of the Pisuerga, and their advanced guard about two miles in front of their main body, and half that distance from Cabeçon,——On the 28th they extended their right, and endeavoured to force the bridges of Simancas and Valladolid, the former of which was defended by Colonel Halkett, with his brigade of the 7th division, and the latter by Lieutenant General the Earl of Dalhousie, with the remainder of the 7th division. At length Colonel Halket, being hard pressed, blew up the bridge. He at the same time detached the Brunswick Oels' regiment to Tordesillas, towards which quarter the enemy detached troops on the evening of the 28th. As soon as I found that this was the case, I thought it proper to break up from the Pisuerga and to cross the Douro, which object was effected without difficulty on the 29th instant, by the bridges of Puente Douro and Tudela.——The bridge of Tordesillas was destroyed on the enemy's approach to that town, on the evening of the 28th, and I had sent orders to the regiment of Brunswick Oels to take post on its ruins, in such manner as to prevent the enemy from repairing the bridge. I had the mortification, however, of learning, on the night of the 29th, that this regiment had been obliged to abandon its post, and as I had seen the enemy's whole army in march towards Tordesillas on that evening, it was obvious that no time was to be lost. I therefore marched the army at an early hour yesterday morning to their left, and posted the troops on the heights between Rueda and Tordesillas, immediately opposite, and near the bridge, of Tordesillas. We found the bridge nearly repaired on our arrival, but the enemy had made no attempt to pass it, and they have now no large assembly of troops in this neighbourhood.——I learn that some of them marched last night towards Valladolid, and others towards Toro.——I have received letters from Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill of the 29th.——The Tagus was every where fordable, and the enemy had passed a small body of troops over at Fuente Duenas.——Sir Rowland Hill had collected his troops on the Jacamah. He was likely to receive my orders to move upon Anvalo on the 29th.

Rueda, Nov. 3, 1812.

I take the opportunity of the return of the messenger Myers to Corunna, to inform you that the army have continued in the position in which I placed them on the 30th of October; and the enemy have made no attempt to pass the Douro. The bridge of Tordesillas is repaired, and they are employed in the repair of that of Toro. Their troops are extended along the Douro, from the latter place to Valladolid.——In the mean time, the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill will arrive this day and to-morrow on the Adaja. The General received my orders to break up from his position on the Jacama on the 29th, and he intended to carry them into execution on the morning of the 30th. He had intended to destroy the Puente Larga, but the mine failed; and the enemy having collected a large body of troops between the bridge and Aranjuez, they immediately attacked our post on the bridge, but were repulsed with considerable loss by the second battalion of the 47th regiment, and a detachment of the 95th, under the command of Colonel Skerret. I have not received the return of our loss upon this occasion, but I understand it is about forty men. No officer was touched. Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill mentions in high terms the conduct of the troops. These circumstances delayed the march from the right of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill's positions till the evening of the 30th, and he has since continued it without being at all molested by the enemy.——The building called La China, in the Retiro, and all the guns, stores, &c., which that work contained, which had not been carried away, were destroyed before the troops were withdrawn from Madrid.——The Spanish divisions of Don Carlos d'España and Conde de Penne Villemur are with Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill. A small body of the enemy's troops were at Valde Moro on the 31st, and entered

Madrid at ten o'clock on the morning of the 1st instant.——I have accounts from the North, stating that Longa has taken a convoy escorted by three hundred men, near Victoria.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Sir,

It is by no means my intention to enter into the controversy on the general state of our Currency, which has been feebly renewed by some of your correspondents, in consequence of Mr. Monck's having published the letter I addressed to all the Gentlemen concerned in issuing Local Tokens, whose directions I could procure.——After all that has passed, I really cannot now descend to argue with those who have still the folly to conceive that the Paper Currency of this country is not depreciated.——Neither do I think it necessary to assign further reasons for maintaining, that our lawful currency may be restored even in time of war, and that this measure would be attended with almost immediate beneficial effects on the state of the exchange. These are propositions on which I believe no man can seriously entertain a doubt, who knows what took place during war in the year 1696. For it is impossible to suppose that even the Chancellor of the Exchequer must not renounce all reliance upon his misquotations from Davenant, and acknowledge that at that time the exchange became favourable long before the restoration of peace, when he reads the following extract from the Proclamation printed in the Gazette of the 28th of September, 1696:

"The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury having likewise moved their Excellencies (at the desire of several Merchants who have considerable quantities of Gold Bullion, which they cannot export, by reason of the present course of exchange, without great loss), that liberty might be given to coin the said gold, they offering to do it at their own charge. Their Excellencies are pleased to approve thereof, and to order that the said Lords Commissioners do direct the Officers of the Mint to receive and coin any Gold Bullion that is brought to the Mint after the first day of October next, the Proprietors paying the charge of coinage. And their Excellencies were also pleased to direct that this order should be published in the Gazette."

(Signed) RICH. COLINGE.

Without at all going into the discussion in which your Correspondents have been recently engaged, I must observe, that neither they nor any of the numerous advocates for the measures Government has pursued in relation to our currency, have hitherto attempted to explain the benefits to be derived from the Legislature's interposing to raise the current value of the bank-note to twenty shillings, when its real value is so much degraded. But, indeed, had the effort been made, it would have been fruitless. No country can derive benefit from such a project; for, to use the language of the Parliament of Scotland centuries ago, the "pennyworths must always rise with the penny."*

The system which the Legislature has adopted most certainly deprives the stockholder of a portion of what the Government had contracted to pay to him; it enriches the tenant at the expense of the landlord; and gives to the debtor an opportunity of defrauding his creditors. But this is not more repugnant to justice and policy than it is to the ancient practice of our Legislature. For when in the time of James III. of Scotland the denominative value of the money was raised, it was immediately by law provided, that debtors who owe any debts or contracts made before, should pay to their creditors the same sums in *substance* as it was intended betwixt them before the measure took place, and that all contracts in future should be paid according to the agreements betwixt the parties.†

The subject of our Paper Money is in itself complicated; and whilst many have an interest in deceiving, a still greater number have an interest in being deceived, it is not, therefore, surprising, that the present departure from what seems to have been the ancient wise policy of our Legislature, should meet with applause.

But the question concerning the propriety of prohibiting the circulation of those Local Tokens, to which this paper system has given rise, is in itself more simple. As the object of my now addressing you is, to return my thanks to the numerous Issuers of Tokens who have honoured me with replies to the queries I thought it my duty to circulate, for they have put me in possession of a case, which makes it so clear,

* See Preamble to Ch. 24th of the 4th James III.

† See Ch. 19th, 3d of James III.—See also Ch. 69th, 8th of James III.

that every description of the community are deeply interested in the repeal of the Act of last Session of Parliament, that it is impossible to suppose any delusion can prevail on this branch of the subject.

From the information I have thus obtained, I can now with confidence assert,—

1st. That if this Act is not repealed, more than six times the value in Tokens that His Majesty has coined of silver money during his reign, must in March next be withdrawn from circulation.

2dly. That the real value of those Tokens is greater in proportion to their nominal value than that of the shillings and sixpences which are now current; and that of course the coin that is to be withdrawn affords a better security to the holder than the coin that it is intended should circulate.

3dly. That the Bank's Tokens can afford comparatively no resource—few of them remain in any part of the country where they have been issued; and what is called the rise in the value of silver, must soon banish the whole from circulation. Besides, it was from the first impossible to obtain from the Bank the necessary quantity, and recently so many counterfeits have appeared, that people at a distance have been unwilling to accept them.

4thly. That notwithstanding the quantity of Local Tokens in circulation, there is such a deficiency of silver money, that 5, and even 10 per cent. is given to get silver for a note; and that in many places change cannot be obtained without five or ten shillings of copper money is accepted. Nay, such is the difficulty of getting small money, even with the aid of Local Tokens, that there are instances of Tax-gatherers, who have illegally circulated silver notes to facilitate the collection of the revenue.

5thly. That before the Local Tokens began to be circulated, paper notes, though in violation of the law, were becoming common, and that master manufacturers in many instances commenced the practice of paying their workmen with paper tickets, and establishing a shop in the neighbourhood, to give commodities in exchange for them. A practice still unfortunately prevalent, which has the mischievous consequences of subjecting the poor workmen to pay a monopoly price for every article they consume.

6thly. That if measures are not adopted to enable us to revert to the use of the ancient lawful currency of these realms, and if the law continues to prohibit silver notes, as well as to inflict penalties on the circulation of Local Tokens, there can, after the month of March next, be no adequate means of making small payments, which must involve the country in difficulties hitherto unexperienced.

With the knowledge of these facts, it would be natural to conclude, that the law must be altered, and that the Act of last Session must be repealed. For it cannot be supposed that there exists a man, who, after having foolishly carried away the masts of his vessel, would persevere in prohibiting the crew from erecting jury-masts, and allow the ship to remain an unmanageable hulk on the water. Yet his folly would be trifling in comparison of that of a Government, who having rendered the circulation of lawful coin impossible, should prohibit the subject from resorting to any other means of conducting the necessary exchanges of commodities.

Indeed, under any other circumstances than those in which we are placed, I should think the inference that the law must be altered, certain. But when I recollect that the American War, under which our commerce is now suffering, is to be ascribed to the obstinate perseverance of Ministers in the Orders of Council—and that their too tardy conviction of the mischiefs attending that unfortunate measure, was at last only extorted by the overwhelming multiplicity of the witnesses who appeared before Parliament, I feel it a further duty thus openly to solicit additional information from those who are anxious to avert the evil with which the law threatens us, and who have as yet delayed honouring me with a reply.

LAUDERDALE.

Dunbar-house,
Dunbar, Nov. 3, 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Report of the Military Commission sitting at Paris.—(Continued from page 670.)

above-named, in conformity with the Articles 87 and 88 of the Penal Code of 1810. ——The Military Commission discharged and acquitted, 1st, unanimously, the Sieurs Gomont, called St. Charles, Sub-lieutenant; Joachim Alexandre Lebis and Amable Aime, Provost Lieutenants; Jean Charles Francois Godard, Captain; Joseph Antoine Viallevielhe, Jean Henri Caron, Pierre Charles Limozin, Adjutants, sub-officers; Jean Joseph Julien and Jean Baptista Caumitte, Sergeants-major, of the

crime of being accomplices, of which they were accused: 2d, by a majority of four to three, the Sieur George Rouff, Captain, of the crime of being an accomplice, of which he was accused, conformably to the law of the 19th Brumaire, year 5.——The Military Commission ordered that the acquitted above-named should be placed at the disposal of His Excellency the Minister of War.——Enjoined the Judge Reporter to read the present judgment to the condemned and the acquitted, and to cause it to be executed in all its extent within 24 hours.——Done at the public and permanent Sitting at Paris, the 29th of the said month of October, as above.

(Signed) The Members of the Commission.

This judgment was yesterday affixed in Paris. At three in the afternoon twelve of the condemned suffered their sentence at the Plaine de Grenelle. Rabbe and Rateau have received a respite.

Paris, Oct. 31.—The mad attempt made by a few brigands to disturb the public tranquillity, and to substitute the horrors of anarchy to legitimate authority, has justly excited the indignation of all good citizens. The unshaken fidelity to their Sovereign, of which every class of people has given an honourable proof on this occasion, may suffice to convince the traitors, if it were possible that any yet existed, that a Government founded on wise laws, on the love and on the interests of the citizens, rests on an unshaken basis.——A long and fatal experience has opened our eyes too well to allow us to become the dupes of a few wretches, who, shaken off by society on account of their criminal conduct, and having nothing to lose, are bent only on disorder, and regret those disastrous times when virtue, talents, and opulence, were titles of proscription; when the most sacred laws of humanity were violated with impunity, and when violence and corruption degraded even the depositories of authority. Where is the proprietor, where is the father of a family who does not return thanks to heaven for having placed on the Imperial Throne the August Monarch whose tutelary power secures to every Frenchman his rights and his property, who animates with his genius every part of the Government, recompenses zeal, represses injustice, and punishes public and individual crimes?——If every individual, of whatever class or profession, wishes to exert his industry with security, to profess the religion of his fathers with freedom, and to enjoy in peace his inheritance, or the property which he owes to his labour; if he no longer fears lest Brigands should deprive him of the means of maintaining his family, and reduce him to wretchedness, to whom does he owe so many precious advantages, but to the protecting Government, which every where maintains law and order? This truth is now felt by every Frenchman. These reflections burst from every heart, when, loaded with the public execration, the traitors and their adherents underwent the just punishment of their criminal attempts. Every man, withdrawing within himself, saw in each conspirator not only an enemy of the laws, but also a private enemy. The honourable sign with which several of them were invested still added to the indignation. Ingratitude added to treachery rendered it still more odious. We have never seen, under any circumstances, more harmony in the public opinion, and a greater unanimity of sentiment. We insist on this point, because it does honour to the character of the inhabitants of Paris, and proves that they know their true interests, which cannot be separated from respect for the laws, and love for their Sovereign.——While His Majesty the Emperor shares the fatigues of his brave legions, while every one of his movements is a triumph, and he is consolidating in the North the glory and happiness of France, and the repose of the Continent; while his warlike labours in the most healthy climate of Europe only contribute to fortify his health, this opportunity is taken to disseminate the report of his death, as if every Frenchman had not sworn fidelity to the Imperial dynasty; as if the Constitutions of the State had not secured the order of succession to the Throne.——Does not every one of us tell our children "we have been plunged in the misfortunes of a revolution, which dissolved all the ties which attach man to his country and his fellows. We durst not calculate the termination of the public calamity and of private misfortunes, when a hero, elevated by victory and his genius above other men, repaired all our evils, re-assembled the scattered wrecks of our social institutions, and united us under a paternal Government, immutably established and fixed by the national will. You will be more happy than we have been. He will leave you heirs of his grandeur and his genius. It is on this in-

fant King, born for the happiness of Frenchmen, that our hopes and your future felicity are founded. He is the pledge of the national prosperity and your repose. The oaths which we have taken to his august father are also the heritage of his son. In passing from the one to the other they do not change their nature, and bind us equally to both of them. Let this truth be always present to the eyes of every Frenchman, and we need no longer fear the plots of the wicked, nor the convulsions which afflict the nations abandoned by the wrath of Heaven to anarchy."

What gives a distinct character to the last attempt against public order, is, that from the first moment of its execution, the impossibility of success, and the atrocity of the crime, struck every mind, and even the accomplices themselves. Such also was the rapid march of authority, that in less than two hours every one of the criminals were seized and chained. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the wisdom of the institution destined to protect the citizens; nothing can contribute more to quiet them than this developement of force, which put a stop, even in the moment of execution, to crimes the most difficult to foresee. ——May the act of justice exercised against these traitors teach every man that the times of disorder are for ever past, and that no one can withdraw with impunity from the fidelity which he has sworn to his Sovereign and his august dynasty.—— We learn from Vienna, that His Highness Field-Marshal the Prince of Schwartzenberg has again beaten General Tormazow, taken a great number of prisoners, and ten cannon.——The Empress visited yesterday the Napoleon Museum. Her Majesty returned at three o'clock to the Palace of Saint Cloud.——It was by orders of His Excellency the Grand Judge that the execution of the Military Commission, sitting at Paris, was suspended, with respect to Rabbe and Ratian, under condemnation.

Paris, Nov. 1.

Minister of War.—Army of Arragon.

Extract of a Letter addressed to His Excellency the Duke de Feltre, Minister of War, by the Marshal Duke d'Albufera.

Valencia, Oct. 17.—In the night between the 4th and 5th instant the English General Donkin, Quarter Master General of the Anglo-Spanish Army, disembarked near the heights of St. Nicholas, before Denia, with the 81st Regiment of the line, some gunners and other troops, to the amount of from 1,000 to 1,200 men, and two pieces of cannon; two 74-gun ships, a brig of war, and several gun boats and small vessels protected the disembarkation without gun-shot to the fort. These troops formed behind a ravine, established a battery, and towards morning marched in columns upon Denia, driving in the advanced posts, who slowly retired, disputing the ground.——The Chief of the artillery battalion, Bonafoux, Superior Commandant of Denia, had from break of day discovered the enemy, and made with his garrison dispositions of defence, composed of the 117th Regiment.——The English General summoned it. The Commandant Bonafoux coolly replied, that he waited the effect of his threats. At the same time with his handful of brave men he resolved to march upon the enemy, profiting by the arrival of the Captain of the 117th voltigeurs, Faubert, who on the report of the fire ran with his company; he marched it on the left of enemy to turn it, and with the remainder attacked them in front.——This double movement made the enemy recede, who precipitately embarked their cannon, and approached the shore, ordering their boats to approach the land. We pursued them with so much vigour, that they left 4 killed and 18 wounded upon the heights of St. Nicolas, and ran in crowds into the water, in order to escape more quickly under the protection of the fire of their vessels, and of the grenadiers of the 81st, who formed upon the beach in order to arrest us; but the French precipitated themselves upon them with so much vigour that they overthrew them, and caused them a considerable loss before they could re-embark. The enemy had in all 30 killed and nearly 80 wounded. On our side we had one killed and 15 wounded. Informed of this attack of the English, I ordered the General of Division, Hubert, to march the necessary troops thither, who found nothing to combat, and in the mean while charged General Harispe, to annoy and reconnoitre the enemy to the walls of Alicant. This movement was executed on the 8th of October, by the light cavalry brigade, the artillery, Mesclop's brigade, Robert's division, and the Cuirassiers from Rovaldi and Monforte, near St. Vicente. In sight of the place and Anglo-Espanola Army, General Harispe executed several movements to draw the enemy from their position, in order to fight them. The soldiers

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:——"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."——That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

REGENT'S SPEECH.——On the 30th of November the new Parliament, which had before met for the purposes of swearing in Members, choosing a Speaker, &c. had its proceedings opened by the Regent, who delivered to it a Speech, upon which I propose to offer some remarks.——It was difficult to foresee what this Speech would contain; what hopes it would hold out to the nation; and yet, we find the language of the Regent as cheerful as ever was the language of his father, even in those only prosperous years of his reign, while England had a commercial treaty with France. ——This Speech I shall, of course, consider as the Speech of *the Ministers*, and shall make no scruple in freely delivering my opinion upon it, inserting the several parts of it as I proceed.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

" It is with the deepest concern that I " am obliged to announce to you, at the " opening of the present Parliament, the " continuance of the lamented indisposition " of His Majesty, and the diminution of the " hopes I have most anxiously entertained " of His Majesty's recovery.——The *situa-* " *tion of public affairs* has induced me to " take the earliest opportunity of meeting " you after the late elections.——I am per- " suaded you will participate *in the satis-* " *faction I feel* at the improvement of our " prospects during the year. The zeal and " intrepidity displayed by the forces of " His Majesty and of his Allies in the Pe- " ninsula, on so many occasions, and the " consummate skill and judgment with " which the operations have been conducted " by the Marquis of Wellington, have led " to consequences of the *almost import-* " *ance to the common cause in that quar-* " *ter*."

In this onset of the Speech there appears to be an incongruity; for who would not have supposed that it was some difficulty in the circumstances of the country that had induced the Prince to call the Parliament together at so early a period? On the contrary, we here see, that the Prince has nothing but his satisfaction to express upon the situation of affairs, and that, really, does not seem to form any very good ground for a rather hasty meeting of the Parliament. However, we shall by and by see something which may better account for the measure.

" By transferring the war into the in- " terior, and by the glorious victory of " Salamanca, the enemy has been com- " pelled to raise the siege of Cadiz, and the " Southern provinces of Spain have been " *delivered from the arms of France;* al- " though I cannot but regret that the " efforts of the enemy have rendered it ne- " cessary to withdraw from the siege of " Burgos, and evacuate Madrid. These " efforts, nevertheless, have been attended " with important *sacrifices on their part*, " which must materially contribute to *ex-* " *tend the resources and facilitate the exer-* " *tions of the Spanish Nation.*——I am " confident I may rely on your *affording* " *every assistance* in support of the great " contest which has first given to the Con- " tinent of Europe the example of persever- " ing and successful resistance to the power " of France, and on which not only the " *independence of the Nations of the Penin-* " *sula*, but the best interests of His Ma- " jesty's dominions essentially depend."

So far am I from believing that any advantages have been gained in the Peninsula, that I am pretty certain that the cause of England in those countries has, during the last year, lost ground. It is true, that, by the valour of our countrymen, victories have been gained; and glorious victories they were, because they were gained over valiant armies, commanded by skilful and brave Generals. It is true, that, our army has penetrated into the heart of Spain, and that it even took possession of the Capital; but, it is not less true, that our army has subsequently been compelled to retreat; that it has been driven, not only out of the Capital of Spain, but a great distance backwards towards Portugal. Now, I am of opinion, that the cause has suffered by this;

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and I am persuaded, that, with the exception of the Prince Regent and his Ministers, there is scarcely any one who will not agree with me, that, unless we could have kept Madrid, it would have been better not to take it. Who has not observed, in almost every week of his life, that to succeed in a small degree, and to be able to hold your ground, is far preferable to succeeding to a very great extent, if you are compelled to abandon any considerable portion of what you have obtained. The man who is gaining a fortune is in better heart, and is looked upon as being more prosperous, when he has secured the first thousand pounds, than he would be if he had gained a hundred thousand and lost fifty of it, and there can be little doubt, that the people of Spain have, at this moment, less hope of final success from the efforts of Lord Wellington, than they had before he moved forward from the walls of the city of Rodrigo. They now see, and, of course, they will now say, that though valour may put him in possession of a part of Spain, he has not, and we are not able to give him, a sufficient force to maintain that possession. In answer to all those who shall tell them that the English army will come to their assistance, it will always be said, *the English army has already been once in possession of Madrid.* There is nothing that so strongly tends to the producing of despair, as *disappointed hope.* When the unfortunate TRENCK, shut up in a dungeon, and bound in chains, by order of the despot of Prussia, the dominions of whose successors have since been subdued by the French, when the unfortunate TRENCK was endeavouring, by almost more than mortal efforts, to extricate himself from his chains and his dungeon, and when there was only one door standing between him and liberty, and, perhaps, between him and what in such a case was still sweeter than liberty, revenge; when, in that moment of most lively hope, the knife, with which he was working his way through, snapped asunder, he, with the remaining stump, endeavoured to destroy his own life, though he was a man of, perhaps, as much fortitude as ever man possessed. If the knife had snapped at the beginning of his efforts, if it had snapped at the first door that he had to work through, no such desperate effect would have been produced upon his mind; and I think that we set at defiance the dictates of reason, if we do not conclude, that our friends in Spain will be much more likely to despair now than they would have been if Lord Wellington had been driven back from Rodrigo.——The Regent has been advised to tell us that the Southern Provinces of Spain have been *delivered* from the arms of France. To *deliver* means, generally, to *set free from*; but, it means, further, that the party delivered is placed beyond danger of being again placed in thraldom for the same cause. It, therefore, appears to me, that this phrase is not a proper one. The Southern Provinces of Spain have, indeed, been evacuated by the French for the moment, but they have not been delivered from the arms of France, under which arms they may fall in a month or two; and, perhaps, have already fallen.——The Prince, in speaking of the sacrifices which the French have been obliged to make, should not, it appears to me, have omitted to express some sentiment or other respecting *our* sacrifices during the campaign. The French official report, after a pretty ample detail of the several actions which took place from the time that Lord Wellington began to retreat, says, that we lost seven thousand men in those actions. The Courier news-paper says, that this is an exaggeration. It may be so; but I think that there can be no doubt at all of our loss having been very considerable; to a much greater extent, at any rate, than we can immediately supply the place of by troops sent from home. Of this fact the Spaniards are well aware, and they are aware also of the circumstance of Napoleon being now engaged in a war in the North of Europe. If, they will say, the English are unable to keep Madrid *now*, how are we to hope, that they will be able to expel the French from Spain when the French army shall, from whatever cause, have returned from the North? This is the question which all our adherents in Spain will put to themselves; and I should like to hear what answer could be given to it. In short, every view that I take of the matter, terminates in the conclusion, that our cause in Spain and Portugal is more desperate now than it was a twelvemonth ago.

The Speech talks of the resources and exertions of the Spanish *nation*, seeming to take it for granted, that all the people of Spain; that, not only the armies raised amongst the Spaniards, and armed and commanded by the government at Cadiz; that not only all these are on our side, but that *the whole of the people* are also on our side, and that they abhor the French.—Reader! "most thinking" reader! Do

[illegible], that there are eleven millions of these people? And do you consider, that out of eleven millions, there ought to be about two millions of men capable of bearing arms? Do you consider, besides, that the French, even at this time, are represented as having only about a hundred thousand men in Spain? And do you not wonder, then; do you not marvel; do you not think it passing strange, that these hundred thousand Frenchmen are able to keep possession of the greater part of Spain, in spite of two millions of men able to bear arms, who hold them in abhorrence, and who are encouraged and abetted by all those who are not capable of bearing arms; are you not wonder-stricken, that these hundred thousand Frenchmen having opposed to them a population of eleven millions, with a prodigiously large Spanish army, together with all the forces that we are able to send, not excepting the King's German Legion, are you not posed and puzzled beyond description, to find out the reason, that these hundred thousand Frenchmen, with all these forces opposed to them, have not been made into crow's meat long enough ago?——"Most thinking" reader, do not puzzle yourself, do not pose yourself any longer about the matter; but say with me, that, there never was, in this world, a nation of eleven millions of people that suffered the army of any enemy, however numerous, to remain for four years in the country, if that nation were heartily disposed to drive them out.——Being of this opinion, I see with no pleasure that part of the Speech which too clearly points at further and larger demands upon us for the carrying on of the war in Spain. I was in hopes, that the Speech would have informed us of intentions on the part of the Regent seriously to set about the work of *Peace*, for which the present circumstances, though less favourable than when Napoleon last tendered the olive branch, are by no means unfavourable. We are told that he is in imminent danger in the North; that he is in a state of great peril; and, indeed, the Regent himself has been advised to tell us, that the enemy's presumptuous expectations have been *signally disappointed* in Russia. This, then, seems to me to be the moment for proposing Peace, that is to say, if Peace is ever again to be proposed. But instead of this being the case; instead of telling us of endeavours to convert our own victories and the efforts of Russia into the means of procuring us some little abatement of our burdens, we are told of fresh assistance wanted from us, and for what? Why, for no definite object; not for the obtaining of Peace; not in defence of any English territory attacked; not in support of an English right called in question; but in support of the GREAT CONTEST! And what is this great contest? Why, we are told, that it is the contest, "which has "first given to the Continent of Europe "the example of persevering and success-"ful resistance to the power of France, "and on which not only the independence "of the nations of the Peninsula, but the "best interest of His Majesty's dominions "essentially depend."——This is all matter of opinion, as far as relates to the best interests of His Majesty's dominions; and my opinion is, that those interests would be much better served by a Peace, in which Spain should be left in the hands of the Buonapartés, as it formerly was in the hands of the Bourbons, than by any exertions that we are able to make for effecting that which we are pleased to call the deliverance of Spain. And, as to the "ex-"*ample!*" The example! The example, which Spain has set to the Continent of Europe, what, to come to plain facts, is that example? Why, it is this, the example of eleven millions of people suffering a French army to remain in possession of their Country for four years; seeing them in possession of the Capital of their Country at this moment, and of four-fifths of its Provinces; though that eleven millions of people have been supplied from England with arms and ammunition sufficient for the equipping and providing of an army of six thousand men; though that eleven millions of people have constantly had the assistance of a powerful English fleet, and of an English army, consisting of, perhaps, sixty thousand men; this is the *example*, which the contest in the Peninsula presents to the Continent of Europe! This is the example of "*successful resistance* to the power of "France," in consequence of which success, and for the sake of giving effect to which *example*, His Royal Highness the Regent calls upon the Parliament for assistance in support of the GREAT CONTEST out of which this precious *example* has arisen!——The Speech then goes on, according to the report of it that has appeared in the news-papers, to speak of the affairs of *Sweden* and *Russia* in the following terms:

"I have great pleasure in communicat-"ing to you, that the relations of peace "and friendship have been restored be-

"tween His Majesty and the Courts of St. "Petersburgh and Stockholm.——I have "directed copies of the Treaties to be laid "before you.——In a contest for his own "rights and for the independence of his "dominions, the Emperor of Russia has "had to oppose a large proportion of the "military resources of the French Govern-"ment, assisted by its Allies and tributary "States dependent upon it. The *resistance* "*which he has opposed* to so formidable a "combination cannot fail to excite *senti-"ments of lasting admiration.* By his "own magnanimity and perseverance, by "the zeal and disinterestedness of all ranks "of his subjects, and by the gallantry, "firmness, and intrepidity of his forces, "*the presumptuous expectations* of the "*enemy have been signally disappointed.* "The *enthusiasm of the Russian nation* has "increased with the difficulties of the con-"test, and the dangers with which it is "surrounded.——They have *submitted to* "*sacrifices* without an example in the his-"tory of civilized nations; and I entertain "a confident hope, that the *determined* "*perseverance* of his Imperial Majesty will "be crowned with *ultimate* success; and "the contest in its result have the effect "of establishing, upon a foundation never "to be shaken, the *independence* and se-"curity of the Russian empire. —The "*proof of confidence* I have received in the 'measure of *sending the Russian fleet to* '*the ports of this country,* is in the highest 'degree gratifying; and His Imperial Ma-'jesty may most fully rely on my *fixed* '*determination to afford him my most cor-*'*dial support* in the great contest in which 'he is engaged."

In the pleasure which His Royal Highness appears to feel at the conclusion of Peace with Sweden I amply participate; because in forming connexions of peace and friendship with that Country, His Royal Highness has been graciously pleased virtually to acknowledge the CROWN PRINCE of Sweden in that capacity; and has therein done an act which effectually removes all our apprehensions, founded on the doctrine sometimes promulgated respecting the *usurpations* of Buonaparte and of those who have been elevated by him. The only persons, who will feel mortified upon this occasion, are those, who, about two years ago so vilified Bernadotte; who called him, a Serjeant of Sans-Culottes; who expressed their hope, their base and cowardly hope, that the Swedes would cut his throat; and who predicted every thing unfortunate and infamous to Sweden if he were suffered to remain. These gentlemen, these hirelings, these vile traders in politics, will now lose no time in discovering, that the man, whom they represented as a monster, is now a very worthy gentleman, and they will bear in mind, that to call him names *now*, would subject them to a pretty fair chance of a sojourning in Newgate or in Lincoln jail. I told them of this at the time that they were treating him with such scandalous abuse; I told them that I should see the day when they would not *dare* to speak of my old brother Serjeant with disrespect. My prediction is already verified. I dare them to repeat what they said of him two years ago. This treaty, these relations of Peace and *friendship*, which His Royal Highness has been graciously pleased to establish between our King and a Crown, the successor to which was once, and not long ago, a Serjeant, and, of course, once a private Soldier, delights me to the heart. It pleases me much more than the treaty formed with Russia; and it does so because I think that it tends more to the good, not only of the people of England, but of mankind in general. It says, in language which nothing can resist, that great talents and great virtues are not to be borne down by either pride or intrigue.——Very different indeed are my feelings with respect to what His Royal Highness has been pleased to say in regard to the war in Russia. And, I can hardly believe my eyes, when I read that the Regent has told the parliament that the resistance which has been made to the French in Russia, "cannot fail to excite sentiments of *lasting* "*admiration.*" So far am I from entertaining such sentiments, that I am really afraid to express the sentiments that I entertain upon the subject; and I am sure the reader will agree with me in expressing an anxious hope, that *such a resistance* as the Russians have made to the French, would not content His Royal Highness in the case of an invasion of England; that England, in such a case, would not be *defended* as Russia has been defended; that it would not be defended by laying waste the country and setting fire to the Capital; that the "*enthusiasm*" of English people would be shown by rushing to the field to meet the enemy, and not by the burning of houses; that the sort of "*sa-*"*crifices*" which Englishmen would be disposed to make, would be that of their own lives, in defence of their wives, their

children, their aged parents, the blind, the lame, the bed ridden, the women in child-birth, and the wounded Soldier who had before fought their battles; and not and not the sacrifice of the lives of all these to their own personal safety, or out of revenge against those whom they had not resisted in the field.——His Royal Highness has better means than I have of knowing to what extent the Czar will persevere, and of guessing upon the probability of his efforts being crowned with ultimate success. He also is more likely to be well acquainted with the "zeal and disinterest-"edness of all ranks of the Czar's sub-"jects, and with the gallantry, firmness, "and intrepidity of his forces;" but, I must confess, that, with my limited means of judging, I cannot help believing, that the circumstance of *the Russian fleet being sent to the ports of this Country*, though it may be, as the Regent says it is, a proof of the Czar's confidence, highly gratifying to His Royal Highness, is no very good proof of the Czar's confidence in either his people or his army; or, at least, that it is no very good proof of his confidence in his means of defence against Buonaparte, for if he had such confidence, if he could safely rely upon his people and his army for the defence of his dominions; if he were in no apprehension that his dominions would finally fall into the hands of the enemy, why, in the name of common sense, should he think of sending his fleet to the ports of this country?——Let those who differ from me in opinion answer this question.——Nor can I agree with the Speech, that the expectations of the enemy in Russia have been proved to have been *presumptuous*, or that they have been signally *disappointed*. What could an invader hope to do, in so short a space of time, more than to march six hundred miles through an empire and take possession of its Capital? That Capital was burnt, and, as our news-writers have asserted, by order of the Czar himself. Even they, I suppose, will allow, that nothing short of the most desperate circumstances could have warranted such an act; and if the circumstances of the empire of Russia were rendered so desperate by the advance of the French, how could the invasion be called presumptuous? The invader has severed from the Empire of Russia four millions of its subjects. If he were to stop there, has his expectations been disappointed? He has seen the ancient Capital of Russia burnt, and with it thirty thousand of those Russians who had fought against him; and he has seen the Russian fleet sent off to the ports of England; if his expectations extended further, they must have been inordinate indeed.——What should we say, if, upon the prospect of an invasion from France, or if, upon an actual invasion, by the French in Ireland, the government were to send off the fleet to Portugal, for instance? What should *we* say? Let us have no shuffling; no *ifs*, and *ands*, and *buts*; but let us have a plain, a simple answer to the question; and, whoever does give such an answer, will confess, that we should say, that the government expected the French, or, at least, that they were in great fear that the French would become masters of the whole country, and that they themselves would be compelled to follow the fleet And would it be very consoling to the heart of an Englishman, would it be very flattering to his national pride, to be informed, that the sovereign of the country to whom our fleet was sent had regarded it as a mark of great confidence in him on the part of our government?——The concluding part of the Regent's Speech, as far as it relates to Russia, is rather obscure; but, I gather from it, that it will not be very long before we shall hear of some propos on for granting money to the Emperor of Russia. The Regent does, indeed, say no more than that his Imperial Majesty may most fully rely upon his most *cordial support*. But, in what way is he to yield him support? Send an *army* he scarcely will attempt in the present state of the war in Spain; and as to sending him a *fleet*, that would be a strange proceeding indeed at the very moment when the Czar is sending his own fleet away to England. In the history of all the wars in the world and of all the alliances, an instance of such a proceeding is not to be found; except, indeed, some persons should be inclined to discover an analogous case in the *interchange of the English and Irish militias!*——The next topic is that of *Sicily*.

"I have the satisfaction further to ac-"quaint you, that I have concluded a "Treaty with His Sicilian Majesty, sup-"plementary to the Treaties of 1808 and "1809.——As soon as the Ratifications "shall have been exchanged, I will direct "a Copy of this Treaty to be laid before "you.——My object has been to provide "for the more extensive application of "the military force of the Sicilian Go-"vernment to offensive operations; a

"measure which, combined with the liberal and enlightened principles which happily prevail in the Councils of His Sicilian Majesty, is calculated, I trust, to augment his power and resources, and at the same time to render them essentially serviceable to the common cause."

Upon this subject I shall say nothing at present. A better opportunity will offer when the treaty here spoken of shall be made public. In the mean while, however, I beg the reader to bear in mind, that this Island of Sicily is costing us annually an immense sum of money; and that, so far from its having contributed hitherto towards the resistance of France, it has required a large part of our own army to defend it.——The American war follows next.

"The Declaration of War by the Government of the United States of America was made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation that the amicable relations between the two nations would not long be interrupted. It is with sincere regret that I am obliged to acquaint you, that the conduct and pretensions of that Government have hitherto prevented the conclusion of any pacific arrangement. ——Their measures of hostility have been principally directed against the adjoining British provinces, and *every effort has been made to seduce the inhabitants of them from their allegiance to His Majesty.*——The proofs, however, which I have received of loyalty and attachment from His Majesty's subjects in North America, are highly satisfactory. ——The attempts of the enemy to invade Upper Canada have not only proved abortive, but, by the judicious arrangements of the Governor-General, and by the skill and decision with which the military operations have been conducted, the forces of the enemy assembled for that purpose in one quarter have been compelled to capitulate, and in another have been completely defeated.——My best efforts are not wanting for the restoration of the relations of peace and amity between the two countries; but until this object can be attained without *sacrificing the maritime rights of Great Britain*, I shall rely upon your cordial support in a vigorous prosecution of the war."

As to the causes of this war they have been so frequently, so amply, and so recently discussed, that I shall not here trouble the reader with any inquiry respecting them. But, as His Royal Highness is graciously pleased to tell us, that his best efforts are employed for the restoration of peace with America, and to add that he asks for support in the war only upon the ground of his not being able to make Peace "without sacrificing the *maritime rights of Great Britain*," I cannot help observing, that I know of no maritime right that Great Britain has ever before contended for, and that the Americans call upon us to sacrifice. We have heard much talking about these *maritime rights*; but I have never yet heard one man clearly state what he means by them. The American government say that we have no right *to stop their vessels at sea, and to take people out of them;* and I say, that this is a right that Great Britain never before contended for, and I defy any man to show that any neutral nation in the world ever submitted to such a practice, or that such a practice was ever before attempted. If there be any of the settled maritime rights of England which the Americans wish us to sacrifice, why are they not *named?* It may be necessary; I do not say, that circumstances may never arise, to justify a government in doing that which no established practice or principle warrants; but then, let it be *avowed;* let us know what it is we are contending for. I wish to see the rights for which we contend explicitly stated, and, then we might enter upon the discussion with some prospect of arriving at the truth.——His Royal Highness complains of attempts at "*seduction*," on the part of the Americans. This phrase, with due submission, is badly chosen. It was not an attempt at *seduction*, which implies something *secret* or *underhanded;* whereas, that which the Yankees did was *open* and in the face of day; it was an *act of war;* it was by open proclamation *after a declaration of war;* it was an *invitation*, but no attempt at *seduction*. The term seduction is properly applied, when a government is base enough, while at *peace* and in *apparent amity* with another, to endeavour, by the means of bribes or otherwise, to seduce the citizens or subjects of that other; an act of which none but the very vilest and *most corrupt* governments, in the days of their decline, when, like old bawds, they resort to all sorts of quackery in order to prop up a rotten constitution a little longer, are ever guilty; an act, in short, which is never resorted to but by

men who ought to make their exit from the gallows tree.——I do not commend the invitation of the Americans; but, it is very different from acts such as that which I have just been speaking of. The Canadians will not be ... I am sure, by invitations. Invitations will weigh very little with them. They will, in all likelihood, be influenced by their feelings. If they have a good government, they will wish to keep it; and will, no doubt, fight in its defence.— The Speech concludes thus:

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I have ordered the estimates of the "ensuing year to be laid before you, and "I entertain no doubt of your readiness "to furnish such supplies as may enable "me to provide for the great interests "committed to my charge, and to afford "the best prospect of bringing the contest in which His Majesty is engaged to "a successful termination.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The approaching expiration of the "Charter of the East India Company, "renders it necessary that I should call "your early attention to the propriety of "providing effectually for the future Go"vernment of the provinces of India.—— "In considering the variety of interests "which are connected with this important "subject, I rely on your wisdom for mak"ing such arrangements as may best pro"mote the prosperity of the British pos"sessions in that quarter, and at the same "time secure the greatest advantages to "the commerce and revenue of His Ma"jesty's dominions.——I have derived "great satisfaction from the success of the "measures which have been adopted for "suppressing the spirit of outrage and in"subordination which had appeared in "some parts of the country, and from the "disposition which has been manifested to "take advantage of the indemnity held "out to the deluded by the wisdom and "benevolence of Parliament.——I trust "I shall never have occasion to lament "the recurrence of atrocities so repugnant "to the British character, and that all "His Majesty's subjects will be impressed "with the conviction, that the happiness "of individuals, and the welfare of the "State equally depend upon strict obe"dience to the laws, and an attachment "to our excellent Constitution.——In the "loyalty of His Majesty's people, and in "the wisdom of Parliament, I have reason "to place the fullest confidence. The "same firmness and perseverance which "have been manifested on so many and "such trying occasions will not, I am "persuaded, be wanting, at a time when "the eyes of all Europe, and of the world, "are fixed upon you. I can assure you, "that in the exercise of the great trust re"posed in me, I have no sentiment so "near my heart as the desire to promote, "by every means in my power, the real "prosperity, and lasting happiness of His "Majesty's subjects."

As to the *East India Company*, it is of no consequence to the people of England what is done respecting it. That, at any rate, is my opinion. The *Company* and the *Treasury* and the *Bank* will all go on together; and, I believe, I may add, the *War*.——There are two points in the Speech of which I must express my decided approbation; or, if I may be allowed the expression, there are two points which are *not* in it, which I very much admire. I mean the omission of two topics: to wit: the *boasting about our flourishing finances*; and the appeal to *Divine Providence*. These omissions are a wonderful improvement, and I heartily congratulate His Royal Highness and the country thereon.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 2d *Dec*. 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

COLONIAL DEPARTMENT.

Downing Street, *Nov*. 27, 1812.

Captain Fulton, Aid-de-camp to Lieutenant-general Sir G. Prevost, arrived late last night, with a dispatch from that officer, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, of which the following is a copy:—

Head-quarters, Montreal, *Oct*. 21, 1812.

My Lord,—I have the satisfaction of reporting to your Lordship, that His Majesty's forces, aided by the militia and Indians stationed on the Niagara frontier, have completely repelled a second attempt of the enemy to invade Upper Canada, and that a victory has been gained which has left in our possession nine hundred of the American army, and their commander Brigadier-

Gen. Wadsworth, who surrendered himself on the field of battle to Major-General Sheaffe. His Majesty and the country have to deplore the loss of an able and most gallant officer in Major General Brock, who fell early in the battle, at the head of the flank companies of the 49th regiment, while nobly encouraging them to sustain their position, in opposition to an infinitely superior force, until the reinforcements he had ordered to advance to their support should arrive. For further particulars of this splendid affair, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to Major-General Sheaffe's report, herewith transmitted. I also transmit a general order I have just issued to the forces in the British American provinces on the occasion of this important success, as it contains a statement of the services rendered by all who had the good fortune to maintain on that day the fame of His Majesty's arms, and to convince our deluded neighbours that their superiority in numbers cannot intimidate His Majesty's army, nor shake the fidelity of his Canadian subjects.——Not having received the return of the killed and wounded on the 13th, nor that of the ordnance and stores captured from the enemy, I am under the necessity of deferring sending them to your Lordship until the next opportunity, when I also expect to forward the colours taken from the Americans, to be laid at the feet of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. ——Captain Fulton, my Aid-de camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch to your Lordship. He is very capable of affording such information as your Lordship may require respecting the state of His Majesty's Canadian provinces. ——Eight companies of the Glengary levy are in motion to reinforce Upper Canada.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. PREVOST,
Commander of the Forces.

Fort George, Oct. 13, 1812.

SIR,—I have the honour of informing your Excellency, that the enemy made an attack with a considerable force this morning before daylight, on the position of Queenstown. On receiving intelligence of it, Major-General Brock immediately proceeded to that post, and I am excessively grieved in having to add, that he fell whilst gallantly cheering his troops to an exertion for maintaining it. With him, the position was lost; but the enemy was not allowed to retain it long. Reinforcements having been sent up from this post, composed of regular troops, militia, and Indians, a movement was made to turn his left, while some artillery, under the able direction of Captain Holcroft, supported by a body of infantry, engaged his attention in front. This operation was aided, too, by the judicious position which Norton, and the Indians with him, had taken on the woody brow of the high ground above Queenstown. A communication being thus opened with Chipawa, a junction was formed with succours that had been ordered from that post. The enemy was then attacked, and, after a short but spirited conflict, was completely defeated. I had the satisfaction of receiving the sword of their commander, Brigadier-General Wadsworth, on the field of battle; and many officers, with upwards of nine hundred men, were made prisoners, and more may yet be expected. A stand of colours and one six-pounder were also taken. The action did not terminate till nearly three o'clock in the afternoon, and their loss in killed and wounded must have been considerable. Our's I believe to have been comparatively small in numbers; no officer was killed besides Major-General Brock, one of the most gallant and zealous officers in His Majesty's service, whose loss cannot be too much deplored, and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donnell, Provincial Aid-de-camp, whose gallantry and merit rendered him worthy of his chief.——Captains Dennis and Williams, commanding the flank companies of the 49th regiment, which were stationed at Queenstown, were wounded, bravely contending, at the head of their men, against superior numbers; but I am glad to have it in my power to add, that Capt. Dennis fortunately was able to keep the field, though with pain and difficulty: and Captain Williams's wound is not likely to deprive me long of his services. I am particularly indebted to Captain Holcroft, of the Royal Artillery, for his judicious and skilful co-operation with the guns and howitzers under his immediate superintendence, the well-directed fire from which contributed materially to the fortunate result of the day.——Captain Derenzy, of the 41st regiment, brought up the reinforcements of that corps from Fort George; and Captain Bullock led that of the same regiment from Chipawa; and under their command these detachments acquitted themselves in such a manner as to sustain the reputation which the 41st [illegible] had already acquired in the vicinity of [illegible]etroit.——Major-General Brock, soon after his arrival at Queens-

town, had sent down orders for battering the American Fort Niagara; Brigade-Major Evans, who was left in charge of Fort George, directed the operations against it with so much effect as to silence its fire, and to force the troops to abandon it; and by his prudent precautions he prevented mischief of a most serious nature, which otherwise might have been effected, the enemy having used heated shot in firing at Fort George. In these services he was most effectually aided by Col. Claus (who remained in the Fort at my desire), and by Captain Vigoreux, of the Royal Engineers. Brigade-Major Evans also mentions the conduct of Capt. Powell and Cameron, of the militia artillery, in terms of commendation. Lieut. Crowther of the 41st regiment, had charge of two three-pounders that had accompanied the movement of our little corps, and they were employed with very good effect. Captain Glegg, of the 49th regiment, Aid-de-camp to our lamented friend and General, afforded me most essential assistance; and I found the services of Lieutenant Fowler, of the 41st regiment, Assistant Deputy Quarter Master General, very useful. I derived much aid, too, from the activity and intelligence of Lieutenant Kerr, of the Glengary fencibles, whom I employed in communications with the Indians, and other flanking parties. I was unfortunately deprived of the aid of the experience and ability of Lieutenant Colonel Myers, Deputy Quarter Master General, who had been sent up to Fort Erie, a few days before, on duty which detained him there. Lieutenant Colonels Butler and Clark, of the militia, and Captains Hatt, Durand, Rowe, Applegarth, James Crooks, Cooper, Robt. Hamilton, M'Ewen, and Duncan Cameron, and Lieutenants Richardson and Thomas Butler, commanding flank companies of the Lincoln and York militia, led their men into action with great spirit. Major Merritt, commanding the Niagara dragoons, accompanied me, and gave me much assistance with part of his corps. Captain A. Hamilton, belonging to it, was disabled from riding, and attached himself to the guns under Captain Holcroft, who speaks highly of his activity and usefulness. I beg leave to add, that Volunteers Shaw, Thomson, and Jarvis, attached to the flank companies of the 49th regiment, conducted themselves with great spirit; the first was wounded, and the last taken prisoner: I beg leave to recommend these young men to your Excellency's notice. Norton is wounded, but not badly; he and the Indians particularly distinguished themselves; and I have very great satisfaction in assuring your Excellency, that the spirit and good conduct of His Majesty's troops, of the militia, and of the other provincial corps, were eminently conspicuous on this occasion.—I have not been able to ascertain yet the number of our troops, or of those of the enemy engaged: our's, I believe, did not exceed the number of the prisoners we have taken; and their advance, which effected a landing, probably amounted to thirteen or fourteen hundred. I shall do myself the honour of transmitting to your Excellency further details when I shall have received the several reports of the occurrences which did not pass under my own observation, with the return of the casualties, and these of the killed and wounded, and of the ordnance taken. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. H. SHEAFFE, Major.Gen.

To His Excellency Sir Geo. Prevost, Bart.

Adjutant-General's Office, Head-quarters, Montreal, 21st Oct. 1812.

GENERAL ORDERS.

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has received an official report from Major-General Sheaffe, of the brilliant victory achieved on the 13th instant, by a portion of the troops under his command, over a division of the enemy's army, which effected a landing at Queenstown under cover of the night. That post was nevertheless defended with undaunted gallantry by the two flank companies of the 49th regiment, animated by the presence of their gallant and ever-to-be-lamented chief, Major-General Brock, whose valuable life was on this occasion devoted to his country's service. Those companies displayed exemplary discipline and spirit, although the Captains of both were wounded; and succeeded in keeping the enemy in check, until the arrival of Major-General Sheaffe with reinforcements.——The disposition of the forces and plan of attack adopted by Major-General Sheaffe, cannot receive a higher or more just praise than by stating that nine hundred prisoners of war, under the command of Brigadier-General Wadsworth, surrendered their arms to a force inferior in numbers, and without sustaining any considerable loss on our part.——A six-pounder and a stand of colours have been taken from the enemy.——Major-General Sheaffe's report of the zeal and undaunted gallantry that animated every offi-

cer and soldier of his army, affords the Commanders of the Forces the most heartfelt satisfaction, and will be a most gratifying duty to his Excellency to bring before the notice of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. —— Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, was stationed in charge of Fort Erie, and succeeded in completely silencing the fire of the enemy, drove a detachment from the encampment near the Black Rock, and destroyed a barrack in which was a considerable depôt of ammunition. Its explosion must have killed many. The Caledonia, lately captured by the enemy, was destroyed at her moorings.——Lieutenant-Colonel Myers speaks highly of the discipline of the detachment of the 49th regiment under Major Ormsby, and of the skill and spirit with which the guns were served under Captain Kirby and Lieutenant Bryson, of the militias.——Essential service was rendered by Brigade-Major Evans, left in charge of Fort George: a well-directed fire from that work succeeded in silencing the enemy's batteries on the opposite side, Captain Vigoureux, Royal Engineers, Colonel Claus, and Captains Powell and Cameron of the militia, were zealous and indefatigable in their exertions, particularly in extinguishing fires which broke out in the Court-house and other places from red-shot fired by the enemy." ——Captains Dennis and Williams, of the flank companies of the 49th regiment, have particularly distinguished themselves; the former officer retained the command of his company of grenadiers to the end of the conflict, though suffering severely from his wound.——To Captain Holcroft, of the royal artillery, the highest praise is due for his successful and judicious co-operation. The well-directed fire of the artillery, militia as well as regulars, is the best proof of the indefatigable zeal and talents of that officer.——Major Merritt, commanding the Niagara dragoons, accompanied and rendered essential assistance with part of his corps. Captain A. Hamilton, belonging to it, was disabled from riding, and attached himself to the guns under Captain Holcroft, who speaks highly of his activity and usefulness.——Lieutenant Crowther, 41st regiment, had charge of two field-pieces, which were employed with good effect.——Captains Derinzy and Bullock are represented to have maintained the high reputation of the 41st regiment, in the detachment under their respective commands. ——Major-General Sheaffe reports having received essential service from Captain Glegg, the Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Brock; Lieutenant Fowler, 41st regiment, Deputy Assistant-Quarter-Master-General; and Lieutenant Ker, of the Glengary light-infantry fencibles, employed with the flanking party of Indians.——The eminent services and talents of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonnel, Provincial Aid-de-camp and Attorney-General of the Province, are recorded by the most honourable testimony of the gallant General, whose steps he followed during his short but glorious career, nor quitted him in death.—— Volunteers Shaw, Thompson, and Jarvis, attached to the flank companies of the 49th regiment, conducted themselves with great spirit: the first was wounded, and the last taken prisoner.——The Major-General particularly mentions the services of Lieutenant-Colonels Butler and Clark, of the Militia; and Captains Hatt, Durand, Rowe, Applegarth, James Crooks, Cooper, Robert Hamilton, M'Ewen, and Duncan Cameron, and Lieutenants Richardson and Thomas Butler, commanding flank companies of the Lincoln and York militia, who led their men into action with great spirit. ——The Major-General reports the conduct of the Indians employed on this occasion as meriting the highest praise for their good order and spirit, and particularly names the Chief, Norton, who was wounded.——Several gentlemen volunteered their services in the field, and shared in the honour of the day. Mr. Clinch and Mr. Wilcox were of the number, and the Major-General witnessed the zealous conduct of many others not named in this report.——Major-General Sheaffe had humanely consented to a cessation of offensive hostility, on the solicitation of Major-General Van Ranseller, for the purpose of allowing the Americans to remove the bodies of the slain and wounded.

G. O.

Major-General Roger Hale Sheaffe is appointed to the command of the troops in the Upper Province, and to administer the civil government of the same.

EDWARD BAYNES, Adjutant-General.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

War Department.

Downing-Street, Dec. 3.

Dispatches, of which the following are Extracts, were received last night by Earl

Bathurst, addressed to his Lordship by the Marquis of Wellington.

Pitiegua, Nov. 7, 1812.

The enemy repaired the bridge at Toro at a much earlier period than I expected. I therefore desired Sir Rowland Hill to continue his march by Fontiveros upon Alba de Tormes, and as soon as I found that he was sufficiently forward, I broke up yesterday morning from the position which I had held in front of Tordesillas since the 30th of last month, and I am in march towards the heights of St. Christoval, in front of Salamanca.——The enemy has not pressed at all upon the rear of the troops under Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill, nor have those on the Douro followed the march of the troops under my command: I conclude that the two corps will unite, which, in consequence of the situation of the Douro, I could not prevent.

Ciudad Rodrigo, Nov. 19.

The troops under the command of Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill crossed the Tormes, at Alba, on the 8th inst., and those under my command took their position on the heights of St. Christoval de la Cuesta on the same day; Brig.-General Pack's brigade occupying Aldea Lengua, and Brig.-General Bradford's Cabrerizos on the right; and the British cavalry covering our front. I had desired Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill to occupy the town and castle of Alba, with Major-General Howard's brigade of the 2d division, leaving Lieut.-General Hamilton's Portuguese division on the left of the Tormes, to support those troops; while the 2d division was posted in the neighbourhood of the fords of Encinas and Huerta; and the 3d and 4th divisions remained at Calvarassa de Ariba in reserve.

On the 9th the enemy drove in the picquets of Major-General Long's brigade of cavalry, in front of Alba; and Major-Gen. Long was obliged to withdraw his troops through Alba on the morning of the 10th. In the course of the day, the enemy's

(To be continued.)

Extract of a Letter addressed to His Excellency the Duke de Feltre, Minister of War, by the Marshal Duke d'Albufera.

(Continued from page 702.)

anxiously desired to come to blows; but these means did not succeed. He ordered some platoons of the fourth hussars to charge the advanced troops.——Four or five discharges of cannon supported this movement, and two companies of the 7th voltigeurs advanced to support them; but they had not a single trigger to pull. The hussars charged the cavalry in the midst of the infantry in the gardens, ravines, and behind the houses, killed some 50 men, and brought back 30 prisoners, of which two were officers, an English Captain and Lieutenant; they likewise took from 15 to 20 horses.——The General of Division Harispe, satisfied with having shewn the fine disposition of his troops, took, in open day, the road to his positions, slept at Monforte, still ready to receive battle, but he was not followed; he has returned to the camp of the 2d division.

ALBUFERA.

MINISTER OF WAR.

Extract of a Letter from Burgos, of 22d Oct. to the Minister of War, from Gen. Souham, Commandant, ad Interim, of the Army of Portugal.

Paris, Nov. 4.

Monseigneur,—I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that the English have raised the siege of Burgos, and marched in the direction of Aranda, Valladolid, and Palencia, at nine in the evening; they have left their sick in the hospitals of Burgos.——I set out in pursuit of them very early this morning: I hope to be able to overtake them, and oblige them to fight, or, at least, to do much injury to their rear guard.

(Signed) Count SOUHAM.

P. S. I should inform your Excellency, that since the 20th, I have been in a position before the English army, I have every day had engagements with it, and never ceased to harass and cause it great loss since that period.

Paris, Nov. 4.—On the 16th of last month, His Catholic Majesty set out from Valencia to march to Madrid, at the head of the Army of the Centre, and that of the South, commanded by the Duke of Dalmatia.——Letters from Vittoria say, that the soldiers of the French army, on their entrance into Burgos, carried in triumph General Dubreton, who had so vigorously defended the Castle of Burgos against Wellington, in admiration of his fine defence.

Copy of a Letter written to His Excellency the Duke de Feltre, Minister of War, by General Count Souham.

Pancorbo, Oct. 15.

Monseigneur,—Being desirous to make known to the garrison of the fort of Burgos, that the army was at hand both to succour them, and thereby encourage them to continue their fine defence, I, on the 13th of this month, ordered General Manoune to attack the English van-guard, by passing by Castil de Pednes Quintanavides, and to push them as far as Monastino.——I likewise gave orders to the General of Division, M. Foy, to carry by main force Poza, which is occupied by the troops of Castanos.——These attacks, which were combined, have both been equally successful. General Curto, Commander of the light cavalry, has received orders to move forward, before Vibena, on Roxa, to support this movement, and be ready to act wherever needful. The result of these attacks have been advantageous for the army of Portugal. The enemy had 400 killed and wounded. We have taken from him 140 prisoners, of which five are officers,; we have likewise taken a pair of colours, some baggage, and 20 horses. On our side we had only four men killed and 26 wounded, and lost some horses.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT SOUHAM.

Extract of a Letter to His Excellency the Duc de Feltre, Minister at War, from General Count Caffarelli, Commander of the Army of the North.

Briviesca, Oct. 21.

Monseigneur,—Since yesterday we are in presence of each other—the army of Portugal occupies the heights of Monasteiro, and we can see the camps of the enemy. The two armies of Portugal and the North can be in line within twenty-four hours. Our cavalry is remarkably fine, the artillery is very numerous and in excellent condition.——Yesterday afternoon we drove back all the advanced posts of the enemy. Our soldiers have shown a great deal of ardour, and the cannon should have been heard at the fort of Burgos, which still continues to make a most obstinate defence, and which, according to all reports, caused the enemy a loss of more than 4,000 men. It is asserted that the enemy having raised a battery of four 24-pounders, they were immediately dismounted, one only excepted, but which is no longer fired. The enemy have lost several officers of note, and in particular a Major Murray, of the 42d regiment (Highlanders). I hope that the fort will soon be relieved, and I shall then request of your Excellency, in laying before you a journal of the siege, an honourable recompense for General Du Breton, and for the officers and soldiers who have behaved themselves so valiantly.

I have the honour to be,

The General Count CAFFARELLI.

Extract of a Letter from General Thiebault, Chief Commandant at Vittoria.

Vittoria, Oct. 23, 9 o'Clock Evening.

Monseigneur,—The armies of Portugal and of the North entered Burgos yesterday, at six o'clock in the morning. Towards two o'clock in the evening, and after exchanging several cannon shot, the enemy passed the ravine of Buniel, and is now in full retreat, which tend to prove that the armies of the South and of the Centre, are arriving. —— This movement naturally changes the whole situation of the North of Spain, and the parts of the armies of the North and of Portugal.

I have the honour, &c.

The Baron THIEBAULT.

Twenty-fifth Bulletin of the French Grand Army.

Noilskoe, Oct. 20.—All the sick who were in the hospitals of Moscow, left them on the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th inst. for Mojaisk and Smolensko. The artillery caissons, the ammunition taken, a great quantity of curious things, and two trophies, were packed up and sent off on the 15th.——The army received orders to take biscuit for twenty days, and hold itself in readiness to march; in effect, the Emperor left Moscow on the 19th. The head-quarters were on the same day at Disna.——On the one side, the Kremlin has been armed and fortified, and at the same time it has been mined, in order to blow it up.——Some think the Emperor will march upon Toula and Kalouga, to pass the winter in these provinces, and occupy Moscow, by a garrison in the Kremlin.——Others suppose the Emperor will blow up the Kremlin, and burn the public establishments which remain, and that he will approach within a hundred leagues of Poland, to establish his winter-quarters in a friendly country, and near to receive every thing

which exists in the magazines of Dantzic, Kowno, Wilna, and Minsk, and recover from the fatigues of war; the latter observe, that Moscow is distant from St. Petersburgh 180 leagues of bad road, whilst Witepsk is only 130 from Petersburgh; that from Moscow to Kiow is 218 leagues, whilst from Smolensko to Kiow it is but 112 leagues; from whence they conclude, that Moscow is not a military position, or that Moscow possesses no longer political importance, since that town is burned and ruined for 100 years.——The enemy shewed many Cossacks, who annoyed our cavalry.——The advanced guard of cavalry placed in advance of Veukovo, were surprized by a horde of Cossacks; they were in the camp before they could mount on horseback. They took off General Sebastiani's park of artillery, 100 baggage-waggons, and made about 100 prisoners.——The King of Naples, mounted on horseback with the cuirassiers and carabineers, and perceiving a column of light infantry, of four battalions, which the enemy sent to support the Cossacks, he charged it, broke it, and cut it in pieces. General Dezi, Aid-de-Camp to the King, a brave officer, was killed in this charge, which honours the carabineers.——The Vice-Roy has arrived at Fomenskoe. All the army is in march.——Marshal the Duke of Treviso has remained at Moscow with a garrison.——The weather is very fine, like that in France during October, perhaps a little warmer; but on the first days of November we may expect colds.——Every thing indicates we must think of winter quarters, our cavalry particularly require it. The infantry refreshed themselves at Moscow, and are very well.

Twenty-sixth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Borowsk, Oct. 22.

After the battle of Moskwa, General Kutusow took a position a league in advance of Moscow; he established several redoubts to defend the town; he remained there till the last moment. On the 14th September, seeing the French army march towards him, he took his resolution, and evacuated the position, passing through Moscow. He crossed through the city, with his head-quarters at half past nine o'clock in the morning. Our advanced guard passed through it an hour after noon.——The Commandant of the Russian rear guard requested to be allowed to defile in the city without firing; it was allowed him; but in the Kremlin, the canaille, armed by the Governor, made a resistance, and were immediately dispersed. Ten thousand Russian soldiers were the next and following days collected in the city, into which they were brought by their thirst for plunder; they were old and good soldiers; they augmented the number of prisoners.——On the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, the Russian General commanding the rear-guard said, that they should fire no longer, that they ought to fight no more, and talked much about peace. He marched upon the road of Kolomna, and our advanced guard placed itself five leagues from Moskwa, upon the bridge of the Moskwa. During this time the Russian army left the Kolomna road, and took that of Kalouga, by cross roads. He thus made the half tour of the city at six leagues distance.——The wind carried thither clouds of flame and smoke, &c. This march, according to the statements of the Russian Officers, was *sombre* and religious—consternation filled their souls; they assert, that Officers and soldiers were so penetrated, that the most profound silence reigned throughout all the army, as during prayers.——We quickly perceived the enemy's march. The Duke of Istria marched to Disna, with a corps of observation.——The King of Naples, at first, followed the enemy upon Podol, and afterwards marched upon their rear, threatening to cut them off from the Kalouga road. Although the King only had with him the advanced guard, the enemy only allowed themselves time to evacuate the entrenchments they had constructed, and marched six leagues in the rear, after a glorious battle for the advanced guard.——Prince Poniatowski took a position behind the Nara, at the confluence of Isha.——General Lauriston having, on the 5th October, gone to the Russian head-quarters, the communications were re-established between our advanced posts and those of the enemy, who, between themselves, agreed not to attack each other without giving three hours notice; but on the 18th, at seven o'clock in the morning, 4,000 Cossacks came out from a wood, situate within half-cannon shot of General Sebastiani, forming the extreme left of the advanced guard, who had neither been occupied nor inspected that day.——They made an attack upon this light cavalry at a time when they were on foot at the distribution of meal. This light cavalry could not form but at a quarter of a league at farthest. Whilst the enemy penetrated by

this hole, a park of 12 pieces of cannon, and 20 caissons of General Sebastiani, were taken in a ravine, with baggage waggons, in number 30; in all, 65 waggons, instead of 100, as stated in the last Bulletin.——At the same time, the enemy's regular cavalry, and two columns of infantry penetrated into the hole. They hoped to gain the wood, and the defile of Voronowo before us; but the King of Naples was there; he was on horseback. He marched and penetrated the Russian line of cavalry in ten or twelve different charges. He perceived the division of six enemy's battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-General Muller, charged and penetrated it. This division was massacred; Lieutenant-General Muller was killed; whilst this was passing, General Poniatowski successfully repulsed a Russian division. The Polish General, Fischer, was killed by a ball.——The enemy not only suffered a loss superior to ours, but have the shame of having violated the truce concluded between the advanced guard, a thing hardly ever done. Our loss amounts to 800 men in killed, wounded, and taken. That of the enemy is double; several Russian Officers were taken; two of their Generals were killed; on this day the King of Naples has proved what presence of mind, valour, and a knowledge of war can effect. In general, throughout all this campaign, this Prince has shown himself worthy of the supreme rank in which he is placed.——However, the Emperor wishing to oblige the enemy to evacuate his entrenched camp, and drive them several marches back, in order to be able tranquilly to proceed to the countries chosen for his winter quarters, and actually necessary to be occupied for the execution of his ulterior projects, on the 17th, ordered General Lauriston, with his advanced guard, to place himself behind the defile of Winkowo, in order that his movements might not be perceived.——After Moscow had ceased to exist, the Emperor had determined either to abandon this heap of ruins, or only occupy the Kremlin with 3,000 men; but the Kremlin, after fifteen days labour, was not judged sufficiently strong to be abandoned for twenty or thirty days to its own forces. It would have weakened and incommoded the army in its movements, without giving a great advantage. If we wished to protect Moscow from the beggars and plunderers, 20,000 men would have been necessary. Moscow is at present a truly unhealthy and impure sink. A population of 200,000 wandering in the neighbouring woods, dying with hunger, come to these ruins, to seek what remains, and vegetables, in the gardens, to support life. It appeared useless to compromise any thing whatever for an object which was of no military importance, and which has now become of no political importance. All the magazines which were in the city having been carefully examined, the others emptied, the Emperor caused the Kremlin to be mined. The Duke of Istria caused it to be blown up at two o'clock A. M. on the 23d; the arsenal, barracks, magazines, all were destroyed. This ancient citadel, which takes its date from the foundation of the monarchy, this first palace of the Czars, has been destroyed.——The Duke of Treviso has marched for the Vereja. The Emperor of Russia's Aid-de-camp, Baron Winzingerode, having, on the 22d, attempted to penetrate at the head of 500 Cossacks, was repulsed and taken prisoner with a young Russian officer, named Nariskin.——On the 19th, the head-quarters were in the castle of Troitskoi; they remained there on the 20th. On the 21st they were at Ignatien; the 22d at Pomenskoi; all the army having made two flank marches, and the 23d at Borowsk. The Emperor reckons upon marching on the 24th, to gain the Dwina, and taking a position which will bring him within 80 leagues of Petersburgh and Wilna, a double advantage; that is to say, 20 marches nearer his means and his object.——Of 4,000 stone houses which were in Moscow, not more than 200 remain. It has been said a fourth remained, because in that calculation 800 churches were comprehended, a part of which are undamaged. Of 8,000 houses of wood, nearly 500 remain.——It was proposed to the Emperor to burn what remained of the city, to treat the Russians in their own way, and to extend this measure round Moscow. There are 2,000 villages, and as many country houses and chateaux.——It was proposed to form four columns, of 2,000 men each, and charge them with burning every thing for 20 leagues round Moscow. That will learn the Russians, said they, to make war according to rules, and not like Tartars. If they burn a village, a house, we must make them answer for it by burning 100.——The Emperor refused to allow these measures, which would have aggravated the misfortunes of this population. Of 9,000 proprietors, whose castles would have been burned, one hundred, perhaps, would have been sectaries of the Marat of Russia; but

8,900 are brave men, already too much the victims of some wretched men. To punish one hundred guilty persons, 8,900 would have been ruined. We must add, that it would absolutely have left without resources 200,000 poor boors, innocent of every thing.——The Emperor, therefore, contented himself with ordering the destruction of the citadel and military establishments, according to the usages of war, without doing any thing to ruin individuals, already too unhappy by the consequences of this war.——The inhabitants of Russia do not recollect such a season as we have had for the last twenty days." It is the sun and fine days of a journey from Fontainbleau. The army is in an extremely rich country—it may be compared to the best in France or Germany.

Twenty-seventh Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Vereja, Oct. 27.

On the 27th Prince Poniatowski marched upon Vereja.——The 23d, the army was about to follow this movement, but in the afternoon we learnt, that the enemy had quitted his entrenched camp, and was on march to the little town of Malioardslavitz. It was found necessary to march after him, and obstruct his intentions. The Viceroy received orders to march.——Delzon's division arrived on the 23d, at six in the evening, on the left bank, took possession of the bridge, and caused it to be repaired. In the night between the 23d and 24th, the Russian division arrived in the town, and took possession of the heights on the right bank, which are extremely advantageous.——On the 24th, at day-break, the battle commenced. During this time the enemy's army appeared quite entire, and took a position behind the town. The divisions Delzon, Broussier, and Pino, and the Italian guard, were successively engaged.——This engagement does the greatest honour to the Viceroy, and the 4th corps of the army. Two-thirds of the enemy's army were engaged to maintain his position; but this was in vain, for the town was taken as well as the heights.——The enemy retreated so precipitately, that [illegible] threw 20 pieces of cannon into the river. Towards night, Marshal Prince Eckmuhl debouched with his corps, and all the army was in battle with its artillery on the 25th, in the position which the enemy occupied the night before.——The Emperor moved his head-quarters on the 24th, to the village of Ghorodnia. At seven in the morning, 6,000 Cossacks, who had stepped into the wood, made a general huzza in the rear of his position, and took six pieces of cannon which were parked.——The Duke of Istria set off at a gallop with all the horse guards: this horde was sabred, brought back, and thrown into the river; the artillery it had taken was recovered, and several of his waggons were captured.——Six hundred of these Cossacks were killed, wounded, or taken; 30 men of the guards were wounded, and three killed.——The General of Division, Count Rappe, had a horse killed under him; the intrepidity of which this General has given so many proofs, is shewn on every occasion.——At the commencement of the charge, the Cossack Officers called the guard, which they remembered (*Muscadins de Paris*), Paris Dainties. The Major General of Dragoons, Letort, distinguished himself. At eight o'clock, order was re-established.——The Emperor marched to Malioardslavitz, reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and ordered an attack for the next morning; but in the night, the enemy retreated. Prince Eckmuhl followed him for six hours.——The Emperor then let him go, and directed the movement upon Vereja.——On the 26th, head-quarters were at Borowsk, and on the 27th, at Vereja.——Prince Eckmuhl is, to-night, at Borowsk; the Duke of Elchingen at Mojaisk.——It is beautiful weather, the roads are excellent; it is the end of autumn; this weather will last eight days longer, and at that period we shall have arrived in our new position. In the battle of Malioardslavitz, the Italian guard distinguished itself. It took the position, and maintained it.——The General Baron Delzons, a distinguished officer, was killed with three balls. Our loss was 1,500 men killed or wounded; that of the enemy is 6 or 7,000. We found on the field of battle 1,700 Russians, amongst whom were 1,100 recruits, dressed in grey jackets, having hardly served two months.——The old Russian infantry is destroyed; the Russian army would have no consistence but for the numerous reinforcements of Cossacks recently arrived from the Don. Well-informed persons assure us, that in the Russian infantry the first rank only is composed of soldiers, and that the second and third ranks are filled with recruits and militia, and who, notwithstanding the promises made them, are incorporated.——The Russians had three Generals killed. General Count Pino was slightly wounded.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:—"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knap-"sacks* was the ground of the complaint that ex-"cited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the Jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militiamen at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR.——The events recorded in the Gazettes, published by the Russian Government, and republished by ours, as will be seen in another part of this sheet, exhibit Napoleon in an entirely new light; we there see him *retreating*, him who scarcely ever before recoiled; him whose very name has long been synonymous with success. If we are to place implicit reliance on the Petersburgh Gazettes, we must conclude, that this great Captain, this greatest of soldiers, has, at last, not only met with complete defeat, total overthrow, but that he himself is, by this time, in the enemy's possession, and, indeed, in the City of London, at Lloyd's Coffee-House, and upon the Royal Exchange, the firm persuasion seems to be, that Napoleon will, in a few months, be actually to be seen in an *iron cage*, as a show in England; that the threat of Macduff towards Macbeth will be fully verified, and that we shall see written over the cage "*Here may you see* "*the monster.*" In short, never were forebodings so sanguine; never were predictions so confident; never were there expectations mixed with so small a portion of doubt. The general opinion is, that "poor "Bony," as he is now called, will have made all sorts of efforts to escape in disguise from his army, and that, failing therein, he will be taken, dead or alive, to Petersburgh, and will thence be sent to England. The joy amongst the Londoners is excessive. They have, in a single moment, got rid of all their fears. In the delirium of their joy, they seem to have forgotten the approaching loan and the price of the guinea. All the ports of Europe are, according to them, now to be instantly opened, trade is to resume its former channels, and all is to go on as if no French Revolution and no Buonaparte had ever existed. A time will hereafter offer for putting upon record more fully the evidences of the public persuasion at this time. The general description, which I have given, may, in the meanwhile, suffice.——Now, as to the *reality*, we have, in truth, no means of judging. In the Russian accounts we can rationally place no confidence, seeing that, heretofore, they have uniformly proved to be, at best, a tissue of exaggerations and misrepresentations; seeing that, upon one particular occasion, we were informed, and that, too, through the channel of our own ambassador, that the French had been totally, or, at least, signally defeated, and that, it afterwards appeared, that, upon that very occasion, they won the battle which gave them possession of Moscow. We should, then, be setting at defiance the light of experience to believe the accounts published by the ministers of the Czar; but, as far as these accounts are corroborated by the Emperor's own bulletin, we must believe them, and that bulletin confesses that the French army has greatly suffered from the climate, and has experienced great losses.——Of these facts, therefore, we cannot doubt, and, if we should take it for granted, that the whole of the French force and the Emperor himself, is in great and imminent peril, we should not, in all probability, be far from the truth.——But, then, we are to consider, on the other side, *the character of the man*, who has to contend with all the difficulties which have been described and which can be imagined. We have to place against those difficulties, courage, fortitude, presence of mind, foresight, such as few men have ever possessed. From Napoleon we have a right to expect, in this crisis of his fate, exertions far beyond what we should naturally expect from mortals in general. We may be sure, that, if the Russians destroy him, they will purchase his destruction (barring mere accidents) at a dear rate.——And, after all, *if he should extricate himself from his difficulties!* If he should outlive all the perils that surround him! *If he should* bring off the main part of his army, and should set about preparations for a march to Petersburgh in the spring! *If he should* do this!——Granted, that it is not *probable;* granted, that so numerous and so great are his difficulties, that such a supposition is not to be entertained; granted, that, with "*three Russian*

"*armies in his front*" and "two in his "rear," with "myriads of Cossacks on "his flanks," an escape with any considerable portion of his army is *next to impossible;* but, for argument's sake; for the sake of mere reasoning, while we wait for the arrival of the mails, suppose he *should* get off with the main body of his army. I say, that it is not to be expected; I say, that the joy of the good citizens of London is in no danger of being thus damped; but, *if he should?* If he *should?*——What, in such a case, such an unexpected case; what, in such case, would be the natural consequences?——Why, in my opinion, these consequences would be, despair in the bosom of those whom he is attacking, and almost certain success to his future attacks; for, as all the world will say, *if he survive this,* nothing can overcome him.——It is supposed by some persons, that, if Napoleon should escape with a considerable part of his army, he will, from this retreat, have *suffered in his reputation,* and that his army will not, in future, have *the same confidence in him.*——Now, in the first place, this is inconsistent with what has been generally asserted by these same persons, who have constantly described him as a gloomy tyrant, "*hated by his army* "whom he *forced* into the field at the "point of the bayonet, though it was, indeed, difficult to imagine how he was to effect this, who was to hold the point of the bayonet, and the like. It is, however, now discovered, that he has had the *confidence* of his army, and this discovery is made in order to tell us, that he is, *in future, not to have it.*——But, *why* is he not to have it? This question I should like to put to any man, who entertains the opinion here spoken of, and who would argue the matter fairly.——This is not the first time, that the armies of Napoleon have been compelled to retreat. Nay, they have (or else our *veracity* is in a perilous state) been *beaten* frequently. "Aye, but, then, *he* "was not with them." Very true; but *that very circumstance was,* by us, *alleged to be ground of discontent in his army!* We said, or, at least, our hireling prints said, that *he staid at home in safety, while he sent his troops to the field to be slaughtered.* This was what they said when he *did not* accompany his army. Their stupidity in saying it, while our own Sovereign is well known never to accompany his army to the field, was very great, to be sure; but, say if they did; and, indeed, if the army had a right to complain of hardships and dangers, the complaint came with a better grace while their Emperor was safe at home than they would now come while he is sharing all the hardships and dangers of the army.——I am, for my part, wholly at a loss to discover any reason for supposing, that, if Napoleon gets out of this difficulty, he will have sunk in the estimation of his soldiers. These soldiers will be able to judge correctly of his deeds; they will see, that, in advancing to Moscow, it was impossible to foresee, and impossible to believe, that the city would be burnt to ashes, such a thing never having been done before in the world. They will see, that their leader overcame every thing opposed to him in the shape of an enemy; and that if he was unable to remain at Moscow, it was because an act had been committed which was no more to be expected than the destruction of a city by an earthquake. They did, doubtless, expect from him every thing that mortal man is capable of; but, they will not lose confidence in him, because he was unable to rebuild Moscow, and restore to life its burnt and starved population. They will see, that he has done more than any other mortal would have been able to do; they will see, that no difficulties are too much for him; they will see, that, when all the world exclaimed, "*he is down!*" and when the enemies of France had almost lost their senses in exultation: they will see that, even then, he bore up against the tide, and finally swam triumphant; and, seeing, not only will they not lose confidence in him, but the confidence they have hitherto had in him will be increased and less liable to be shaken than it heretofore has been.——As to the *fact,* whether there be any chance of his extricating himself from his difficulties, we cannot, as I said before, come to any decision, because we have no means of judging; but, of one thing I am, for my part, very sure, and that is, that, if he should extricate himself, if he should make good his retreat with the main of his army, his reputation will be higher than ever; he will be dearer than ever to that army, whose dangers and whose sufferings he has shared; he will be to the glory-loving people of France more than ever an object of devotion, and will be more than ever an object of terror and dismay to her enemies. He is engaged in a deep and, perhaps, a desperate game; but, if he win, he wins fortune for ever, and all, upon the continent at least, falls before him.——For these reasons, and for others that I shall forbear

to state, I, for my part, do not, in any degree, participate in the exultation of the day, though, I must confess, that I wait with no little impatience for intelligence of his fate. That fate is, before now, decided, and, with it, in all probability, the fate of the Russian Government and of the commerce of England with the Continent of Europe. In the course of ten short days we shall know the result; and, therefore, all that I shall add here is, my anxious hope, that it will be such as shall tend to the freedom and happiness of this country and of mankind in general.——There is one passage in the TIMES news-paper of the 8th instant, which I cannot help noticing before I conclude, and, according to my usual practice, I shall first insert the passage itself, which is in these words:——

"The great body of the French soldiery "approaches to an *almost entire disorganization*; their physical strength is wasted "and gone; their moral powers (if it be "not a desecration of the term moral, to "apply it to such a horde of civilized *barbarians*) are overcome and exhausted. "*Man but a rush against their breasts*, "*and they retire*:—in a state of despair, "they *offer themselves up prisoners* to those "very Cossacks, who take no prisoners, "but execute the vengeance of their country with an unsparing hand. These "*wretched*, these *despairing* creatures, "would excite our *pity*, did we not remember the atrocities of which they have "lent themselves to be the WILLING "AGENTS,—in Spain, in Portugal, in "Switzerland, in the Tyrol. Even-handed "justice commends the ingredients of their "poisoned chalice to their own lips. "The South has felt their cruelty, and the "North avenges its sufferings. May the "nations of Europe at length open their "eyes to the true causes of that dreadful "visitation which they have so long endured! We are sorry to be under the "necessity of deferring till to-morrow, a "nervous and *manly* address by the Russian Minister of the interior, which was "published at Moscow, on the 29th of October. It will be found to contain a most "*just exposition of the French character*,—"a most serious admonition to all who "walk in the paths, or adopt the principles, or submit to be associated in the "practices of such a people. Of the leader "and author of their most flagrant crimes, "it observes, that "the measure of his "iniquity is full. The *burning temples*, "and the *reeking blood of the innocent*, "has turned the *long suffering of God* "*into wrath*;" but it asks, with great "justice, "have his *slaves*, and the slaves "of their own passions, shown them-"selves less ferocious than their leader?" "*No!* we regret to say *they have not*. We "regret to bear testimony to so *general a* "*degradation of a people* once celebrated "for the suavity of their dispositions, and "the chivalrous gallantry of their sentiments: but *when we see the atrocities of* "*Moscow acted over again at Madrid*, and "the contemptible Joseph imitating his "bloody Brother, in shooting Spanish "Noblemen for their *loyalty*, we are almost ready to join with the Russian Minister, in exclaiming, "*It is impossible* "*that morality should exist in such a* "*nation!*"——It is pretty well for this *Russian* minister to accuse Buonaparte of "*burning temples*" and causing the "*blood* "*of the innocent to reek from the earth*;" it is pretty well for the Editor of the Times now to talk of the *atrocities of Moscow*, and impute them to the French, when, only three weeks ago, he asserted, that it was by order of the Czar that Moscow and 30,000 wounded Russians had been burnt, and who also asserted, that the said Czar had a "plain, full, and perfect *right*" to order such burning. One hardly can discover what this unprincipled writer is aiming at with regard to the burning of Moscow; but, this we may conclude, that to mention it in the way of reproach upon the French demands a store of impudence such as falls to the lot of very few, even of the hirelings of our press.——But, what I am particularly desirous of drawing the reader's attention to, is, the general tone and jet of this paragraph, the writer of which manifestly has it in view to excite hatred and abhorrence, not against Napoleon alone, nor against him and his army only, but against the *French people*, against the *whole of the French nation*, who are here denominated, "the *willing* "*agents* of Napoleon, *not less ferocious* "*than their leader*;" who are described as in a state of "*general degradation*;" and of whom it is asserted, that "it is "*impossible that morality* should exist in "such *a nation*."——Now, reader, you will please to observe, that this is quite a *new tone*; you will observe that this is a tone which has not been used since the battle of Marengo. While the delusive hope existed of subduing and "clipping the wings" of France, the press of England held this tone; it then talked of the

atrocities of the French *people;* it talked of the necessity of *punishing their immoralities;* it imputed to them, in a mass, all sorts of crimes. After the battle of Marengo, it directed all its hostility against Buonaparté; and, I am sure that the reader will bear in mind, that this press, this base press, has, within these ten years, a thousand times spoken of *the people* of France, not as the "WILLING AGENTS" of Napoleon; but, on the contrary, as being held down, as being compelled to submit to his sway, by mere military force. Nay, only a few days have passed since this vile press assured this "*most thinking* people," that the French *nation* were ripe for revolt, and, indeed, that a revolt was actually organized and about to take effect. How many times have I had to notice the affected *pity* of these hirelings for the "oppressed "*people*" of France? how often have we been told of the conscripts marching *in chains* to the army? and, who can have forgotten the description of the *French mother*, given in the canting speech of Mr. Canning?——This was the tone only a few days ago; and *why* has it changed all of a sudden? The reason is this: these stupid hirelings now imagine, *that the present order of things in France is upon the eve of being wholly overset*; they anticipate the seeing of that country re-plunged into confusion; they expect soon to see the day when, in consequence of the anticipated fall of Napoleon, England, in conjunction with other powers, will be able to do that to France which was intended to be done in 1792, and they are, therefore, by imputing to THE PEOPLE of France a willing participation in the atrocities imputed to Buonaparté, *preparing before-hand a justification for such measures towards the whole nation of which he is the head.*——This is the motive for their change of tone. This is their motive for now imputing to the whole of the French people a character and crimes which they have heretofore imputed only to their chief; this is their motive for now describing as the WILLING AGENTS of Napoleon, those whom heretofore they have affected to pity as suffering under his "*military despotism;*" this is their motive for holding up France as a nation *generally degraded*, and amongst whom it is impossible for morality to exist; this is their motive for thus holding up the very same nation, whom, but a few days ago, they represented as boiling over with virtuous rage against the atrocities and tyranny of Buonaparté.——This *change of tone* holds forth a pretty good lesson to the people of France. It tells them, in no very equivocal language, *what they have to expect if their present ruler should fall;* it tells them, that those who affect to *pity* them, do, at bottom, *hate* them, and only wait for an opportunity to do them all the mischief that lies in their power; it tells them, that all the piteous cry that our hirelings have set up about the *oppressions* in France, about the *tyranny* of Buonaparté, and about the forcing away of their sons in chains to fight *his* battles and to gratify *his* ambition; it tells them, that all this has proceeded from the basest hypocrisy, from a desire to divide them from their "CHIEF "MAGISTRATE," as Lord Ellenborough, upon the trial of Mr. Peltier, very properly called him, it tells them, that these hireling writers hate *them* as much as they do *him*, that their hatred, their implacable animosity, is towards *the whole of the French nation;* it tells them, that they wish to see that nation, that whole people, *humbled* and *subdued*, blotted out from amongst the nations as destitute of all morality, and of all claim to confidence or mercy.—This is what this sudden change of tone tells the French people; and, of course, it tells them, that *their* fate, that their very existence as a nation, are (in the opinion of these writers) indissolubly linked with the fate of Buonaparté; aye, with the fate of that same Buonaparté, whom these writers have heretofore been constantly representing as the *oppressor*, the *tyrant*, the *scourge*, of the people of France.——So much for the sound judgment of these writers, as far as it tends to produce impression in the minds of the people of France; and let us now see what is the lesson which this their change of tone ought to afford *us*.——Reader, in what day of your life, during the last ten years, have you not heard these same writers assert Buonaparté to be a *tyrant?* In what day have you not heard his government described as a *military despotism?* In what day have you not heard it asserted, that he had filled the country with *spies and Bastiles?* In what day have you not heard it asserted and taken for granted, that the people of France were, from one end of the country to the other, animated with *hatred against him?* In what day have you not read, that his army was recruited by the forcible seizure of persons *dragged to it in chains?* In what day have you not heard all this asserted, not only in paragraphs, but in *speeches* and *addresses* from various quar-

ters?——Well, then, observe, and I beseech you to bear in mind, that it is *now* as positively asserted, that the *armies* and the *people* of France are the WILLING AGENTS of Buonaparté; and are exhibited as fully participating in all the hateful qualities, and in all the crimes, that have been, and are, imputed to him.——Bear these things in mind, and you will not be again exposed to the mischievous delusion which has so long prevailed.——Before this sheet issues from the press, the fate of Buonaparté will, in all probability, be known; but, I beg the reader to guard himself betimes against the error of regarding even the *death* of Buonaparté as decisive of the fate of *the people* of France; for he may be assured, that the people of France are just what they were before Buonaparté appeared at their head, and that our country will stand in need of all the wisdom and all the valour it can muster, to defend itself against those, who (as our writers now confess) *are animated with his spirit.*

GRANT TO LORD WELLINGTON.——On Monday, the 7th instant, the House of Commons voted the sum of *one hundred thousand pounds* to the Marquis of Wellington on account of his recent services in the Peninsula.——I am one of those who *disapprove of this grant.* Not as to the amount; for I disapprove of *it altogether.* I would have voted against any sum being voted him on that account.——My reasons for this may be gathered from two previous articles that I have written upon the subject; but, I shall here state some of those reasons over again in the remarks that I am about to offer upon the debate (as published in the news-papers), which took place upon the voting of the grant.——SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, who objected to the grant till time had been allowed to inquire into the cause of the *retreat* which had succeeded the victories of Lord Wellington, took a view of *the whole of the campaign*, and insisted, that, as in other cases, a judgment ought to be formed upon it *as a whole*, and that, as a whole, it presented us with the spectacle of *a complete failure.* Several persons spoke after the Honourable Baronet, and all in favour of the grant; but no one *answered*, or *attempted to answer*, his argument.——When a reward was proposed for *services*, the first question naturally was, whether, *since the last reward had been bestowed*, any service had been performed by the person proposed to be rewarded. Then the object of inquiry was, whether Lord Wellington's last campaign had, or had not, bettered the situation of England in the Peninsula; and, if it was found that it had not, if the last intelligence left him at his old ground; if he had been compelled to retreat to the spot whence he started at the commencement of the campaign; if the enemy had retaken all that he had acquired by his advance into Spain; if this was the case, the conclusion in my mind would have been, that, upon the whole, he had, by his deeds during the campaign, rendered his country no service at all, and, of course, merited, on *that* score, not a farthing of the public money.——The battle of Salamanca was glorious to the arms of England. I was amongst the loudest in praises of the General upon that occasion; but, in estimating that General's services to his country, I must take into view the *consequences* of that battle as well as the battle itself; and, if I find, that those consequences have not been beneficial; if I find that they have led to retreat and to great loss of lives; if I find that they have been injurious to the cause of the country; if I find that the advance and the retreat both taken together; if I find, that the campaign, *as a whole*, may be fairly considered as leaving the cause in a worse state than it was before, upon what ground am I to concur in a grant for *services* rendered by the man who has had the absolute command in that campaign?——*Mr. Whitbread*, who seems, upon this occasion, to have been very eager to stand in the front rank of the eulogists of Lord Wellington, observed, that as much glory was to be acquired by *retreats* as by advances, and he quoted some instances of French Generals having gained great *fame* in this way. He did not quote any instances where retreats had gained for *French* Generals either *money* or *titles.* No: he did not quote any instances of this sort: and yet, he should have done this to make his cases applicable to the question before him.——Besides, it is not the mere manner of conducting the retreat that we are talking of here: it is of the *necessity of retreating*; nor do we *blame* Lord Wellington for that necessity; we do not say that it was possible for him to foresee that such a necessity would arise: we are ready to give him credit for as much foresight as any man can be expected to possess; we cast *no blame*; all we say is, that, upon the whole, he has *failed* in this campaign, and, that, therefore, he ought not to be

rewarded.——When Mr. WHITBREAD (who really appears to have been qualified for *Secretary of War*) was comparing the merits of Lord Wellington's retreat with that of Massena, he seems to have forgotten the *length of time* which elapsed between the advance and the retreat of Massena: he seems to have forgotten how long the French General kept our army hemmed up within its lines at Lisbon, what enormous expenses he put us to for the support of that army, and what relief he obtained thereby to the French armies in Spain. Massena retired to the spot from which he had started; but he was there ready to give battle; he did give battle; and, in fact, the whole of his campaign was a very glorious one. Yet, he got *no money* and *no title*. He got *no thanks* even. Buonaparté is poor. The French nation are either without means; or, they have not such liberal rulers as we have.—— It happens rather importunely for the advocates of this grant, that, at the very same time, they are representing the retreat of Buonaparté as *a proof complete* of his *failure*. Yet, he began his campaign in *Poland*; he has (as far as we know) retreated over only *a part* of his ground; if he reaches Poland, he will then have cut off a limb of the Russian Empire equal in population to one half of Spain; he will have done this during his campaign; and yet have the hired writers the impudence to represent *his* retreat as proof of *failure* and as a mark of *indelible disgrace*, while they represent the retreat of Lord Wellington as entitled to praise and reward. They tell us, they tell this thinking, this "*most thinking* people," that the retreat of Napoleon is a proof of failure; that it is a mark of disgrace; that it must tarnish his fame; that it must for ever rob him of the confidence of his soldiers; and, at the same moment, in the same news-paper, and in the very same column, they have the impudence to tell us, that the retreating of Lord Wellington, so far from diminishing his merit, constitutes a great augmentation of that merit; that it is a proof of his skill, his prudence, his talents as a general, and must give fresh confidence to his troops as well as to our allies the Spaniards. Curious indeed is the scene before us. On Monday, all the day of Monday, you heard in the city, on the Change, in the streets, in the shops, in every hole and corner, you heard the retreat of Napoleon from the Capital of Russia spoken of as a proof of every thing adverse to his reputation and his cause; and, in the evening of the same day, you heard the House of Commons vote lands to the amount of 100,000l. to Lord Wellington, who had just retreated from the Capital of Spain. Observe, too, that Napoleon's retreat was occasioned by an event of the most tremendous nature; an event which no being with a human heart in his bosom could have anticipated; an event no more to be guarded against than an earthquake or a storm at sea. There was no such event occurred at Madrid. The French, though we say they are abhorred by the people of Madrid, did not set fire to that city and destroy its inhabitants rather than suffer them to afford shelter to the English. The French did not act thus even by *enemies*; King Joseph did not thus sacrifice people, who, as we are told, detest him. Therefore, Lord Wellington had not to meet such an event as it fell to the lot of Napoleon to face. Madrid was found what it must have been expected to be. Yet, we praise Lord Wellington for his campaign; we extol him to the skies; we reward him with titles and estates; and all this we do at the very moment that we are affecting to treat even with *ridicule* the campaign of the Emperor of France.—Again: We are told, that the people of Spain are devotedly *our friends*. Lord Wellington had, then, a *friendly country* to advance into; every door was open to him whether advancing or retreating; all the resources of the country the people were ready to lavish on him; they, we were told, were in ecstasies of joy at being *delivered* from the French; every arm, we were told, was lifted for the assistance of the English army. Just the reverse of all this was said to exist in the case of the Emperor of France; and yet, oh! "*most thinking* people" as we are, we affect to speak *contemptuously* of his campaign, while we heap *rewards* upon Ld. Wellington for his! —The campaign, and, indeed, the life, of the Emperor of France, may, by this time, possibly be closed; but, speaking of that campaign as far as we have any information regarding it, it leaves a quarter part, and the best quarter, of the Russian Empire, in the hands of Napoleon. Not so; not any thing like this the campaign of Ld. Wellington, which leaves in our hands (as far as our intelligence goes) not one inch of territory that we did not before possess; yet, we give rewards to the latter, while we affect to believe, that the campaign of the former will, at the least, wholly deprive him of his military reputation, if not of his

crown and his life!—Verily, we are a "*most thinking* people!"—Mr. WHITBREAD, said, in concurrence with Lord Castlereagh, that Lord Wellington had beaten Massena, Soult, Ney, Victor, and Marmont. I do not recollect the instances in which he beat *any one but the latter*.—That, however, would be sufficient to satisfy me, if he had *held his ground*; but I cannot, and I never will, consider that as a *victory*, which is almost immediately followed by *a retreat*.—With regard to the siege of Burgos, it was, according to Mr. Whitbread, unsuccessful, not because the attack was injudicious, but because *the defence was so good!* Why, this is a most comprehensive justification for a failure, for it will apply to battles in the field full as well as to sieges of fortresses. When a general is beaten at any future time, we have only to say, that it was not owing to his not planning and fighting well, but to the *good planning and fighting of the enemy*:—and thus are we at all times, and under all circumstances, secure from even the chance of disgrace.—It was said, upon this occasion, by Lord Castlereagh, that Lord Wellington's career had been "one continued "series of victories, unchequered with any "reverses, *except retreats*, which were as "honourable to him as the proudest victories."—This sweeping assertion invites us to a general view of our affairs in the Peninsula, where Lord Wellington has had the Chief command for *four years*, and yet, where there is even now scarcely a single British Soldier beyond the confines of Portugal. If we have spent four years in gaining victories, and in retreats as glorious as victories, and if we have, with all this, made so little progress, how long is it to be before we shall see an end to this Peninsular war? If four years of victories, which have cost us about 70 or 80 millions of money, set our army only on the confines of Spain, what is to be the time and what the money required for the obtaining of ultimate success?—And, what a prospect does this assertion of the minister hold out to this "*most thinking people?*"—Lord CASTLEREAGH said, that Lord Wellington had had money voted him by the Spanish Government, and that he had *refused to accept of it*, a refusal which he very much applauded. I do not see any reason for this applause, especially as he has not refused the title of *Duke* conferred on him by the Spaniards. If we are fighting the battles of Spain and Portugal, why should they be excused from contributing towards these grants and rewards? However, I do not blame the taste of Lord Wellington; for, I would really sooner have the property of the Manor of that name, than the chance of all the land of Spain which the French will leave to any sovereignty but their own. I may be deceived; but it still continues to be my first conviction, that, unless we adopt, and that very speedily, an entirely new principle whereon to carry on the war in the Peninsula, we shall never rescue it from the grasp of France.—Mr. CANNING made, in this debate, an observation, with the noticing of which, I shall conclude an article, which, perhaps, has too long detained the reader. He said, "Without going over the details of Lord Wel- "lington's services, he would call upon "the House to recollect how different "were the feelings of the country, both as "to its safety and military prowess, be- "fore the Noble Lord had commenced his "career on the Peninsula. He was still "young, and we might fairly hope for "many future glories and advantages in "the course of it. Before Lord Welling- "ton's career begun, *the country never en- "tertained the hope of driving the French "beyond the Tagus*, or the Douro. It was "not the Tagus, *but the Thames that we "then thought of defending*. To fortify our "coasts, and *flooding the country*, we then "looked to military measures to ensure "our safety.—How different is the pros- "pect now!" Why, Mr. Canning, the prospect, to short-sighted people, is, indeed, widely different; but, to those who see a little beyond the present moment, it is not so materially changed even in a military point of view, though you will please to observe, that this description of persons never thought of defending England by *flooding* or by *fortifications*, or by *barracks*. Those who reflect a little, see that we have exhausted ourselves by keeping only a part of the armies of France at bay; they see, that, in a vain attempt to force commerce, we have got into a war with America, which has ruined no small part of our manufacturers, planters, and ship-owners; they see, that, for the present, the maritime efforts of Napoleon are suspended, but that they may, and, in all probability, will be resumed, unless he himself be overthrown; they see, that, in four years, we have gained very little ground in the Peninsula; they see, that, *if he should, aye, if he should*, finally succeed in the North, our prospect will be infinitely more gloomy than ever; and, in short, they see, that we are in a state which

presents very little of hope, and a great deal to fear. In my view of the matter, nothing can be more unwise than to hold forth the notion, that the safety of England depends, in any degree, upon the result of the war in Spain and Portugal; for, if that were the case, what would be the feeling of the people here, in case of a total failure in that war? That that war would have been ended long ago, if Napoleon had not been bent upon his objects in the North, no one can, for a moment, doubt. One half of the French army which has marched against Russia, would have put an end to the Peninsular war a year ago; and, if that army, by any means, should return to the South of Europe, why is not the same effect still to follow? In answer to this, I shall, perhaps, be told, that the French army in the North is *totally destroyed*; that it is *annihilated*: and just so were we told, only three months, three short months ago, with regard to the French armies in Spain. We were told, that they were totally broken up; that their scattered remains were collecting in order to *escape*, if possible, to France. The public will hardly have forgotten this; and yet, we now find, that, so far from those armies having been annihilated, they have rallied in sufficient force to make those who were said to have annihilated them resign all their conquests, and retreat over the ground on which they had advanced. With these facts before our eyes, can we so readily believe in every story we hear of the annihilation of French armies? Can we be persuaded to believe, that it is quite certain that final success must attend us in the Peninsula? I say, *final* success; because, it is by the *end*, that I, for my part, am resolved to judge. It is useless for Lord Castlereagh to tell us about his *four years of victories*, if we, in the end, are compelled to suffer the French to remain master of Spain and Portugal, or even of Spain. If we fail *in the end*, the failure will be greater and more mischievous than if we had failed at the beginning; and the reason of this is as plain as it would be in the case of a gamester, who should persevere till he had lost a hundred bets instead of leaving off with his first loss. If we should fail *in the end*, there will be all the dangers to us from *without* which the possession of the Peninsula by the French presents, and, in addition to them, all the dangers and miseries which the expenses of that war will have created *within*. If we should *finally* fail in that war, what an account will there then be to settle with those who have promoted it and urged its extension? They never seem to think of this; they appear to look upon failure as impossible. They, in fact, do not appear to reflect at all, but to be hurried on by a sort of senseless dread of Napoleon, without any regard to what may probably happen even before the end of a year. To me it has long appeared plain, that the war in the Peninsula was, upon our principle, an unwise measure, and every day serves to strengthen this opinion, which I distinctly state; because, if I am wrong in my opinions, I by no means wish to disguise the fact from the public. As to the military merits of Lord Wellington, those who have served with him say they are great. I do not dispute the fact. I take it for granted. All I say is, that he appears to me not to have been successful in this campaign, and, therefore, I would have voted against the grant.

WM. COBBETT.

London, 11*th Dec.* 1812.

N. B. The Meeting at Winchester, which I had appointed to be held on the *first Saturday in December*, was, by myself and the Gentlemen *who communicated with me on the subject*, agreed to be postponed till the *Meeting to petition for Peace* should take place. I am sorry to find, that other Gentlemen, who did not communicate with me, were, for want of notification, disappointed at not finding me at Winchester on Saturday last.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

(*Continued from page* 725.)

whole army approached our positions on the Tormes, and they attacked the troops in Alba with 20 pieces of cannon and a considerable body of infantry. They made no impression on them, however, and withdrew the cannon and the greater part of the troops on that night; and this attack was never renewed.——I enclose Lieut. Gen. Hamilton's report to Sir R. Hill of the transactions at Alba, which were highly creditable to the troops employed. From the 10th till the 14th the time was passed in various reconnoissances, as well of the fords of the Tormes as of the position which the troops under my command occupied on the right of that river, in front of Salamanca; and on the 14th the enemy crossed that river in force, at three fords near Lucinas, about two leagues above Alba.——I immediately broke up from St. Christoval, and ordered the troops to move towards Arapiles; and, as soon as I had ascertained the direction of the enemy's march from the fords, I moved with the 2d division of infantry, and all the cavalry

I could collect, to attack them; leaving Lieut. Gen. Sir R. Hill, with the 4th, and Lieut. Gen. Hamilton's divisions, in front of Alba, to protect this movement, and the 3d division in reserve on the Arapiles, to secure the possession of that position.——The enemy, however, were already too numerous, and too strongly posted at Mozarbes, to be attacked; and I confined myself to a cannonade of their cavalry, under cover of which I reconnoitred their position ——In the evening I withdrew all the troops from the neighbourhood of Alba to the Arapiles, leaving a small Spanish garrison in the castle, and having destroyed the bridge. In the course of the night and following morning I moved the greatest part of the troops through Salamanca, and placed Lieut. Gen. Sir E. Paget with the 1st division of infantry on the right, at Aldea Tejada, in order to secure that passage for the troops over the Zunguen, in case the movements of the enemy on our right flank should render it necessary for me to make choice either of giving up my communication with Ciudad Rodrigo or Salamanca ——On the 15th, in the morning, I found the enemy fortifying their position at Mozarbes, which they had taken up the night before; at the same time that they were moving bodies of cavalry and infantry towards their own left, and to our communications with Cuidad Rodrigo It was obvious that it was the enemy's intention to act upon our communications: and as they were too strong, and too strongly posted, for me to think of attacking them, I determined to move upon Cuidad Rodrigo. I therefore put the army in march in three columns, and crossed the Zunguen, and then passed the enemy's left flank, and encamped that night on the Vamusa. We continued our march successively on the 16th, 17th, 18th, and this day, when part of the army crossed the Agueda, and the whole will cross that river to-morrow.——The enemy followed our movement on the 16th with a large body, probably the whole of the cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry, but they did not attempt to press upon our rear. They took advantage of the ground to cannonade our rear guard, consisting of the light division, under Major Gen. C. Alten, on the 17th, on its passage of the Huebra at San Munoz, and occasioned some loss.——The troops have suffered considerably from the severity of the weather, which, since the 15th, has been worse than I have ever known it at this season of the year.——I am sorry to add, that we have had the misfortune to lose Lieut. Gen. Sir Edw. Pagel, who was taken prisoner on the 17th. He commanded the centre column; and the fall of rain having greatly injured the roads and swelled the rivulets, there was an interval between the 5th and 7th divisions of infantry. Sir Edward rode to the rear alone, to discover the cause of this interval, and, as the road passed through a wood, either a detachment of the enemy's cavalry had got upon the road, or he missed the road and fell into their hands in the wood. I understand that Sir Edward was not wounded, but I cannot sufficiently regret the loss of his assistance at this moment.——In my dispatch of the 7th inst. I communicated to your Lordship my opinion of the strength of the enemy, as far as I could judge of it from the reports I had received, and from what I had seen. I have since learnt that Gen. Caffarelli, with the army of the North, certainly remained joined with the army of Portugal. Joseph Buonaparte left Madrid on the 4th inst and arrived at Penaranda on the 8th, leaving at Madrid the Civil Authorities of his Government, and a small garrison. These Authorities and troops evacuated Madrid on the 7th, and marched for Castile; and Col. Don Juan Palarea, the Medico, took possession of that city ——Your Lordship will have seen General Ballasteros's Letter of the 24th of October, to the Regency, from which you will observe, that he had disobeyed the orders of the Government, given to him at my suggestion, to march his troops into La Mancha, and hang upon the enemy's left flank, because the Regency and Cortes had offered me the chief command of the Spanish armies.——The whole of the enemy's disposable force in Spain was, therefore, upon the Tormes in the middle of this month; and they were certainly not less than 80,000 men, but more probably 90,000, of these 10,000 were cavalry; and as the army of Portugal alone had 100 pieces of cannon, it is probable that they had not less in all the armies than 200 pieces.

(Enclosure, No 1)

Alba de Tormes, Nov. 11.

Sir,—I have the honour to report the steps I have taken to carry into effect your instructions for the defence of this place, which, I am happy to say, have obliged the enemy to withdraw the greatest part of the force opposed to us; and I feel almost confident we shall be able to retain our position as long as you may deem expedient.——I yesterday garrisoned and provisioned the castle, and, by the exertions of Capt. Gold-

finch, of the engineers, it is put into as good a state as circumstances will admit; he is continuing strengthening it. Capt. Goldfinch has been of great assistance to me. ——I have appropriated to each regiment a district of this town, and the commanding officer has barricaded the streets and buildings in a very judicious manner. Brigadiers Da Costa and Campbell's brigades are in our position on the left bank of the Tormes. Brig. Campbell reports his having caused the enemy some loss, in their attempt to pass a ford near his position.—— Lieut. Col. Tulloh has made so good an arrangement of his two brigades of guns, that, united with the position of the two brigades of infantry on the left bank of the Tormes, I consider my flanks secure.—— Early yesterday morning Major-Gen. Long, commanding the cavalry in front, reported that the enemy were advancing in great force; I was, therefore, induced to retire the cavalry.——About 10 o'clock the enemy appeared on the heights in considerable force of cavalry and a few infantry, covering, as I conceived, a reconnoissance of several officers of rank. About two o'clock the enemy's force was increased to 15 squadrons, and 6,000 infantry, and 20 guns, including six 6-inch howitzers, which immediately commenced firing, and continued until it was dark. The enemy's light troops advanced close to the walls we had hastily thrown up; but from the cool and steady conduct of the 51st regiment, Col. Stewart; 71st regiment, the Hon. Col. Cadogan; the 92d, Col. Cameron, Gen. Howard's brigade, the enemy dare not attempt the town.——About eight o'clock in the evening, I was repeatedly informed that the enemy's infantry was considerably increasing, which induced me to order three battalions of Brigadier Da Costa's brigade into town, leaving his other battalion for the protection of the fords. The enemy, during the night, withdrew their artillery, and I have left a small force of cavalry and infantry, who keep up a smart fire. I have to regret the loss of a considerable number of men, but which I trust you will not deem great, when you consider the heavy and incessant fire of artillery for so many hours. The loss of the Portuguese was while on duty this morning, and I have real pleasure in reporting their steady and animated conduct.——I feel much indebted to Major-Gen. Howard, who rendered me every possible assistance, as also to every officer and soldier of his excellent brigade, for their steady, zealous, and soldier-like conduct.——To Capt. Pinto Savedra, my Assistant-Adjutant-General; to Capt. Watson, Light Dragoons, Assistant-Quarter-Master-General; and to Capt. Bunbury, my Aid-de-Camp, I consider myself obliged, for their prompt execution of my orders. ——I enclose a return of the killed and wounded, and trust we shall not have many more casualties.——I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) JOHN HAMILTON, Lieut. Gen.

Lieut. Gen. Sir Rowland Hill.

Return of killed and wounded of the Army under the command of the Marquis of Wellington, K. B. in an affair at Alba de Tormes, on the 10th and 11th November.

Total British loss.—13 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 52 rank and file wounded.

Total Portuguese loss.—8 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 33 rank and file wounded.

Grand total.—21 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 85 rank and file wounded.

Names of the Officers wounded. British—92d Foot, Lieutenant A. Hill, severely.

Portuguese.—2d Regiment of the Line, Capt. Rezinde, slightly. Lieut. Pinto, dangerously.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing in the movements of the army under the command of his Excellency General the Marquis of Wellington, K. B. from the 22d to the 29th of October, 1812, inclusive.

Total Portuguese loss.—4 serjeants, 2 drummers, 32 rank and file killed; 1 Major, 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 9 serjeants, 1 drummer, 125 rank and file wounded; 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 14 rank and file, missing.

Total British loss.—2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 10 serjeants, 75 rank and file, 74 horses, killed; 3 Lieut.-Colonels, 1 Major, 4 Captains, 20 Lieutenants, 6 Ensigns, 26 serjeants, 2 drummers, 314 rank and file, 65 horses, wounded; 1 Lieut.-Colonel, 1 Major, 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 10 serjeants, 1 drummer, 207 rank and file, 59 horses, missing.

General total of British and Portuguese loss. —2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 14 serjeants, 2 drummers, 107 rank and file, 74 horses, killed; 3 Lieut.-Colonels, 2 Majors, 6 Captains, 23 Lieutenants, 10 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 35 serjeants, 3 drummers, 439 rank and file, 65 horses, wounded; 1 Lieut.-Colonel, 1 Major, 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 12 serjeants, 2 drummers, 221 rank and file, 59 horses, missing.

KILLED, 25th Oct.—Capt. Todd, 38th Foot, 1st Bat.; Lieut. Lennon, 44th Foot, 2d Bat.; Capt. Sternfeldt, and Lieut. Hartwig, of the Brunswick Light Infantry.

WOUNDED, 23d Oct.—Lieuts. Lye and Khipe, 11th Light Dragoons; Lieut. Taylor, 12th ditto; Capt. Murray, Lieut. Lockhart (since dead), 16th ditto; Major Meydell and Lieuts. Decken and Phibbs, 1st Dragoons, K. G. L.; Lieut. Hugo and Cornet De Massan, 2d ditto.

Oct. 25th, Lieut. Johnstone, Artillery. Lieut. Col. Piper, 4th Foot, 1st Batt. slightly; Lieut. Edgell, ditto, severely. Lieuts. Ackland, Taylor, Hon. W. Curzon, Ford, 9th Foot, 1st Batt.

severely; and Ross Lewin, slightly. Capt. Hitchins, Lieuts. Andrews, slightly, and [illegible]ley, 30th Foot, 2d Batt. severely; Lieut. [illegible], Ensigns Beere and Tincombe, ditto, slightly; Madden, ditto, severely. Lieut.-Col. Harding, 44th Foot, 2d Batt. slightly; Lieut. Elwis, ditto, dangerously; Ensign Smith, ditto, severely. Capt. Nassau, Brunswick Oels; Ensign [illegible] de Moneado, 3d, Portuguese Regiment of the Line; Major Hill, slightly; Capt. Western, severely; Capt. Manoel Castin, slightly; Lieuts. Antonio Carlos and Joao Baptist, severely; Lt. Domingo Footenba, slightly; Ensigns Joao dos Santos, Joao Sebastiano, and Ridrigo Navarre, and Adjutant Leech, severely; 8th Cacadores.

27th October.—Lieut.-Col. Rope, Royal Artillery, severely, not dangerously.

28th October.—Lieut. [illegible], [illegible] Foot, severely, arm amputated.

MISSING.—Lieut.-Col. Pelly, and Lieut. Baker, 16th Light Dragoons. Major Fischer, 1st Dragoons, K. G. L. Captain Lenthe, Cornet Droege, and Cornet Schaeffer, 2d Dragoons, K. G. L.

25th October.—Lieut. Whitley, 9th Foot, 1st Batt.; and Brevet Major Evans, 38th Foot, 1st Batt.

S. A. GOODMAN, D. A. A. Gen.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Tuesday, Dec. 8.

St. Petersburgh, Nov. 11, 1812.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that Buonaparté has escaped from the Government of Moscow, and has followed the road to Smolensko by which he came.——Generals Count Platow and Count Orloff Denizoff have been incessantly in his rear, and on both flanks of his line of march; the former attacked a position defended by infantry and cannon, which he carried, taking two colours, twenty-two pieces of artillery, and such prisoners as could be saved. Count Orloff Denizoff has likewise met with resistance which he has every where overpowered, and has taken many trophies, and quantities of baggage, ammunition waggons, with prisoners, and some ordnance.——From the quantities of ammunition blown up by the enemy, and from the state of the road, described to be covered with the bodies of dead men, and horses, the retreat of the rear divisions of the French is stated to have every character of continued flight.——On the 3d of November, General Millaradovitch, with the column under his command, reached the main road near Viasma, where he had a sharp engagement with the rear-guard, which is reported by the prisoners to have been composed of the divisions of Beauharnois, of Davoust, and Ney; their divisions in vain attempted to arrest his progress, and, after several brilliant charges by the Russian cavalry, were driven through the town of Viasma at the point of the bayonet, and pursued to Erenina by the light cavalry under General Platow: in this attack the infantry regiment of Pernoff, led by its Colonel, General Tchoglokoff, and by Major-General Parkivitch, formed the head of the column, and charged into the town with drums beating and colours flying.——The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded in this affair is stated to be at least six thousand, with two thousand five hundred prisoners, among which are General Peltier, of the artillery, and Colonel Morat, Aid-de-Camp to Marshal Davoust.——In the course of the pursuit from Viasma, great numbers of the enemy were killed, one standard and three pieces of cannon were taken, and upwards of one thousand men made prisoners.——In the former part of the retreat, Ramusé, Secretary to the Duke of Bassano, was taken, with all the Chancery.——Referring to the relations which have been regularly transmitted for more minute details of the several actions, I will briefly recapitulate the few great movements which have taken place since the arrival of the French at Moscow.——Marshal Kutusow continued in his position behind the river Pokhra till the 28th October, covering the old road to Kalouga, the Toula and Rezan roads; but having made occasional movements on the same line, according as the enemy's operations appeared to point to either flank.——In the mean while, the enemy, by his own 20th Bulletin, and by his conduct, seems to have been for some time uncertain of the position of the Russian army. As soon as it was ascertained, a considerable portion of the army under Murat occupied the intermediate country between Moscow and the Pokhra.——It was presumed that the French, having it in their power to bring forward their whole force to either flank of Murat's position, would endeavour to manœuvre so as to induce Marshal Kutusow to retire behind the Oka, in order to procure a more extensive theatre of ground, with the convenience of moving either on Kalouga or Smolensko; to avoid which, and with a view to preserve a more certain conveyance for provisions and reinforcements from the south, and at the same time to hold the command of the Smolensko road, the Russian army began its march to occupy the position behind the river Nara, changing its front to the right, upon or parallel to the old Kalouga road.

——This position, strong in itself, and strengthened by art, was not likely to be attacked in front; but it was of course foreseen, that if it were to be attacked, a previous disposition must be made by the enemy on the new Kalouga road, to turn the left and rear of this position, and the Marshal professed his readiness to meet the enemy upon that ground.——The movement was completed on the 3d of October; on the 4th of Oct. a smart affair of advanced guard took place with most decisive success on the side of the Russians, which was followed on the 5th of Oct. by the flag of truce sent by Buonaparté, with an overture to obtain an armistice, and to open a negociation, which was rejected.——At this period several considerable detachments were made to harass the enemy, which appear to have been conducted with equal skill and success: the most important of these was the one against Verrea, which place was taken by assault on the 14th of October.——On the 16th of October, several regiments of Cossacks having arrived, it was proposed to attack Murat; the attack did not take place till the 18th of October.——The enemy after this affair, of which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship a report in my dispatch, retreated behind the little river Moza.——Buonaparté was not heard of out of Moscow or its vicinity till after this period.——The only detachment of any importance made by the French in a northern direction, was the one stationed at Demetrioff, which was recalled in great haste, as soon as the evacuation of Moscow was determined on. The Russians occupied the latter city on the 22d of October, with the loss of Lieutenant-General Winzingerode, most treacherously carried off, with his Aid-de-Camp, Captain Narishkin, while advanced with a flag of truce to remonstrate against a protracted and unnecessary resistance on the part of the rear-guard.——On the 24th of October, the French army was reconnoitred by an officer of Cossacks belonging to the corps of Moscow, who saw four camps, one on the new Kalouga road near Borofsk, and three on the left bank of the Protya.——In the night of the 24th of October, General Dorocoff was ordered to occupy Mala-Jaroslaff, a post-town on the new Kalouga road, between Borofsk and that place; that General already found it occupied in force by a French detachment; a very obstinate contest immediately took place, in the course of which the troops on both sides were reinforced, and the town was taken and retaken eleven times. The Marshal, in the mean while, put his army in motion by the left, and arrived at Mala-Jaroslaff, establishing his head-quarters two wersts to the southward of that town, which was burned, and detaching a considerable corps under General Platow, to Medina, on his left, where he took eleven pieces of cannon, and left the ground covered with dead.——The obstinacy of this contest for Mala-Jaroslaff, with other circumstances, tended to confirm the Field-Marshal's opinion, that the object of the enemy was to force a passage to the Southern Provinces; and although there were also strong grounds to believe that he was prepared to attempt a retreat upon Smolensko, and by Wilna to the Niemen, yet the Marshal deemed it necessary to direct his principal attention to the roads pointing to the southward; and, with a view to obtain more complete command of them, retired to a position within 40 wersts of Kalouga, near Gorki. Finding that the enemy were moving, by Verrea, on Mojaisk, he again advanced upon Medina, and having received intelligence that the French head-quarters were, on the 30th of October, at Coloki, a monastery not far from Borodino, he formed his disposition to attempt to intercept him near Smolensko. ——Platow and the Cossacks having been detached for the purpose of harassing and surrounding the enemy, Marshal Kutusow reinforced General Millaradovitch's corps to upwards of 18,000 men, and directing him to march by his left towards Viasma, the Marshal himself proceeded by Spaskoi and Celinka, in a parallel direction to that allotted to General Millaradovitch; the main road forming an arch, these parallel lines of march were shorter, but exposed to greater difficulties, the roads being less practicable.——The head of General Millaradovitch's column reached the main road first, near Viasma; the head-quarters of Marshal Kutosow were established at the village of Bikovol, a little to the southward of Viasma.——In regard to the French army, it appears by the papers of a Commissary-General, who was made prisoner, that they victualled one hundred and twenty thousand men, but that their efficient force was reduced to eighty-five thousand, at the period of the evacuation of Moscow, and that Buonaparté had contracted with a company of Jews for a supply of provisions in the line of his retreat. His guards, and some select corps, have been nursed with peculiar care, and kept as much as possible out of action, and these corps appear

to have preceded the retreat of the remaining troops.——It is reported that Buonaparté travels in a coach, accompanied by Murat, who has received a contusion in his knee, and Berthier.——It is hardly to be conceived that this rear-guard at least can continue its march without halting, in which case, with the assistance of the light troops, the Russian army will be enabled to overtake them. They have before them the gallant and active Count Wittgenstein, whose character for zeal and enterprise is so well-established; and they have also, on the Minsk road, to encounter Admiral Tchichagoff, with the Moldavian Army, which, it is to be hoped, may have time and notice either to unite with Count Wittgenstein to wait for them on the abovenamed road, or to move to either flank. ——Marshal Kutusow has sent out, among others, a considerable detachment, which was at Elnee, nearer to Smolensko, under Lieutenant-General Shepetoff, on the 1st of November, and which may have the means of interposing delay.——Thus the fruits of the incursions of the French to Moscow, at the expense of the lives of so many brave Officers and men, seem to have been limited to the burning and destruction of that city, and to the ruin and desolation of the inhabitants and proprietors near the great road, and in the vicinity of Moscow; while, on the other hand, it will, to the latest period of history, reflect lustre on the spirit and patriotism of the Russian Empire. ——The last accounts from Count Wittgenstein are dated the 3d November, at Tchasnik, two stages east of Lepel. After the affair of Polotzk, that General detached a corps to observe Mac Donald, whilst he sent General Steinheil on the road to Vilna, who, after having cut off the Bavarian corps from that of St. Cyr, and entirely dispersed it, with the loss of cannon and colours, joined Count Wittgenstein, who proceeded to attack the remainder of the French under the command of Legrand, Marshal St. Cyr having retired on account of his wound. This corps was reinforced by Marshal Victor at the head of fifteen thousand men, and, having taken post near Tchasnik, was there defeated on the 31st October by Count Wittgenstein, who considering the enemy's position a good one for himself, has continued to occupy it, detaching a corps to take possession of Witepst.——Admiral Tchichagoff's last dispatches of the 22d of October, from Breslitow, report the success of a detachment under General Tchaplitz, who, on the 20th of October, took the Polish General Konotkoff with the whole of the 3d regiment of Hulans, of the French guard. ——Prince Schwartzenberg had crossed the Bog, without giving the Admiral an opportunity of bringing him to action.—— Admiral Tchichagoff and Count Wittgenstein had reciprocally sent detachments to ascertain each other's position.——Sir Robert Wilson, with his usual activity, has been in every action, and has contrived to see every remarkable occurrence; his last dispatches are dated at Viasma, the 4th of November; his accounts tally with the Official Bulletins, which have been published here. —— Lord Tyrconnel has joined Admiral Tchichagoff, by whom he has been received with every possible attention; his letters, of the 22d of October, have been received by Sir Robert Wilson, at Viasma, and by myself. His Lordship speaks in high terms of the condition of all the corps of that army, which he had until then had the means of seeing.——Having obtained the Emperor's permission for Major-General Dornburg to serve as a volunteer in the army under General Count Wittgenstein, I have given to that General Officer instructions similar to those of Sir Robert Wilson and Lord Tyrconnel, and I expect by the next courier to have the pleasure of learning his safe arrival at the head-quarters of that army.——I have the honour to be, &c.

CATHCART.

Nov. 12.—It having been found impracticable to pass the Neva, the Messenger has been detained until this Morning. I have now the honour to enclose herein the report of the capture of Witepsk, by Gen. Count Wittgenstein, who has made prisoners the Commanding Officer of the enemy's forces there, General Count Pouget, and the Governor of the town, Colonel Chavondes. C.

BULLETIN.

St. Petersburgh, Nov. 11, 1812.

Witepsk is taken by Count de Wittgenstein. The General Count Pouget, who commanded the troops, is made prisoner, as well as Colonel Chavondes, the Commandant of the Town.

St. Petersburgh, Nov. 15.

My Lord,—I avail myself of the departure of a Spanish courier to acquaint your Lordship, that several Officers arrived here in the course of last night, dis-

patched from the head-quarters of Marshal Kutusow, at Elnee, on the 9th November. ——The Field-Marshal reports that the flight of the enemy continues with increased precipitation; and that the pursuit, by the several corps of the Russian army, has been constant, vigorous, and successful; a part only of the relation of the affairs which have taken place has, as yet been published; the remainder is in the press: the following are the most important particulars. ——On the 5th November General Milaradovitch reached a village forty verts from Viasma, on the road to Smolensko, in pursuit of the enemy. General Platow marched to the right of the road, to endeavour to reach the head of the column, while the main army moved on the left of it, under the Field-Marshal, towards Elnee.——Sir Robert Wilson describes the march on the main road as one which exhibited scenes of destruction without example in modern war, from the number of dead and dying men and carcasses of horses, many of them cut up for food; peasants' houses every where on fire, ammunition carriages blowing up, and quantities of wreck of every description.——It may be observed that the frost is set in, and is stated to have been from 10 to 15 degrees.*——The effect of famine, fatigue, and cold upon a flying army, through a country full of exasperated peasants, may be easily understood.——In the course of this march the Cossacks took standards from the Hulans of the Imperial guard, who are left behind with the army now retreating, and the enemy also abandoned a howitzer. ——On the morning of the 7th November, General Millaradovitch entered Dorogobugsh. The enemy attempted some resistance, but was driven from his advantageous position by the Russian chasseurs, with the loss of 300 men taken prisoners, exclusive of the sick and wounded. In this attack, and on the preceding day, one howitzer and three guns were taken, and upwards of 140 ammunition waggons. The number killed at this place must have been very great, but I have not yet heard it estimated. Two Russian officers of note were retaken on this occasion. The enemy are described to be in a state of much insubordination, and it was understood that their march is directed upon Smolensko. ——On the 9th of November, Marshal Kutusow had arrived at Elnee, where he received a report from General Platow, of his having overtaken four divisions of the French army, under the command of Beauharnois, upon the road from Dorogobugsh to Doughovtchstchina.——That General states, that the Cossacks charged through this body, dividing it into two parts, with great slaughter and the capture of sixty-two pieces of ordnance, which had been already brought in and counted, and some standards; many plans and papers of consequence, and upwards of 3,000 prisoners, among which, as well as among the killed, are many Officers of rank and distinction.——Part of the remains of this corps fled in the direction of Dorogobugsh, and the other part, in the direction of Doughovtchstchina, closely pursued by the Cossacks and light cavalry.——General Sanson, Quarter-Master-General of the whole French army, was taken, with 500 men of different ranks, upon the right flank of General Platow, near Doughovtchstchina. ——Major-General Kutosow, who has been intrusted with the command of the corps lately under the orders of General Winzingerode, had, by extraordinary forced marches, reached the main army with his cavalry.——An officer has been intercepted with letters from Beauharnois, which will be published to-morrow, and which will afford indelible proof of the state in which Buonaparté has left this part of his army. These letters are addressed to Berthier.——It does not appear that the march of the French Guards, and of the 1st division has been effected without great loss, many of their bodies having been found on the road.——Field-Marshal Kutusow intended to continue his march upon Krasnoy, two stages beyond Smolensko, leaving that town upon his right hand, and intersecting the communications towards Mohiloff.——I have not heard that it is ascertained where Buonaparté himself was on the 9th of November.——The first Bulletin, containing General Platow's Report, is herewith enclosed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CATHCART.

Twenty-eighth Bulletin of the French Grand Army.

Smolensko, Nov. 11.

The Imperial head-quarters were, on the 1st of November, at Viasma; and on the 9th, at Smolensko. The weather was very fine up to the 6th, but on the 7th

* Reaumur.

winter began. The ground is covered with snow. The roads have become very slippery and very difficult for carriage horses. We have lost many men by cold and fatigue; night bivouacings are very injurious to them.——Since the battle of Malocaroslawitz, the advanced guard has seen no other enemy than the Cossacks, who, like the Arabs, hover upon the flanks, and fly about, to annoy.——On the 2d, at two in the afternoon, 12,000 Russian infantry, covered by a cloud of Cossacks, intercepted the communication, a league distance from Viasma, between the Prince of Eckmuhl and the Viceroy. The Prince of Eckmuhl and the Viceroy marched upon this column, drove it from the road, and overthrew it in the wood, took a Major-General, with a good number of prisoners, and carried off six pieces of cannon; since that time we have not again seen the Russian infantry, but only Cossacks.——Since the bad weather, from the 6th, we have lost more than 3,000 carriage horses, and nearly 100 caissons have been destroyed.——General Wittgenstein having been reinforced by the Russian division from Finland, and by a great number of troops from the militia, attacked, on the 18th of October, Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr; he was repulsed by that Marshal and General Wrede, who took more than 3,000 prisoners, and covered the field of battle with his dead.——On the 20th inst. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr having been informed that Marshal the Duke of Belluno, with the 9th corps, was marching to reinforce him, repassed the Dwina, and marched to meet him, in order, on having effected a junction with him, to fight Wittgenstein, and oblige him to repass the Dwina. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr bestows the highest eulogiums upon his troops.——The Swiss division distinguished itself by its *sang froid* and bravery. Colonel Guchenew, of the 26th Regiment of Light Infantry, was wounded; Marshal St. Cyr received a ball in the foot; Marshal the Duke of Reggio has arrived to replace him, and retaken the command of the 2d corps.——The health of the Emperor has never been better.

Report of Monsieur the Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr to His Highness the Prince Major-General.

October 20.

By my last, of the 17th inst., I informed your Highness, that the 2d corps would probably be attacked on the following day by all the forces united, under the orders of Count de Wittgenstein. I have spoke to you of the reinforcements which he had received from St. Petersburgh, and which amounted to 17,000 men, including in this number 6 or 8,000 men which had been scraped together in St. Petersburgh and its environs. He has further received the 21st division, which was fresh arrived from Finland; one part of this division only has had an engagement in an affair against the Prussians. They formed a junction with the troops under Wittgenstein, at Disna, on the 16th, at the moment when he had dislodged the post which I had placed there. On the 18th, at six o'clock in the morning, M. de Wittgenstein debouched before Polotsk, in four columns, and extending his troops past my position, and profiting by the enormous superiority of which he was possessed, to take the reverse, and, without any danger, make himself master of the position which I had occupied on the left bank of the Polota, in the face of that which he had before occupied on the Drissa. His first serious attack was made against a battery (a barbette), which I had caused to be established in an advantageous position, and which it was necessary, at any rate, to occupy, in order not to expose to the enemy the weakest part of my position; that is to say, the front of the town, which offered no other difficulty than a palanka, the front of which I had covered; but which not being yet finished, was every where open, and principally at the two little bastions which were to support it; but were as yet scarcely marked out. I, nevertheless, brought some pieces of cannon there, which did us service. The battery de la Thuillerie was taken and retaken three or four times. It was defended by the troops of the 8th division, commanded by the General of Division Maison.—The defence of this front of the attack does him infinite honour, as likewise to the corps charged with its defence; that is to say, the 2d and 37th of the line, and the 11th of light infantry; as likewise two squadrons of the 14th regiment of cuirassiers, commanded by M. Remberg; two squadrons of the light troops of the 8th lancers and 20th chasseurs, commanded by the Chef d'Escadron Curel, who led the right of the 8th division, and whose conduct in all the charges which he received or made against forces so disproportionate as theirs, merits the greatest eulogiums. The enemy deployed another of his co-

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the Courier:—"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "*fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "*sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects, that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England, that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

REGENCY.—On the 9th instant, Sir Francis Burdett gave notice in the House of Commons, that, after the recess, he should bring forward a motion for the introduction of a bill, the object of which should be, to provide, that the Regency should devolve on the *Princess Charlotte of Wales*, in case the Prince Regent should die while his father continued in his present state of incapacity to govern.——On this proposition, which so many circumstances concur to render proper, I should have said nothing at present, had it not been for an article, which, the day after the making of the motion, was published in the Morning Post news-paper. That article, however, the sentiments of which were echoed in the Courier of the same day, and which sentiments are obviously those which the borough-mongers would wish to inculcate, calls aloud for animadversion.——The article was as follows:——"In speaking of "the tyranny of Buonaparté, we have frequently heard it advanced that a Despot "could not stand still, that a rotatory motion, like that of the spheres, was necessary to keep the body politic in its orbit, "and fix the prime central force in security; "and we have subscribed to the doctrine, "because we have seen that Buonaparté "had neither the means of rest or repose "within his circle of power. The same "remark applied to a Despot, may be applied to a Demagogue. It is not in his "power to be still; he cannot say, here I "am safe, and it is needless to go further; "an impulse more potent than his own "propels him, and he must advance, for "retreat is impossible.——Sir Francis "Burdett gave a melancholy example of "this in the House of Commons last night, "when he gave notice of a motion (for in "motion he must be) to secure the Regency "of the Kingdom to the Princess Charlotte of Wales, in the event of the decease of the Prince Regent before the "King.——It would be to *abuse common-sense*, to *offer a hint* at the motives "which could induce any Member of the "British Parliament to bring forward such "a proposition. *Causelessly* to *disturb the country, needlessly* to *agitate the minds of men*, to introduce (if possible) *confusion* "and *disunion*, are so *obviously its features*, that while we name them, it is "only to express our pity and contempt of "the weakness that could think the means "efficient for the purpose. We have no "doubt but the propriety, the indignation "of Parliament will quash so despicable "an attempt in its bud. The *distinguished few* may make their *inflammatory speeches*, "and endeavour to *disseminate their base poisons*, but the understanding of the "country is too good to suffer such miserable efforts to pass without a record of "abhorrence for their motives, though allied to compassion for the weakness of "their force. For the present we shall "not enter at large into the movement of "this malignant theme;—suffice it to say, "that neither the time, nor the circumstances of our situation, nor the nature of "things, *nor the calculation of human probability*, call in the slightest degree "for the discussion of this measure. For "what, then, is it stirred, beyond keeping "alive the name of the Pride of the Westminster Junta, who can so well appreciate the military merits of a Wellington, to try if it is within the abilities "of the vilest faction that ever overstepped "the license of freedom in a free country, "and by their actions proved how far that "which is our greatest blessing can be "converted into our curse?—The *subject is of too delicate a nature to admit of premature consideration;* we shall content ourselves with directing the attention "of the *honest* and the *loyal* part of the "community to *the treacherous design*, and "leave it to those who have more authority "than ourselves *to stifle it by manly resistance*. The snake, scotched last session, "is yet swelling with venom, and, though "insignificant in itself, is yet to be guarded against, as the *spreading of its venom* "is injurious to the wholesome body of the "State."——It is not much more than a month since this same news-paper, follow-

ing the Morning Chronicle, asserted, that SIR FRANCIS BURDETT had resolved never again to enter the Houses of Parliament, and never again appear at a Public dinner. The Public have already seen the proof of the falsehood of these assertions; and, they will not be long before they will see the proof of as gross falsehood in the above paragraph. Easy as it was to suppose, that these hirelings would endeavour to attribute a bad motive to any act of this most formidable enemy of the whole tribe of hirelings, it really does strike one with astonishment that any body should be at once so foolish and so wicked as the author of this paragraph appears to be.——He sets out with saying, that it would be to *abuse common sense* to offer a *hint* at the motives of Sir Francis; and, the moment he has said that, he begins distinctly to assert what those motives are; and, having thus resolved to abuse common sense, he tells us that the motives are, to disturb the country, to agitate the minds of men, and to introduce *confusion* and *disunion!*——And does the reader believe, that these effects are to be produced by a timely and dispassionate discussion of the question of who ought to be Regent, in the event of the Prince's death? Does he believe, that the country will be *disturbed,* and that *confusion* and *disunion* will arise, from a proposition to settle the Regency of the Kingdom in the person of the undoubted heiress to the Throne, especially when it is considered, that, as it is said, the young Princess is endowed with extraordinary powers of mind for her age! Does the reader discover symptoms of *disloyalty* in a proposition like this?——The hireling talks of "inflammatory speeches," and "endeavours "to disseminate *base poison;*" and by what means? Why, truly, by proposing, that the heiress to the throne shall come into the Regency as a matter of course, without any delays and debates, in case of her Father's death. It is very hard to see how such a proposition should give rise to "inflammatory speeches," or how it should serve as the vehicle of "base poison."——This writer says that the measure is unnecessary, and that it is not within the calculation of human probability that it should become necessary. So, because we cannot calculate, with any degree of precision, how long the Prince will live, we are to make no provisions for the carrying on of the government in case of his death. The same argument might be urged against any man's making a will, and surely might have been urged against that very act of Parlia[illegible] which authorized, and which still au[illegible] izes, the King to make a will. Sir Fr[illegible] Burdett does not presume to say, that [illegible] Prince is going to die; he knows that [illegible] Prince may live a great number of years; but, he also knows, that he may die in a week's or a day's time; and, anxious as he has always shewn himself to be, to secure the Crown in the enjoyment of all its just rights and prerogatives, he wishes, [illegible] case of that event, to provide against a [illegible] currence of those interregnums which we have before seen take place. It is, besides, time that the people should begin to have their eyes fixed upon her who is to be their future Sovereign; it is time, that she should be introduced to her future people; and, therefore, it is proper that a proposition of this sort should be made and discussed.——We are told by this writer that the subject is of too *delicate* a nature to admit of premature discussion. But, in what way is it *too delicate!* I see nothing of great delicacy in it any more than in any other provision respecting a Regency. If, indeed, the Princess Charlotte were not the undoubted heiress to the Throne; if there were any other persons to dispute the title with her; if there were any apprehension of rivals of any sort; then, indeed, to agitate the question, though very necessary even in that case, might tend to create disunion; but, being, as she undoubtedly is, the only person in whose behalf, after her Father, any claim can be raised to the possession of the Throne, it is impossible, I think, for any one to believe, that disunion can be created in the country by the intended motion.——Yet has this hireling the audacity to charge Sir Francis with a "*treacherous design,*" and to call upon those "who have more *authority* than him- "self, to *stifle* it by *manly resistance.*" Who it is that he means here as being possessed of such authority, I cannot tell; but I am quite sure, that no such authority will be found to exist; and, indeed, it would be curious to hear any one in authority daring enough to attempt to stifle such a design. *Treacherous,* indeed! and towards *whom?* Towards the Crown it cannot be treacherous, because its necessary tendency is to inculcate in the minds of the people the doctrine of lineal succession. Towards the ministers and their master, it cannot be Treacherous, because it is openly avowed. It can, indeed, be Treacherous towards nobody; and it can be considered as hostile towards none but that oligarchy, whose in-

of the Crown and all the Royal Family as much as at upon its will. What England want but to see regal power clearly mark- all remember, the loud com- which were made only about two against the ministers for having, alleged, carried on the govern- a considerable length of time, y one to exercise the functions of ralty. And, ought not provision, there- to be made to prevent the recurrence reprobated state of things? Ought it provision to be made for the preventing a repetition of those scenes, which took place at the establishment of the present Regency? And ought an endeavour to effect such a provision to be represented as the "spreading of venom injurious to the wholesome body of the state?"——I do not say, that the discussion of this proposition may not give rise *to the agitation of matters of great delicacy*, deeply interesting to the Royal Parents of the Lady whose rights it is the principal object of the intended motion to secure. But, while I do not see the *necessity* of this; while I do not see its *necessity*, I am far from saying, and I am far from thinking, that such agitation would be, or could be, at all "injurious "to the wholesome body of the state;" seeing that, as it appears to me, the agitation of these matters, and that, too, with unlimited freedom, must take place sooner or later. The agitation of these matters has found its way into *print*. Out of print it cannot be put; the thing must make its appearance before the world; and the sooner it does so the better; because most of the parties, concerned in the matters in question, are now living; there are now the means of clearing up every thing to the satisfaction of the people and of the world; and in a few years, those means may no longer exist. Therefore, if even this consequence were to follow from the intended motion of Sir Francis Burdett, the motion would, in my opinion, be only rendered thereby the more proper.——These observations I should have considered premature, had it not been for the publication of the article, out of which they have arisen. The subject is one of extreme importance, and, in all its stages of discussion, I shall not fail, I hope, to give to it all the attention which it merits, as well on account of the person who has brought it forward as on that of the parties more immediately interested in it. I should, therefore, have carefully avoided expressing, at this time, any opinion at all upon the subject; but I trust the reader will be ready to acknowledge, that it was necessary to say thus much in answer to the malignant paragraph above quoted.

GERMAN TROOPS.——The reader will bear in mind, that after the Battle of Salamanca, an order was issued from the *Horse Guards*, stating, that, in consequence of the German Legion having frequently distinguished itself during the war in the Peninsula, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent had been pleased to direct, that the Officers of the corps of that Legion should HAVE PERMANENT RANK IN THE ENGLISH ARMY.——I observed at the time of issuing the order, that this, if I understood the meaning of the words, was not *lawful*, and that, to give effect to the *Order*, an act of Parliament must be passed.——Since the new Parliament assembled, a discussion has taken place upon this subject, in consequence of a motion of Lord Folkestone, who is entitled to the thanks of the nation for the watchfulness he has constantly shewn in regard to the employing of Foreign Troops in this kingdom.——Before I enter upon an account of the debate to which I now allude, it will be necessary, in order to a clear understanding of the matter, briefly to state *what the law is*.——FIRST, then, the law, as contained in the act of Settlement, passed in the 12th and 13th of William the 3d, and which act, be it observed, expresses the conditions, upon which the House of Brunswick should succeed to the throne of England; the law, as laid down in that act, expressly says, that no Foreigner shall hold, under the Crown of these kingdoms, *any office, or place of trust, civil or military*. And, I beg the reader to observe, that this act is entitled, an act for further limiting the Crown, and *better securing the rights and liberties of the people;* so that, in order better to secure the rights and liberties of the people, it was thought necessary to prohibit the Crown from employing Foreigners as officers in the army, in case the House of Brunswick succeeded to the Throne.——Thus stood the law, when, in 1804, an act was passed to authorize the King to embody certain Foreigners into corps, and to employ them in his service. This was the act under which those troops called the German Legion were raised. It authorized the King to put the men thus raised under the command of *Foreign Officers*, and, of course,

it departed from the act of Settlement in this respect, because, it sanctioned the putting of Foreigners into places of *military trust* in this kingdom. I must observe here, too, that this was a *bill of indemnity;* for the King, or rather his ministers, had actually raised the corps and appointed the officers before the act was passed, and by the act the Parliament *indemnified them for having done so!* However, the act was passed, and it became legal for the King to give military trust to Foreigners as Officers in these particular corps; but, that the act extended no farther, that it did *not* authorize the King to give them military trust *any where else than in these corps*, is quite clear from the preamble of the bill itself, which states, that the King shall be authorized to give Foreigners places of military trust in these corps, BECAUSE THEY UNDERSTAND THE LANGUAGE AND MANNERS OF THE MEN OF WHOM THE CORPS ARE TO BE COMPOSED. ——Under the sanction of this act, however, or, at least, since this act was passed, Foreign Officers have been put upon the General staff; they have had commands given them in the districts of England; they have commanded at reviews in England; they have had the command in England in some cases, where even regiments of militia have been under them; and, lastly, they have held commissions in English regiments; though it would seem strange that they should have been thus employed; seeing, that, at any rate, they are not likely to understand the language and manners of our men better than our native officers! ——Still, however, there was one clause in the act of 1804, which it seemed impossible to get over; and that was, that the act should *cease to be in force at the end of the war.* Of course, when peace came, the commissions of these officers must all cease. ——This I was well aware of, and, therefore, I said that the Order from the Horse Guards, if I understood it rightly, was illegal.——Not so, the hireling writers of the London press. They applauded the Order, and the Courier news-paper in particular abused before-hand any one that should find fault with it, asserting, that any one who did, must be a friend of Buonaparté.——We now come to the debate in question, the whole of which, as published in the Courier news-paper of the 11th inst. I have inserted below, and every word of which I beg the reader to attend to, as being of the utmost importance to our liberties and our personal safety; aye, of much greater importance to those liberties than are the events in Spain and Portugal, and, perhaps, even those in Russia and Poland.——Lord FOLKESTON, as will be seen in the account of the debate, complained that the German officers were now to have *permanent rank*, and that they were shouldering out our own officers and taking the command of our own armies. Lord PALMERSTON, the Secretary at War, did not, it seems, think it proper to support the Order from the War-office, and explained it to mean, not that the German officers were to have *real rank* after the end of the war, as Lord Folkestone supposed, and as I supposed, and as Mr. Canning said he supposed, and as every body else supposed; but that the Order meant merely, that those officers should, after the war, have their *names printed in the army list according to the rank which they had borne before the end of the war.*——But, why was it not so expressed in the *Order?* Why did not the Order say this? The Order said no such thing; and, indeed, as far as words have a definite meaning, the Order said just the contrary. It said, "that those officers, now serving with TEMPORARY rank in the several *regiments of that* "*corps*, shall have PERMANENT rank in the *British army.*" What could this be understood to mean other than that these officers were to come in and take their turn in all promotion in our army, and to remain in it with the same security for the duration of their commissions as that possessed by our own officers?—Lord Palmerston says, however, that this *permanence* related merely to the insertion of their names in the army list, *after the war.* If this had been the case, the Order was perfect nonsense; for, as the reader may see, if he looks back into the army lists, their names have, for a long time past, been inserted in that list. But, what a gross absurdity will that list present; what an egregious piece of folly, if it should contain the names of these officers after the war? After the war, they will, as we have seen, be no longer officers in our service; their commissions die with the war; like many others, peace would be death to their occupation and their hopes; their corps would be disbanded, and they themselves stript of all authority here, and put back into their former state of officers in the army of the Elector of Hanover.—With what propriety, then, would their names appear in the *English* army list; in the list of an army to which they would no more belong than they would to the army

...ates? It appears to me ... too absurd to be thought ... his scheme should have been ... on. No: something *more* ... m fully convinced, intended; ... ng been discovered, that the ... not be granted without an act ... it, it became prudent to give ... p. If the Order had gone into ... ably to the plain English of it, ... clear that it would have operated ... the injury of the officers of ... army. For instance, an English ... might have had twenty or thirty ... German colonels put, at once over ... d, if there were that number whose ... ssions were of a date prior to his, wh... would have been extremely injurious to him, and, upon the supposition of his having *purchased* his commission, not less unjust than injurious; seeing that, when he purchased, he could not have had in contemplation the introduction of these or any other foreigners.——The matter, however, has now been explained, and with that explanation I should have been satisfied for the present, if other matters, connected with it, had not been introduced. While the order was, in the debate, explained not to mean that the Germans were to have rank permanently in our army, great pains were taken to inculcate the opinion, that such a favour would not have been too great for their merits. The praises bestowed upon them were unbounded; one member appears to have been understood as giving them the *preference* to English officers; and Lord Palmerston, rather indiscreetly, as it turned out, called upon Lord Folkestone to look at the GAZETTES, if he wished to know *whether the Germans had, or had not,* DISTINGUISHED *themselves during the war.*——Lord Folkestone accepted the challenge, which was repeated by General Stewart. His Lordship said, "With respect to the "desire, or rather challenge, of the gallant Officer (Stewart) to *look to the gazettes,* in order to ascertain the achievements of the German Legion, he (Lord "F.) had taken occasion to review those "gazettes, because a similar desire had "been the night before expressed to him "by others, and he was happy to find that "in glory, as it appeared from the losses, "*the British army was not inferior,* compared with those *highly-applauded,* those "*particularly-honoured Foreigners.* For "what was the comparison? Why, let "*the House and the Country* judge from a "few instances."——His Lordship then made the following comparative statement, a copy of which he has done me the honour to transmit to me.

BATTLE OF TALAVERA.

	Killed.	Wound.	Total
German Legion lost, on an average, per Battalion . . .	22	103	125
British regiments, on an average, lost	18	91	109

BATTLE ON THE DAY BEFORE.

German Legion—*Six battalions* of Infantry and *one regiment* of Cavalry	33	123	156
One English Battalion (2d Battalion, 87th Regiment) . .	27	137	164

BATTLE OF BUSACO.

Germans—4 Battalions and 2 detachments	10	49	59
English—1 Battalion 45th Regt.	25	113	138
1 Battalion 88th Regt.	31	102	133

BATTLE OF BARROSA.

Germans—Not one either killed or wounded.

AFFAIR OF 3D MAY, 1811.

Germans—6 Battalions . . .	3	20	23
English—1 Battalion 71st Regt.	8	38	46
1 Battalion 79th Regt.	5	19	24

AFFAIR OF 5TH MAY, 1811.

Germans—6 Battalions . . .	3	48	51
English—1 Battalion 71st Regt.	13	74	87
1 Battalion 79th Regt.	27	135	162

SIEGE OF BADAJOS, FROM 5 TO 11 JUNE, 1811.

Germans—6 Battalions . . .	1	2	3
English—1 Battalion 51st Regt.	26	78	104

ASSAULT OF CUIDAD RODRIGO.

English loss	130	496	626
German loss	0	0	0

CAPTURE OF BADAJOS, 1812.

English loss	668	2402	3070
German loss	0	0	0

BATTLE OF ALBUERA.

Germans, 2 Battalions, . . .	8	96	104
English, 2 Battalions of the 7th Regt.	125	557	682
1 Battalion, 48th Regt. . . .	67	206	273
1 Battalion, 29th Regt. . . .	80	245	325

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

(and observe, this was the battle, for the deeds performed at which, the order was issued)

Germans, 5 Battalions	9	87	96
English, 1 Battalion, (the 3rd of the 1st Foot,)	23	137	160

1 Battalion 7th Regt.	20	175	195
1 Battalion, 11th Regt.	45	296	341
1 Battalion, 38th Regt.	16	127	143
1 Battalion, 61st Regt.	44	322	366
	148	1057	1205
5 other English Battalions, (being the 5 who suffered least in the engagement,) lost	0	10	10
	148	1067	1215
That is, (dividing these numbers by 10,) on an average per Battalion,	14	106	121

That is, for each *one* English Battalion, *more* than the *five* German Battalions put together.

Now, reader, English reader, when you have looked well at this, look once more at the ORDER in question, which said that, "In consideration of the King's German "Legion having *so frequently distinguished* "*themselves* against the enemy, during the "campaign, but *particularly at the battle* "*of Salamanca*, His Royal Highness the "Prince Regent, acting in the name and "on behalf of His Majesty, has been "pleased to order that those Officers now "serving with temporary rank in the se-"veral regiments of that corps, shall have "permanent rank in the British army, "from the dates of their respective Com-"missions." Here, then, are we all in a situation to judge. "Upon this review," added Lord Folkestone, "the Country "may decide which description of force "encountered more danger, suffered more "loss, gained more glory, or was entitled "to more praise. To some persons he "knew it would be absurd to appeal. "From those who paid more regard to "their own will than to law or reason; "from those who could originate an order "apparently designed, and since it was "issued he would undertake to say notori-"ously conceived, to involve a direct vio-"lation of law, he could not expect due "attention. But he looked to the consi-"deration of the Gentlemen of that House, "who must feel, that whatever difference "of opinion might prevail upon general "questions, the explanation of this extra-"ordinary order was calculated to do "good."——A great deal of good, certainly, and for which the country is indebted to Lord Folkestone, who by this one act, has, in my opinion, rendered greater service to the country than would be rendered by the driving of the French out of Spain.——That the Order was generally understood as putting the Germans upon exactly the same footing as our own officers; that it was understood [illegible] enemy, a permanent situation in our [illegible] is clear, and, indeed, General [illegible] *fended the Order in that sense* [illegible] Palmerston said, indeed, that [illegible] Officers did not so understand [illegible] proof of the truth of his assertio[illegible] he had a letter to that effect f[illegible] German Baron, who is a Gene[illegible] upon a question being put to Lord [illegible]ston by Lord Folkestone, the form[illegible] fessed that the said letter was writt[illegible] *the latter had given notice of his m*[illegible] ——Upon this occasion the old doctrines; that is to say, the doctrines of the last writer, were advanced in defence of employing these foreigners in England, and Mr. *Ponsonby*, the leader of the *whigs*, begged to be understood as not participating in the "*vulgar prejudices*" which were said to exist against employing these foreigners in England. Sir H. Mildmay is also reported as having disclaimed such prejudices. They were well answered by Lord Milton, who said, that he must protest against any foreigner whatever, being appointed to commands in England, and that he could make no exception in favour of *Hanoverians*, for that they were not, and never had been subjects of the King of England.——It was urged by Lord Palmerston and others, in defence of the employing of foreign troops, that Buonaparté did the same. This was urged once before, and it was once before observed in answer, that it ought to be shown, to make it a case in point, that Buonaparté employed foreign troops *in France*; that he gave them commissions in *French regiments*; that he gave them command of military districts *in France*; no part of which has ever been, and, in my opinion, ever can be, shown. ——Besides, must we do a thing, or think a thing right to be done, because he does the like? What would be said of me if I were to insist that we ought to abolish tithes, for instance, because tithes have been abolished in France? Nay, to come closer to the point, what was said, and what was attempted to be done, to the editor of the Independent Whig, because he found fault with our Government for not treating our soldiers in the same manner that Buonaparté treated his soldiers? This, supposing the cases to be perfectly similar, is no justification at all of the measure. But nothing can, in my opinion, be more dissimilar than the two cases, and the use of the argument only tends to shew how des-

...s of any solid ground of ...re may be room for doubt ...the employing of foreign ...be wise or not. That is a ...n I shall be very willing to ... decision of those who are in ...of being able to effect "the de... ...of Europe." It is in England; it ...in our own country, and amongst ...that I disapprove of the em...ent of foreign troops, and I disap...ve of it, upon the same principles and ...the same grounds that it was disap...ved of by our forefathers. I would rather that they never should be where an English army is; but, the object of my rooted antipathy is their being in *England*.——It does seem too, rather singular, that we should stand in need of these Hanoverians to assist us in a war in Spain and Portugal, where, as we are told, all the people hate our enemies and love us. Why, if this be true, should we go to Germany, and pay large bounties for troops to assist us? Surely, we might raise troops enough in Spain, full as zealous for the liberties of that country, as the German Legion is likely to be. In short, as I never have seen, so I cannot now see any good reason for the employment of these troops, and I am fully convinced, that the day is not distant when the public will be unanimously of my opinion.——At the time when the famous *Order* was issued, the Courier asserted, that there was but ONE MAN in England who would object to it, in the sense that it was then understood.——The hireling is now *silent*.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.——The discussions upon this subject have been revived; but, interesting as the matter is, I must put off my observations upon it till next week.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 17th Dec. 1812.

GERMAN TROOPS.

Debate, in the House of Commons, on the 10th of Dec. 1812, on the Motion of Lord Viscount Folkestone, relative to the German Troops.

Lord *Folkestone* rose to call the attention of the House, in consequence of his notice, to a subject of much importance, which he should have felt it his duty to do on an earlier day, had he not been applied to by a Noble Lord opposite to postpone it. If his motion for papers were now objected to, he should lose by the delay, in the event of a division, since many members were necessarily absent. He hoped the delay was not asked for the purpose of gaining a greater majority. He intended to make several motions for papers on the subject. He had last Session called their attention to an infraction of the law by the employment of foreign officers in the British army, and a return was then ordered, which, though regular in its form, was still imperfect, it being drawn for the return of foreign officers employed on home service; and therefore the fair account was not rendered, which should have included those on foreign service. No adequate idea was hence given of the number of foreigners in our service. One motion he should make should therefore be, for the return of the whole number; another for that of foreigners on the staff; and another for that of the officers of the 60th regiment of foot, who have staff appointments, which was forbidden by law. He then referred to the order of August last, in the Gazette, as to German officers, which stated, that in consideration of their services, particularly at the battle of Salamanca, they should receive, instead of temporary, permanent rank in the British army. There appeared to his Lordship only one way of understanding this: and which was, that it was an attempt to introduce permanently and for ever into our army, these officers, who were, under an Act of Parliament, serving only in a temporary way, till one year after the conclusion of the war. But he understood that another construction was put on it, and that his own was an erroneous one. Might he then ask of the Noble Lord or any Right Hon. Gentleman opposite, in order to save the time of the House, whether he was right in his interpretation, or, if not, what was the real meaning of the order? If he misunderstood it, he might waste time needlessly in arguing upon it.

Lord *Palmerston* hardly knew how to answer the question.

Lord *Folkeston* stated, that it appeared to be an attempt to foist the Foreign Officers into permanent rank in our army, to render them not liable to removal at peace, and to give them all the advantages of half-pay, &c. in future on our establishment.

Lord *Palmerston* said, that the effect of the order was not to give to Foreign Officers any advantages or privileges inconsistent with the Act under which they were serving.

Lord *Folkestone* said, if the words of the Order were to be construed according to the common understanding of the English Language, they certainly did imply, that privileges were conferred upon the Officers of the German Legion, which were, to all intents and purposes, inconsistent with the terms of the Act of Parliament. The great exploits of the corps are made the cause for conferring on them some great boon. But according to the Noble Lord, this great reward which was purported in the order was not given them. In former times, when British Officers went into the army in the temporary rank of superior Officers, without having gone through the inferior steps, it was not usual for these Officers to get promotion. But now, the German Officers, who are only temporary, are to be introduced into our service, are to be promoted, and to shoulder out our old General Officers, who have risen progressively to their rank.—(*Hear! hear!*)—The Order should have said "permanent rank in the German Legion," and not in the British Army. The Order, according to the explanation of a Noble Lord, was a mark of absurdity in the Office from which it was issued—of want of knowledge of the English language, and had the effect of deceiving the Officers of the German Legion, besides causing much uneasiness in the British Army. The object of his motion, therefore, would be, to procure information, by which the Officers of the British Army might understand that they had not received that injury, which, in the present state of their knowledge, they could not fail to suppose that they had suffered. His Lordship concluded by moving, "That an humble Address be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying, that His Royal Highness would be pleased to order, that there should be laid before the House, Copies of all the Orders which had been issued from the Horse Guards, relative to the rank of the Officers in the King's German Legion."

Lord *Palmerston* observed, that the short answer he had given had induced the Noble Lord to alter his whole line of argument. Had he made an explanation earlier, it might have prevented this question altogether. It was a mere difference as to the interpretation of words, and the whole nature of the misconception might be sufficiently explained. Temporary, and permanent rank, in the army, were terms that merely designated two services, which differed certainly i[illegible] Permanent rank meant t[illegible] nary rank and promotio[illegible] Temporary rank signified a[illegible] was generally given to tho[illegible] men for rank, and for other r[illegible] occasioned the granting the[illegible] missions. Temporary rank a[illegible] fined to particular corps and [illegible] did not give full *brevet* promoti[illegible] rest of the army, nor did it c[illegible] pay. But the House should [illegible] that it never was in the contempla[illegible] the framers of the Order, or of [illegible] whom it was addressed, that it [illegible] construed otherwise than in c[illegible] with the Act by which these [illegible] sanctioned. Many of our f[illegible] were in fact brought into service, [illegible]e established corps. The Germans we[illegible]ot so, but they had been previously in the Hanoverian service; and it was found necessary on their coming here to combine them, and to preserve the previous rank held by their Officers. But the analogy of our service had been preserved; the first Officers had only temporary rank: but the whole of the corps were not serving with temporary rank. In all the foreign corps, the Officers, who since the commencement of the corps have been appointed Ensigns and Cornets, had been so appointed and promoted, without any distinction from other Officers of the British Army in general. The Order, in fact, did not apply to all the German Officers, but only to those of the higher ranks, who had entitled themselves to favour and reward. But all those Officers were serving under a law which declared a limit to their services; and the order could not be meant to operate in defiance of the law. The Act authorized the granting of Commissions and Letters of Service; but did not say that these were to be different from those of British Officers. To have done otherwise would have been injurious to the service. It was, he conceived, clear, that when the operation of the law ceased, the commissions must fall to the ground with that Act in which they originated. The Officers could not be entitled to half-pay, for the law forbade that. The advantage they received by the Order was, that when the Act ceased, their rank having been ordinary and permanent, their names would be printed in the Army List in their respective ranks, and they would have their honours and titles remaining. Thus their permanent rank did not violate the law, nor

... of British Officers. Per-
...ad the advantage over the
...the general army promotion.
...the German Legion authorized
...of the articles of war, one of
...ected that when serving with
...ps, the senior Officer of either
...command, as was usual in the
...a general. The Officers of the Le-
...in regard of rank, had always been
...a *brevet* as permanent. So far from
... order enabling them to shoulder Bri-
...h Officers from their promotion, it gave them in practice no advantage whatever, either in rank or precedence which they had not before enjoyed. It might then naturally be asked, why an order was issued which in its effect appeared a nullity? It was because the Commander in Chief thought it was but paying a well-deserved compliment to a meritorious body of men, who had signalized themselves not only in one action, but throughout the whole campaign. It was a compliment which he was convinced would be gratifying to the feelings of many of the Officers of that corps, that they should retain, after peace, the military rank and titles which they might acquire by their honourable services in the course of the war. He knew that many had an objection to employing foreign soldiers on constitutional principles. He thought, however, that those who considered the circumstances of the times, as well as the Constitution of the country would not object to their being employed at present. If any man would look at the map of Europe, and see what a portion of its population the enemy had forced into hostility against this country,—if he were also to consider the limited population of these two islands, and the extensive colonies we have to defend, and the navy we have to support, it appeared to him hardly possible that such a man would now adhere to the idea of not employing foreigners in our service. Surely it would not be said, that the individuals now alluded to were objects of censure or distrust. He would beg the House to consider, who were they? They were not adventurers intruding themselves into the service of the country, but they were Germans—the natural subjects of our own Sovereign, who preferred an honourable exile to an ignominious servitude; and who were bound by allegiance to the same Sovereign who rules in this country. As to the value of their services, it would be seen from the perusal of the different Gazettes which were published in the course of the summer. There was no action in which part of this gallant corps was not foremost in every danger. It did not appear to him that the Noble Lord had laid before the House sufficient grounds for the production of papers; but, he thought it would not be sufficient for the House barely to reject the motion on this ground. He thought the House should not allow itself to be supposed to concur in the idea of its being illegal and unconstitutional to employ foreign troops, and that it would be well that the new Parliament should have its opinion some way understood of the legality and propriety of continuing the present system of employing every means of carrying on offensive warfare which presented itself in the present circumstances.

Mr. Ponsonby objected particularly to the last part of the Noble Lord's speech. He hoped that the House would not on the present, or any other occasion, express an opinion on a subject not connected with the motion that was before them. The Noble Lord (Lord Folkestone) had not said a single word about this general question of employing foreigners, nor about the merits of this particular corps; and, therefore, if the House were to give an opinion upon those questions, it would be upon subjects not before them. He was extremely glad that the Noble Lord (Lord Palmerston) had given the explanation he had done; and the matter having been so explained, he now saw nothing illegal or unconstitutional in it. It seemed that the order was only intended as a compliment to the German Legion; but the Noble Lord (Folkestone) had certainly understood the order in the same way that he, and, as he believed, the public also had understood it. It appeared now, that in the language of the War Office, the word *permanent* meant *temporary*. If the Noble Lord (Lord P.) however, had been assured, that on account of his services, the place he held should be a permanent one, he supposed that he would think it hard, if, at the end of the year, or at the conclusion of the war, he should be removed, and told that permanent and temporary meant the same things. If the officers to whom this order applied, were really highly gratified and pleased with it under the explanation now given, he must say, that they must be as disinterested a set of soldiers as ever lived. He was certainly aware that the word permanent could not be strictly applied to any portion of our

army, which existed from year to year by the annual Mutiny Act; and if there was no intention of giving those foreign officers command in our army longer than the period under which they had been engaged by the sanction of Parliament, he saw no objection to the measure. He had heard that there were many persons who entertained an aversion to foreign troops, and a hostile feeling to those Germans; he wished particularly to state that he had no such feelings. *(Hear, hear.)* He had heard from many officers of high rank, that some corps had very highly distinguished themselves against the enemy, and he felt neither aversion nor distrust towards them. Nevertheless he adhered to the opinion, that Parliament ought generally to look with a constitutional jealousy to the employment of foreign soldiers, especially within this realm.

Sir H. Mildmay said, that he should vote for the motion. He had no objection to this corps as Germans, but he objected merely to the manner in which they were employed.

Lord Milton believed, that in point of fact, German officers had in this country commanded districts, and British regiments; and he particularly alluded to Baron Linsingen. Now he thought this was not a proper employment for Foreign Officers. He had no objection to their being employed in commands abroad, but he did not like to see them in command in this country, except in their particular corps. In this distinction he conceived himself founded on the true principles of the constitution.

Lord Palmerston said, in explanation, that with the Officers of the German Legion from its first foundation, their temporary rank gave them corresponding command. In the case of Baron Linsingen, the command of the district would have naturally devolved upon him, on the removal of Lord Chatham; but the fact, as he believed, was, that the Baron never had commanded a district, as an older English Officer was immediately appointed to it: he had only commanded at the depot.

Lord *Milton* repeated his persuasion, that the Baron had for some time actually commanded the Eastern district.

General *Stewart* could not, as a military man who had seen the services of those corps, remain silent upon the present occasion. He would ask the Noble Lord (Lord Milton) why, when they were intrusted with commands ag[...] they should not be equally [...] country? Lord Wellington [...] the command of the light div[...] was one of the finest in the who[...] Baron Alten. Notwithstanding [...] tiality he naturally felt for Engl[...] yet the Germans had so eminen[...] guished themselves in the Penin[...] he was sure, if it was put to t[...] army to say, whether they ought [...] have permanent rank, there would [...] a dissentient voice. When he firs[...] the Order, he certainly did understand it in the sense which the Noble Lord (Lord Folkestone) did, *(loud cries of hear, hear)*, and in that he would approve of it. He had witnessed the merits of the German troops in the Peninsula. The 1st regiment of Hussars was the admiration of the whole army; and in the department of Quarter-Master-General, he knew some German Officers, who, he thought, ought to be preferred to British Officers. Besides great clearness and diligence, many of them possessed advantages acquired before the war in the Peninsula.

Lord *Milton* begged to be allowed to say in explanation, and in answer to the Gallant General who could not apprehend why, if it were allowable to intrust commands to German Officers abroad, it should not be considered allowable to intrust to them commands at home, that the very reason was, that in the one case the command was in Portugal, and in the other in England.

Mr. *Canning* confessed that his mind was inexpressibly relieved by the explanation which the Noble Secretary at War had given of an order, which, until that hour he certainly understood, in common with the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, in common with the Public, and, as it now appeared, in common even with one of the gallant leaders of that army with which the German Legion was immediately connected, to import no less than the communication of permanent rank to the Officers of that Legion, in the sense in which that term was usually interpreted in the British army. His mind was inexpressibly relieved by that explanation, because it proved, that in fact, the Law and the Constitution had not been violated. It gave him great satisfaction to learn, that the order in question was not so ineffective as the Noble Lord had described it to be, for whatever might be his sense of the merit of the troops to which it referred, no

earthly consideration could have induced him, as a member of that House, acting upon constitutional principles, to have lent his sanction to such a measure, had it possessed the character which he and the country erroneously attributed to it. What had been said of the services of the German troops he most heartily approved; and if any question had arisen with respect to their merits, the House must feel that the gallant and generous testimony just borne to those merits by a kindred spirit, would have been conclusive on the subject. (*Hear !*) But it was no disparagement to the gallant General who had spoken so much to their credit and his own, to say, that while that Hon. Officer looked at the question with a military eye, it became the House to consider it with a view to its bearing on the Constitution. While he cordially concurred in all that had been said, and in all that could be added in praise of the German troops, he could not let his feelings, or the consideration of the existing crisis, so far overpower his duty to his country as to forget (as he thought the Noble Secretary at War seemed at one time to forget) that it was necessity alone that justified their employment. Although no man, rationally considering the circumstances of the times, could object to their employment, yet it ought always to be remembered, that to employ them was the exception and not the rule. Looking, therefore, at the Order as it had been generally understood—as it had been understood by the public as well as by himself—an understanding, he must observe, mainly supported by the comments with which it was accompanied at the time the Order was issued in publications, which, though certainly not authorized, were widely circulated—an understanding, of which the report of that night's debate would convey to the country the first contradiction—he must say, that it would have involved a principle from which it would have been imperative on him utterly to dissent. In the best and earliest times of our renovated Constitution—in the reign of that hero to whom we were indebted for that Constitution—in the case of the very troops which had been called in to secure the establishment of that Constitution—in the case of the Dutch troops in the service of King William, although that great sovereign and benefactor of the country descended almost to supplicate the House of Commons to allow him to retain his own guards, they would not permit it as soon as the necessity for their presence ceased to exist; not with an unwise and unprecedented zeal, but in the spirit that had thus grown up with the Constitution itself, it would have behoved every man in that House to look at the Order in question, had its purport been such, as until that night it had universally been supposed to be. Although he was not in the habit of paying the Noble Lord who made the motion many compliments, he could by no means indulge in any sneer against him, for having brought under the consideration of Parliament a document so enigmatical, as even to deceive the companion in arms of those to whom it related. On the contrary, he thought the Noble Lord was in the present instance entitled to the gratitude of the House and the country, for having produced the explanation which had been afforded by the Noble Secretary at War, and for having put him (Mr. Canning) in a situation which permitted him, instead of supporting the Noble Lord's motion, to pay him a compliment, and vote against it.

Lord *Folkestone* made a short reply to the various arguments that had been adduced against his motion. He expressed his astonishment that any Honourable Member should come down and eulogise the German troops, holding them up as superior to British troops.

General *Stewart* spoke to order, denying that he had characterized the German as superior to the British troops. On the contrary, he had avowed his partiality of the British troops, and particularly British cavalry; instancing, at the same time, a regiment of German cavalry, which had nobly distinguished itself.

Lord *Folkestone* continued. He understood him distinctly to have spoken of other military departments also, in which he had given the preference to the Germans. He would contend, in opposition to what had fallen from the Secretary at War, that Baron Linsingen had actually for some period commanded the Eastern District, and ordered out the militia regiments at Ipswich. This was contrary to the express words of the Act of Parliament, which, in sanctioning the employment of those Foreign Officers, expressly stated that they were only to be allowed commands in their own particular corps, "inasmuch as they could best drill them, from being acquainted with their language and manners." He should also state, that in the teeth of an Act of Parliament, part of the 60th regiment, raised only for

service in America, was sent to the Peninsula. No man would object to such employment of them, if Ministers, instead of breaking an Act of Parliament, would come to Parliament and point out the necessity of such a change of destination. Upon occasions of this nature, there was something else to be consulted besides the map of Europe. He thought it as necessary to consult the Constitution and the Act of Settlement. Not only at the Revolution did our ancestors refuse to allow Dutch troops to stay in this country, but on the accession of the House of Hanover, there was an Act, the very last year, which had directly in its contemplation the employment of Hanoverian troops. It was against this very description of foe, that our ancestors shewed a constitutional jealousy at the time of passing the Act of Settlement. The Noble Lord then made a statement of the losses of the German corps in the different great actions in the Peninsula, which he thought would give a fair criterion to judge whether they signalized themselves more than British troops. At the battle of Talavera, the German battalions had certainly suffered more loss, upon an average, than the British, but in every other action the balance was the other way. At Barrosa, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajos, no Germans were engaged; and at Busaco their loss was very trifling indeed. He then stated the amount of the German loss in the different actions, and compared it with the loss of some British battalions, which was much more severe. This mode of comparison, he allowed, might be considered unfair, if a positive superiority had not been claimed on the part of the Germans.—Lord Folkestone concluded with observing, that if the Noble Lord's explanation proved satisfactory to the public, he should be content in the reflection, that no inconsiderable portion of the object he had in view was accomplished.

Lord *Palmerston*, in explanation, contended, that he had not expressed any contempt of the Act of Settlement. The command was temporary, and was founded on the Article of War, applicable to the German Legion, by which these Officers took precedence. He also saw nothing inconsistent or unconstitutional in the assumption of the command of a district by General Linsingen, as it must have devolved upon him in the absence of Lord Chatham, and was perfectly agreeable to the Article of War to which he had alluded. The Noble Lord appeared to have totally mistaken the nature of the reference to the Gazettes; for the proper, and in fact, the [illegible] make the reference was, to es[illegible] an estimate by the comparison of num[illegible] equal as possible, between cer[illegible] tions or corps of the British a[illegible] German Legion.

Lord *Folkestone* maintained t[illegible] founded his estimate upon that [illegible] parison which he was charged [illegible] having made.

Mr. *Whitbread* paid a complimen[illegible] generous and liberal sentiments expressed by a gallant General (Stewart) on the eminent services and distinguished bravery of the German troops employed in Spain.—The mutual enthusiasm and unlimited confidence excited in the Officers of the army, by the exploits of others serving with them, ought however to increase, instead of lessening the jealousy with which we ought to guard against the incorporation of foreign troops with our own. This was not a military question, nor one in which we were to appeal to the sentiments of the army. It was a constitutional question, on which the Members of that House were to decide, as the guardians of the rights and civil liberties of the country. What he had risen for, was to direct the attention of the House to a circumstance which had not been noticed, the affectation which so generally and ridiculously prevailed, of imitating the dress of foreign soldiers. From the known predilection for this dress in a certain quarter, our troops were so Germanised or Frenchified in their appearance, that the most serious consequences were to be apprehended. In fact, English soldiers had fallen, and English Officers been taken prisoners in consequence of mistaking a corps of French troops for our own, and in the retreat from Salamanca, one of our Officers was near being killed by order of a brother Officer, who supposed him to be French. Notwithstanding the general sense entertained on this subject by the army, either remonstrances had not reached the source from which the remedy must spring, or had been ineffectual, so far had taste prevailed over judgment. Whatever might be our admiration of foreign troops employed with our own, there was surely no need to confound the two services together, each might retain a distinct, uniform, and independent character of its own. He could not abstain from expressing his concern at the conclusion of the speech of an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Canning,) who after the strongest and most pointed arguments in favour of the propriety of the motion, expressed in lan-

... only that Gentleman could ... had declared his intention of ... it. This conduct of the Hon ... was, however, nothing new: he ... a good deal in the habits of speak- ... the side of the question, and giving ... on the other; nor could he, ever ... right, think himself entitled to cal- ... upon his support in a division, from ... arguments he might use in the course ... the debate.

Lord *Palmerston*, in answer to an inquiry from Lord Folkestone, on what authority he had stated that the Officers of the German Legion understood the order relating to their receiving permanent rank only in a qualified sense, said it was from a letter from General Dekin, who had expressed himself distinctly to that effect.

Lord *Folkestone*, wishing to know the date of that letter, Lord Palmerston replied, that it was subsequent to the notice of his Lordship's motion.

The motion was then negatived without a division.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Report of Monsieur the Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr to His Highness the Prince Major-General.

(Continued from page 766.)

lumns before the front of the 6th division, commanded by M. General Legrand. He principally directed his attack against a battery which was not completed, on the left bank of the Polota, and which thus became the centre of the division of Legrand. Three or four times he endeavoured to obtain possession of it, and was always repulsed with that loss which is ever experienced when such enterprises cannot succeed. Up to the afternoon the enemy had not dared to attack the front of the right bank of the Polota, some points of which were tolerably well intrenched and finished; but about four o'clock they debouched from the road of Seibit and Riga, and furiously and in a crowd marched upon the left flank of the town, supported by the column which debouched from the Naval road.——I wished to have allowed all that fine ardour to be spent upon two redoubts, constructed and occupied by the Bavarian artillery and troops, and necessary to their defence, commanded by General Vicente; but the success of the 2d division, commanded by General Merle, as well as the 3d regiment of Croates, in opposition to their settled dispositions, precipitated themselves before the Russians, and fought that fury with remarkable bravery, order, and *sang froid.* We, at least, brought the Russians, who made this attack under the walls of the town, where the carnage we caused them, from the morning, upon all points of their whole army, only terminated with night. The Russians, notwithstanding their superiority, left the ground heaped with corpses, and did not succeed in any of their attacks.——Notwithstanding the success obtained on this day, I was uneasy in the evening respecting the success my cavalry might have met with upon the left bank of the Dwina. On this day, I had deprived myself of the greater part of my cavalry, to be easy respecting my rear. In the evening, General Carbineau, whose brigade of horse, extremely fatigued, had not penetrated beyond the Orschatz, and had met, according to his account, with some cavalry and a few infantry; as he was perfectly satisfied in this respect, having, at his disposition three battalions of Bavarian infantry, I waited the following day with much tranquillity.——On the 19th, at break of day, we saw the enemy in movement upon the line, occupied in rectifying their position, and forming a half circle round ours. About ten in the morning, an Aid-de-Camp of General Carbineau arrived, and informed me he had before his brigade 5,000 men, and 12 squadrons of cavalry. I lost not a moment in taking a regiment out of each of the three divisions of the 2d corps, taking in preference those which might be most easily withdrawn from before the enemy, who would not then have failed to renew his attacks, and only waited to do it, the appearance of this corps, the arrival of which he impatiently expected. Towards noon, these troops defiled upon the heights behind Polotsk. The enemy clearly perceived the object of this movement; but thought it was a kind of reserve behind Polotsk. I assembled these troops, under the command of General Amey. I joined to them the 7th regiment of cuirasseurs, of Denmir's division, who had not hitherto met the enemy in proceeding up the Dwina. At the same time I ordered, that as soon as it was dusk, the whole of the army should cross to the left of the Dwina. Towards the fall of day, at the moment in which we began to withdraw the artillery from the advanced works, some imprudent persons set fire to General Legrand's barracks, which, in a moment, communicated

through the whole line, and gave the enemy certain proof that we were retiring. Then he began to fire from all his batteries, and threw into the town a quantity of shells and other incendiary projectiles, to set it on fire, in which he in part succeeded, hoping by this to prevent our artillery movements, and blow up our caissons.——This cannonade and bombardment were supported by a general attack. We saw each other as if in full day-light, by the light of the burning town; and this attack did not cease until the moment when the last man had repassed to the left bank of the Dwina; but, in the midst of these attacks, and the confusion caused by firing the town, the troops conducted themselves with the most extraordinary bravery, and the retreat was performed in the best order. At midnight all the artillery was retired, and the whole body of the troops had passed over at half-past two o'clock in the morning. I immediately reinforced with two regiments, which were the first that passed the troops, which I had put under the orders of General Amey, and who had succeeded, in the evening, in confining the enemy in the defiles near to Soleuk, but were not yet in sight of M. De Wittgenstein's army. With these troops, there was a column of Bavarians, about 6 or 700 men strong. I re-united the whole under the command of M. Merle, to whom I gave orders to march immediately against the front of General Steingel, and to repulse him with vigour, and to throw him past the Orschatz, as I could then support this attack with another part of the army, if it should become necessary. At the moment that these troops put themselves in motion, they fell in with those of the enemy.——The corps of M. de Steingel was broken, and after a great loss in killed, driven to the other side of the Polota, leaving in our hands 12 or 1,500 prisoners, among whom were 18 Officers of different ranks; and among others, a Captain of an English vessel, employed in the Etat-Major of M. Steingel, and who said he had been three weeks in the Russian service. This affair gives great honour to M. Count Wrengel, who directed it, and to General Amey, who seconded him well.——I owe the greatest eulogiums to the good conduct of the troops, to the zeal and intelligence of Officers of all ranks, and of the whole army, who have seconded me well; among whom I shall mention Messrs. the Generals Legrand, Merle, Baron, Laureneez; my Chief of the General Staff, Aubrey, Commander of the 2d corps; Desde, Co Engineers; and M. the maudant Dalbignac, who ha acquired new rights on His your. I shall have the hono to your Highness, in a few da place, a list of the Officers wh good conduct, have merited p——Our loss is not very consi comparison with that of the enem is enormous. General Legrand horse killed under him, and rece contusions. General Guicheew, Camp to His Majesty, is among ber of the wounded.——I have th to inform your Excellency, that a which I have received in my left foot, which hinders me from marching, mounting on horseback, will oblige me to quit the command of the corps d'armée, for ten or twelve days. I have given it up to General Legrand. I reckon upon remaining at only one march from the corps d'armée, to be ready to resume my functions, hoping to be still useful to the corps d'armée by my counsels, if Gen. Legrand approve them. But I expect in a few days the Duke of Reggio, and the 9th corps, under the command of the Duke of Belluno, is in march. Our junction effected, we will briskly push the Russian army.

(Signed) The Marshal-Gen. St. Cyr.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Wednesday, Dec. 16.

Foreign-Office, Dec. 16.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were received last night by Viscount Castlereagh, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Russia, dated at St. Petersburgh, 23d and 25th November, 1812.

St. Petersburgh, Nov. 23, 1812.

My Lord,—In my dispatch of the 15th instant, I had the honour to detail such operations of Marshal Kutosoff's army as had come to my knowledge up to the 9th of November; since that date no report has been received of the further proceedings of the corps intrusted to General Platoff. The Field-Marshal had calculated to reach Krasnoi on the 14th instant, but although he had approached within a few

rsts of that place, I have not heard that head-quarters were established thereon, 18th. His last dispatch of the latter announces his intention of forwarding journal of the preceding days, which contain important relations, but it has not yet been received. On the 9th of November, Count Orloff Denizoff, being advanced on the roads towards Smolensko and Krasnoi, received intelligence of the march of a French corps from Smolensko, in the direction of Kalouga, composed of troops intended for the different regiments of guards; this force was under the command of General Barragé D'Hillier, having with him General Charpentier and Brigadier-General Augereau, brother of the Marshal of that name. They were distributed in the three villages of Yasvin, Lakoff, and Dolgomust. A disposition of attack was immediately made by three partisan corps, commanded by Captain Seslavia, Colonel Davidoff, and Captain Phigner. The result was, that the corps under Charpentier was nearly cut to pieces, that Barragé D'Hillier having patiently heard a cannonade for several hours in the quarters of Augereau's division, made good his retreat to Smolensko, and that Augereau's corps of 3,000 men, after losing nearly one-third of their number, laid down their arms, and capitulated to Captain Phigner, who had not 1,500 men, and who appears to have conducted this affair with infinite address and gallantry.——In this corps were two squadrons of cavalry, well mounted. The prisoners amounted to one General, sixty Staff and other Officers, and two thousand rank and file. The Officers who capitulated stated the object of their march, by that route, was to open another communication in the direction of Kalouga; they were not aware of the retreat of the army.——Since this affair, three General Officers, upwards of twenty pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners have been taken near Smolensko, but the particulars are not yet reported.——On the 14th instant, General Count Wittgenstein was attacked by Marshal Victor, who had orders to drive him to the other side of the Dwina. The enemy was repulsed, with the loss of two to three thousand men, and was pursued the next morning in his retreat towards Senno, when six hundred prisoners were taken. I have the honour to enclose a copy of Major-General Baron Dornberg's report of this affair.——Nothing material occurred at this post till the 18th, when Count Wittgenstein was joined by Colonel Chernichef, Aid-de-Camp to His Imperial Majesty, who had been detached by Admiral Tchichagoff, with a small corps of light cavalry, to discover and ascertain General Count Wittgenstein's position.—In the course of this expedition, the Colonel had the good fortune to rescue Major-General Baron Winzengerode and his Aid-de-Camp, Captain Narishkin, between Vilna and Minsk; they were proceeding towards the frontier, under an escort of gens-d'armes, and had been marched from Verrea, where they were presented to Buonaparté, with the French guards under the charge of Junot.——Colonel Chernichef also took three couriers, one coming from, and the other two going to Paris.—From these sources of intelligence it is ascertained, that Buonaparté was at Smolensko on the 13th instant.——Admiral Tchichagoff intended, according to his route, to arrive at Minsk on the 17th instant.——Colonel Chernichef arrived at the palace yesterday, accompanied by the prisoners he has released, and bringing with him the intercepted dispatches. Those from Paris contain nothing but military plans and maps.——The expedition of Colonel Chernichef was a continued and extraordinary exertion, he having marched seven hundred wersts in five days, and swam across several rivers.——It is stated, but no official report has been received, that General Sachen has been left with a detachment to observe Prince Schwartzenberg, and that General Eartel has advanced to and occupied Mohiloff.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CATHCART.